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VOL. 30

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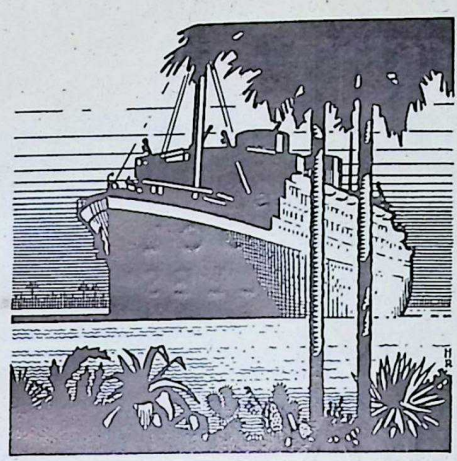

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BROADCASTING IN THE INDIAN VILLAGE

By C. F. Strickland, c.i.e.

The mechanism of Indian Government is already ponderous, and there is a natural reluctance to adopt any new measure which may increase the weight of the machinery or add to its expense. It is perhaps on this account that no serious attempt has yet been made to reach the rural population of India by means of wireless broadcasting. The Indian Broadcasting Company, now a function of Government, appeals to the towns with an urban programme; it operates at a loss, and Finance Departments are not anxious to extend their liability. No one, on the other hand, will deny that the new Indian Constitution will throw responsibility on an untried class of rural voters, that rural enlightenment is proceeding very slowly, and that the younger villagers, especially the literate young men, find the village so dull a spot that they resort in increasing numbers to the towns for their amusements.

Broadcasting appears to offer a solution of these difficulties. If an effective programme can be carried to the villages by means of the radio, rural life will be more cheerful, and amusement will be found at home; agricultural and hygienic instruction and general information of every kind can be spread by the officers of Government and by private persons without the labour of incessant touring, while school education may be greatly improved by means of broadcast lessons, delivered from a district transmitting centre, and further discussed and explained by the local schoolmaster. When television becomes simpler and cheaper this agency too will reinforce the speaker; but there is already scope for abundant and successful effort.

The Scope for Broadcasting

Broadcasting has several duties to perform. It should in the first place entertain and interest, giving the peasant a mixed diet of song and story, preferably of the well-known kinds; for the

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countryman does not always seek novelty, but has old favourites —religious, sentimental, and humorous—which he welcomes again and again. Many of these can be supplied from gramophone records.

Secondly, there must be a news bulletin, prepared by a responsible and impartial authority (not entirely official; for rumours are not to be met by ambiguities and reticence, but by a frank statement of the truth). This should cover the events of the day, Indian and foreign; the prices of crops and of domestic requirements in the market town; warning of locusts, epidemics, impending tours of officers, and other calamities; notices of special trains to fairs, supply of canal water, forthcoming eclipses, etc. It would be absurd to omit a news bulletin from the programme; news already reaches the village in a distorted form through inflammatory newspapers and inaccurate travellers, and it is wiser to give true news—liberally, not in the manner of a war communiqué—than to leave the field to the inventor.

Thirdly, the departments of Government, whose officers pass from village to village and group to group throughout the year, will be free to carry out a part of their work by addressing a large number of villages simultaneously. The agricultural, co-operative, education, public health, and veterinary officers, no less than members of the Red Cross, the Rural Community Councils and Development Associations, organizers of rural reconstruction centres and Women's Institutes, having once made themselves known to the villagers—for this is essential—by a personal visit, will then reiterate and follow up their lessons by short vernacular addresses at a fixed hour on a fixed day.

I wish to stress the value of iteration to a rural audience—or, indeed, to any audience—in order to carry conviction. The hearer's first reaction is to ask himself, "Does this fellow know what he is talking about?" and later, "Well, perhaps he does: anyway, he keeps on saying it, so it may be true." I am very conscious of the time which I myself should have saved without any loss of efficiency—a greater result would, in fact, have been obtained with less labour—if I could have let every co-operative society, in any district in which I was touring, know that on, say,

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the first day of the following month at 7 p.m. I should sum up my impressions of the co-operative movement in the district, mentioning the names of individuals worthy of commendation and inciting the less active to greater efforts by describing the success of other men and villages.

Let every man and woman who has been in Government service or has conducted an unofficial propaganda campaign recall the weariness of repeating the same story to every village, and imagine how much more he would have done if, *after* a preliminary tour in the district by the individual himself (or even by a competent representative), he could have given a ten minutes' broadcast talk every day or every week to keep alive his teaching. Obviously, a broadcaster must be able to speak in an interesting manner and to use an intelligible dialect. Competence varies from one man or woman to another, and an uninspiring director or circle officer will presumably evolve a departmental "Uncle Reginald" of his own, who will know how to appeal to the people.

The value of broadcasting to rural Indian women can scarcely be over-stated. In many parts of India women do not attend meetings of men, and it is a commonplace of Indian experience that a proposal may be accepted, apparently, by the men, yet is never put into practice because the women have not heard the arguments in its favour and are unconvinced. The scheme of village broadcasting which the Indian Village Welfare Association recommends contemplates a single communal receiver for the whole village, with one or more loud-speakers in suitable places where women as well as men may listen without undue publicity. Servants of Government and other organizations will thus be enabled to address rural women in greater numbers and with less restriction than ever before, an arrangement of enormous advantage as the peasantry begins to form definite opinions and to become vocal on matters of national interest. The urgency of instructing the rural voter is emphasized by innumerable writers and speakers, but few have realized the power of the broadcasting instrument. The Franchise (Lothian) Committee was a notable exception.

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Egypt, Palestine, Ceylon

Other countries have been more long-sighted. Egypt is installing a 25 kw. transmitter in Cairo, with a relaying station in Alexandria. A contract has been given to a well-known company for the operation of the plant, and a board of directors, Egyptian and European, will prepare the programme under the control of the Egyptian Government. The greater part of the programme will be in Arabic, and particular attention will, it is promised, be paid to rural needs. The plans for reception in the village have not been published, but many Egyptian villagers can and will afford the cost of a private licence and receiver. The service is to begin in the present year (1933).

Palestine is weighing the merits of the communal receiver for village use, and a decision will, I trust, shortly be reached. In any community which suffers from a conflict of religions and races, a transmitter in the hands of one of the rival parties can only exacerbate feeling and provoke disorders. A representative board under official control is the only practicable agency for the production of a fair programme, and it would be unreasonable to neglect those villagers, Arab or Jewish, who cannot pay for their own receivers. A communal receiver is the solution of the problem, and a special rural programme in Hebrew and Arabic at stated hours. The rural Jews will welcome news of agricultural prices and the weather, but the distinction between urban and rural listeners to the Hebrew programme need not be so marked as in the case of Arabic. For the Arab villages the communal receiver will be indispensable.

The Ceylon service, which dates from 1925 and operates under Government guidance, includes vernacular talks to villagers on rural and religious subjects, as well as entertainment. It has attained a certain measure of popularity, but the Ceylon example, though instructive, is not altogether relevant to India, since the area of the island is small and the population less backward. The village receivers, where such exist, have been of the ordinary type, and either owned by prosperous individuals or presented to the community without charge. There has therefore been no attempt

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to make the rural service self-supporting or to install a simplified receiver for the use of simple men.

The Russian Example

The most closely comparable example is that of Soviet Russia, where a sustained course of education and propaganda has been given to peasants and factory workers (rural as well as urban) by means of the communal receiving set. This is erected in a village meeting-house or schoolroom, and is usually connected by wire with a loud-speaker attached to a tree or at other convenient places indoors or in the open air. There are known to have been sixty-seven transmitting stations in Russia two years ago—some as far afield as Tashkent and Khabarovsk—and the Soviet plan for 1932 aimed at establishing 800,000 receiving points in factories and villages. The programme consists of entertainment, information (agricultural and general), and instruction of every kind from the Communist direction. The local language is used wherever possible, and there can be no question that the Soviet authorities have grasped the idea of mass education by radio and are making a very effective use of the instrument.

Geographically, economically, and culturally India bears a resemblance in many respects to Soviet Russia. The Indian area is vast, the standard of living low, illiteracy widespread, and the culture of the rural population takes the form of folklore, religious story, and familiar song. Knowledge is disseminated among adults by word of mouth rather than by literature, though a sharp-tongued class of newspaper is now appealing with increasing effect to the sectarian or racial passions of the people. The influence of the juvenile schools is slow to be felt, and the diligent preaching of reformers, official or unofficial, is still too seldom heard in each village to produce a widespread or permanent effect.

The Indian Broadcasting Service reaches only the townsman, or at most the educated country resident who can afford to buy and keep up a receiver; its programme, moreover, does not interest the peasant. Experiments, on the other hand, carried out in Allahabad, Lucknow, and other universities have proved that

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rural transmission in India is feasible for at least nine months of the year; the municipal service of Madras and its suburbs shows that the illiterate will gladly listen to a suitable programme; while Mr. Brayne in Lahore and Mr. Duncan Smith in Poona have broken new ground by approaching the villager as a different person from the townsman, and trying to discover what will interest him and for how long. Mr. Brayne in 1932 broadcast in the vernacular, with the assistance of the Y.M.C.A., to a dozen villages of Lahore district for two weeks, and found that each item, to be attractive, must be extremely brief—the attention of the peasant is not easily retained for longer than ten minutes on one subject—the local dialect, not an urban educated tongue, should be used, and the matter must, for the most part, be familiar to the hearer in relation to his daily life.

The 1932 test was too short to be in all ways satisfactory, and a further experiment to 500 villages for six months is urgently needed in order to reach firm conclusions. If the peasant at the end of such a period still wishes to listen and has not tired of the novelty, then a rural broadcasting service is likely to be popular and valuable in India for the purpose of education in the broadest sense. It will be worth while to institute and maintain such a service even if the village will not pay for it, but in all probability the village will gladly pay (for the right programme in the right language), and it can be made self-supporting. To reject the idea *a priori* is even now narrow-minded, and will, after a successful and prolonged experiment, be ridiculous.

Transmission

Let us examine the problem first from the transmitting end. There are many objections to the erection of high-powered transmitting stations all over India. They are extremely expensive to install, costing perhaps £50,000 each; also to maintain, since a skilled operator is required for a large plant. Speakers will not always be able to address the people in local dialects, since dialects vary at short distances and there will be several within the range of each large station. Local news, such as interests the peasantry, cannot well be broadcast, since it will concern only a small sec-

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tion of the hearers; and the instruction given by agricultural or other officers cannot be adapted to the needs of each district so readily as when speaking from a station of narrower range.

A large number of low-powered transmitting stations is therefore preferable, and it is important that India should realize this point. A *district* transmitter will cost about £2,000, it can be kept in order by an operator of very moderate attainments, the programme can be delivered in the local dialect of the district, and the educational matter will be related to the circumstances of the district. For a rural and largely illiterate audience this closeness of relation is essential. There is a further advantage in the initial stage, that an experiment on a grand scale is costly, while on a small scale it is cheap; when, too, the experiment has succeeded, the broadcasting system may be gradually extended district by district as funds permit, without upsetting the provincial Budget.

Laboratory trials in India have from time to time secured good reception over long distances; Allahabad, for instance, has been heard in Hyderabad State, and Agra in Bangalore; but reception over such a distance cannot be *relied on* in India, and the experts advising the Indian Village Welfare Association in England recommend that the radius of ordinary transmission be not more than twenty-five miles in every direction. If the voice is irregular and "fades", the Indian peasant will soon refuse to listen or will fail to understand. Whatever is given to him must be clear and easy, and this means a short range of transmission with no "fading." It also means the local dialect. The district will thus in most cases be the convenient working area. If a message of peculiar interest has to be delivered over a wider circle by Government or another body, it can either be relayed from one station to another in the exact form of its original issue, or may be received at the second station, translated (where necessary) into the local dialect, and delivered again. The system of small stations does not preclude the dissemination of a message over a wide area or the whole country, while it does ensure that it reaches the listener in a clear tone and in a dialect which he can immediately understand. It should be remembered in this connection that many rural listeners will be women, who are more puzzled by a

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strange dialect than the men. The local station has thus a peculiar value for Indian women.

District Programmes

The programme of each district will be prepared by a local committee containing representatives of the various communities and of the Government. In India an official control must in the last resort be retained in the interests of the public peace. District Officers, however, are busy men, and will have no desire to cumber themselves with detailed responsibility; if a District Programme Committee can peaceably agree on a programme which will amuse without offending, and edify without being dull, the control will become nominal, and the official members of the committee will occupy themselves with "putting across" to the people the instruction they wish to give. As indicated above, many items of entertainment, some also perhaps of education, will be reproduced from the gramophone, and the bogey of expense is, in the case of a programme for rural India, a very thin wraith and soon dissolved. Peasants do *not*, from day to day, demand first-class artists as a townsman may do; nor do they clamour for variety. On the contrary, they prefer what they know, and they like it twice over; any man who has listened to rural music or seen a rustic buffoonery play will bear me out. It should seldom be necessary to pay any artist at all, except for transport to the studio and possibly a meal or a night's rest. If a performer lives in another district he may perform in the studio of that district; the record will be taken up on the Blattnerphone by the district which requires it and redelivered thence at leisure. The Indian peasant will not insist on hearing a speaker or artist at the exact moment of the speech or performance; he will be quite content with a reproduction of it in the evening, when he is free from work and is accustomed to sit down and listen.

The greatest difficulty and expense will lie in securing a good announcer. The announcer will not, as will many of the speakers, be known to the villagers in the flesh; he has to convey his personality to them on the air, and must really know their dialect and way of thinking. The announcer of an Indian rural pro-

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gramme may well play a larger part than in Europe, talking freely between the items about the previous subject and that which is now to follow, and even interrupting (if necessary) a speaker who is prosy or long-winded. Much, in fact, of the technical instruction may take the form of a discussion between an expert and the announcer, who should be permitted a generous liberty of chaff and disrespect. Nothing amuses a rural audience more than a dialogue between an inconceivably obtuse countryman and an increasingly heated official.

Receiving Sets

The receiving set should, as in Russia, serve the village as a whole. It will always be open to an individual to take out an ordinary licence and buy his own receiver at pleasure, but the small peasant will seldom face such an outlay. At the most, he may pay for a wired extension from the communal receiver to his own house and enjoy the programme at home. I imagine that women will encourage their husbands to grant them this luxury. The communal receiver will be specially designed and will be of a strong and simple type. The apparatus will be entirely enclosed within a robust case, with the exception of a small door (locked by a key) giving access to the switch. The set will be installed in the house of a schoolmaster or headman, who holds the key, and will be connected by wire with a loud-speaker in the schoolroom or village meeting-house. It will be fixed so that it can receive one wave-length only—that of the local district transmitter—and no adjustment will be necessary or possible, except fine tuning for clarity and volume of sound. The fear of unauthorized transmission from within India or outside is easily removed. Each district will use a different wave-length from the immediately adjoining districts in order to avoid mutual interference; an unauthorized transmission can thus only be received in a few scattered districts at a time, and can at once be countered by "buzzing" on the wave-length in question from a central station.

The problem of maintenance is to a great extent solved by a recent invention, the rotary converter. The ordinary receiving

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set contains both a high-tension and a low-tension battery, the former being the more expensive of the two and in tropical countries somewhat unreliable. The rotary converter, the exact nature of which I do not attempt to discuss, is an exterior attachment to the receiving set which renders this H.T. battery unnecessary, and enables the whole work to be done by the cheap and simple L.T. battery, such as is used on a motor-car. It can be recharged at the nearest garage without a visit being paid to the village by a skilled mechanic—two batteries should be allotted to each receiver, one being used while the other is being charged —and only an occasional overhaul of the set, every three or six months, by a wireless electrician will be needed. In small districts the operator of the transmitting station may himself be able to pay these visits during the daytime, returning to headquarters by the evening, when alone the rural service (at least in the earlier years) will function; in large districts with many receivers a touring electrician must be added to the staff, and the larger number of subscriptions and licences will meet the cost of his salary.

Financial Aspects

Until a specimen has been prepared, it is not possible to forecast the precise cost of a communal receiver, and until a full experiment in a number of villages over a period of months has been conducted in one Indian district, it is impossible to work out the exact cost of rural broadcasting. Provisional figures may, however, be suggested. The receiver should, according to the latest estimates, cost £30, or Rs. 400, delivered in the Indian village; free recharging of L.T. batteries, with occasional inspection, is placed at Rs. 30 per annum, to which must be added Rs. 10, the licence fee. The receiver itself may be paid for by instalments; Rs. 80 per annum for seven years will meet the capital cost with interest. The average village has thus to pay Rs. 120 (30 and 10 and 80) per annum for seven years, and thereafter might pay Rs. 60 (30 and 10 and 20) per annum, including the small sum of Rs. 20 towards the eventual purchase of a new receiver. Will the village make this payment, and by what means?

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I myself am convinced that the village will pay. To the larger villages, at least, a sum of Rs. 120 will mean only 4 annas (4d.) from each household; in small villages it may mean 1 rupee (1s. 6d.). Times are hard, and market prices of agricultural produce are low, but village life is dull, and men must have amusement if they are to live at all. The English cinemas have never been so full as in these years of unemployment and distress. I believe too that Indian women will welcome a new interest even more than the men, and will find from some source or other the tiny contribution needed. One rupee or less will provide entertainment and interest for nine months, perhaps a year; a single journey to the town is considerably more expensive. The money may be raised by means of a cess added (by the vote of the village) to the land-revenue, or imposed by a village panchayat where such exists, or subscribed through a co-operative society, a Co-operative Better Living Society, or a new type formed for this specific object. It may be advisable to allow a free trial of a receiving set for a month or two, where a village is doubtful; I do not think the receiver will be surrendered when the period ends. Each year's payment must, of course, be made in advance, or the receiver will be removed. In any case, the real answer to the question as to the willingness of the villager to pay is to stage an experiment and give him the opportunity of doing so, and the great advantage of the system of small transmitting stations is that this can be done without ruinous expense.

To manufacture, install, and maintain 500 receivers for one season of nine months will cost roughly £16,000, or a little over Rs. 2 lakhs. (The same experiment with fifty receivers should cost £2,000.)

We have now to examine the cost of the transmitting station and the burden which will fall on the provincial budget. For one initial experiment a generous offer has been made by the B.B.C. (London) to lend a transmitter without charge to a responsible and approved body; in other cases the district transmitter is estimated at £2,000, and its running cost, including the operator, at £30 (Rs. 400) per mensem, or £360 per annum. Add £200 for depreciation, £50 for interest on the mean capital

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sum (*i.e.*, £2,000 in course of depreciation to nil), and £390 (including announcer) for programme. The latter is in my opinion an extreme figure. We have thus an initial expenditure of £2,000, and an annual charge of £1,000 (or Rs. 13,333). To meet this we may take four-fifths of the licence fees on five hundred receivers (500 × 8 = Rs. 4,000) to be refunded by the Central Government as in the case of the Indian Broadcasting Company, and, say, Rs. 2,000 as four-fifths of the fee (perhaps Rs. 5, or half of the ordinary licence fee) on 500 wired extensions to individual homes. The latter head will, of course, bring in nothing at first, but will certainly be a growing item and should soon average one extension per village. A fee of at least Rs. 10 will presumably be paid by, say, 300 village schools, four-fifths of which is Rs. 2,400. The idea of listening to the radio, moreover, will become familiar to the rural population, and prosperous landowners will buy their own private sets and pay for licences. It is impracticable to estimate the additional income accruing to Government from this source, which will vary from district to district, but the rural service should receive a moral credit for the income received by the general broadcasting budget on this account. We have thus an annual expediture of Rs. 13,333, and an income of Rs. 8,400, leaving a deficit of Rs. 5,000 (minus the moral credit mentioned above) to be borne on account of each district.

One further burden may fairly be laid on the Government, in this case the Central Government. The existing import duty of 50 per cent. on wireless materials will raise the cost of a communal receiver from £30 to more than £40 in the Indian village, and the average annual contribution of the village for the receiver will be Rs. 160 or more instead of Rs. 120. It does not seem unreasonable, in view of the enormous national benefits to be derived from rural education and the improvement of rural life, to ask for the remission of the import duty on specially constructed receiving sets for communal use, if ordered by an approved organization. The fixed wave-length will render such apparatus entirely useless for individual purchasers; there is thus no fear of improper advantage being taken of the exemption by

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merchants. Communal receivers cannot at present be manufactured in India; when this becomes possible, the duty may be reimposed.

Advantages of the Scheme

In conclusion, I ask the reader to dispel from his mind the impression that because the Indian Broadcasting Company proved a failure, and the subsequent Government service from Calcutta and Bombay is working at a loss, therefore the proposed rural service has little prospect of success. The two systems are entirely dissimilar, and no argument can be drawn from one to the other. The I.B.C. appealed to an urban population of comparatively sophisticated persons; it was in competition with urban amusements and excitements, no item of its programme could interest every section of the mixed and polyglot audience, and piracy in large Indian towns is easy. The cost of a private receiver is also a serious matter to the less wealthy urban classes. The transmitting plant was expensive, maintenance expensive, programme expensive; audience limited, heterogeneous, and critical. A network of small district transmitters, on the other hand, will be cheap to install and maintain, the audience will be homogeneous in dialect and temper, the programme consequently local and free from complications. Piracy in a village, where every man's doings are known and every man has an enemy, is impossible.

The communal receiver will require no advanced skill of management, and only a minute annual subscription will be levied on each household. The system will nearly pay its way from the first, and after a few years, as more villages join in and more individuals take out licences for extensions from the communal receiver or for private sets, it will be entirely self-supporting. But it is not necessary to commit oneself to a vast network of stations in the beginning; the liability can be limited by undertaking in each province an experiment in a single district, and extending it gradually to new areas with such amendments as experience shows to be desirable. Is this too much to ask of a progressive Government?

I have not dealt with urban broadcasting or the urban programme, but would not be supposed to underrate its importance.

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It would in my opinion be a grave mistake to attempt a *combined* programme for town and country; the result will be an irresistible urbanization of the rural programme, which will then cease to interest the villager. The urban and rural programme, if delivered from the same transmitter, should be allotted to different hours; the rural population (apart from schools) will be content with two or at most three hours in the evening, immediately after sunset. The towns may take the remainder of the day and night. But I prefer a separate transmitter for the rural programme, and a different wave-length. If the countryman is to pay—in Russia his receiver is entirely free—let him have a congenial radio diet in a congenial dialect and with a rural spirit.

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A JOINT meeting of the East India Association and the Indian Village Welfare Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, October 16, 1933, when a paper entitled "Broadcasting in the Indian Village" was read by Mr. C. F. Strickland, C.I.E., I.C.S. (ret.). The Right Hon. J. H. Whitley was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

Mrs. Whitley, Sir John Kerr, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir John Thompson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Akbar Hydari, Sir Montagu Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Reginald Glancy, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir John Maynard, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Colonel Sir Richard Needham, C.I.E., D.S.I., Sir W. Ross Barker, K.C.I.E., C.B., and Lady Barker, Lady Abbas Ali Baig, Lady Pinhey, Lady Hartog, Lady Odgers, Mr. F. W. Woods, C.I.E., Mr. F. G. Pratt, C.S.I., Mr. S. L. Maddox, C.S.I., Mr. M. S. A. Hydari, Mr. A. H. Joyce, Mr. C. S. Subramayer, Mr F. J. P. Richter, Mr. V. A. M. Bulow, Lieut.-Colonel H. A. Hardinge, Mr. G. S. Ingram and Miss Ingram, Miss Cornelia Sorabji, K.-i-H., Mr. R. W. Brock, Colonel W. G. Hamilton, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. John Ross, I.S.O., Mr. C. P. Caspersz, Mr. and Mrs. R. M. Gray, Miss M. Sorabji, Miss E. L. Curteis, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mrs. Damry, Miss T. Gray, Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Lindsay, Professor B. R. Deodhar, Miss L. Gunter, Mrs. Harcourt, Swami B. H. Bon, Rev. R. Burges, Miss D. Price, Mr. E. J. Jacob, Rev. Dr. W. Stanton, Mrs. Lorimer, Mr. S. L. Piplani, Mr. C. W. Waddington, Miss Pim, Miss Leatherdale, Mrs. Alec Tweedie, Mrs. Yale, Mrs. Barker, Miss Speechley, Mrs. R. W. Frazer and Miss Frazer, Miss Cole, Miss Arnold, Mr. A. Greece, Mr. W. Johnston, M.C., Mr. Vincent Alford, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: We are fortunate in having with us Mr. Strickland to speak on a subject which he has made his own, and in which I think we may all regard him as a pioneer.

To any friend of India Mr. Strickland's name must be familiar. His work for the co-operatives stands out amongst the pieces of social work in India in the last twenty years, and he has added to that—which gave him an intimate knowledge of village life and village needs in India—an experience of similar communities in other countries. In Malaya and in Palestine he has studied on Committees or Commissions or as a sole Commissioner the economic conditions of village life. Mr. Strickland is a pioneer, and with the enthusiasm that goes along with pioneering is one of the greatest friends of India. If listening to him and the subsequent discussion to-day can help forward the movement he has so much at heart, we shall all be rewarded for having been here.

(The lecture was then delivered.)

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The CHAIRMAN: I think you will agree with me that we have listened to a most extraordinarily interesting and stimulating speech. I imagine I was asked to take the chair for Mr. Strickland for two reasons: First, that I happen to be the Chairman of the B.B.C. at home; and, second, that I have some little knowledge of Mr. Strickland's subject, due to my service with the recent Royal Commission on Labour in India. I am intensely interested in this problem of village India, because, although my Commission was limited to industries and plantations, we were necessarily closely concerned with the conditions of life in the villages, whence the urban industries draw the great proportion of their workers.

I would like to say that I agree entirely with Mr. Strickland in his main proposition. I take it to be this, that there is something essentially different between the village service as he envisages it and the more general and more widely dispersed service as from a powerful transmitting station. There, I think, he is quite right. I am not quite sure that the two need be wholly dissociated, but I do support him most strongly in the idea that the service for the villages should be almost entirely independent.

I agree too with him that once the experiment is tried there will be a very great response from the villages of India. I would like the discussion to follow the line as far as possible of how practically to get the next move on. Whether by pressure on Government or otherwise, something should be got going, because time slips away quickly, and we do not want India to be left behind other countries in an advantage of this kind.

Supposing some great friend of India were to come forward, having appreciated the importance and the value of this subject, and say, "I myself will vouch for an experiment in a single Indian district, covering, say, 500 villages, for the first twelve months," I believe that benefactor would be doing more for India by that than if he were to found half a dozen universities in the cities. His name would live in India for generations to come as the giver of the best gift that India had received.

I voice that pious hope, knowing something of the slowness with which governments move; but I do so from the profound belief that before another twelve months had gone, the clamour from other districts to give them the same thing would be so strong that no Government, Central or Provincial, in India could resist it. Therefore the future of broadcasting in India would be based not only on the need, but on an actual claim of the village people in India to share in this great boon of modern science.

I wonder if there are any readers in this audience of a journal that the B.B.C. publishes called *World Radio*. If not, and you pass a bookstall at which you can buy the current copy, published last Friday, please do so. You will find in that two most delightful accounts of forest officers in India who have equipped themselves with listening sets and who have tuned in to our new Empire service, not for themselves alone, but gathering round them all the available people in their neighbourhood. Although the programme was in English, still the music and even the understandable speech coming out of this mysterious box was something they had never experienced before. All our experience so far—and it does not yet cover more than nine months—with the British Empire service goes to show that it is not only

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the British people who are enjoying that service. That is merely a slight bit of evidence as to what might be expected when a village service gets going in India.

Mr. Strickland has put before us some rather elaborate calculations as to the cost of such a service. If it were provided as an entirely free service, I give my opinion for what it is worth, that it would be a 100 per cent. investment to the Government and to the Province. As compared with certain other expenditure on police and military, which it would tend substantially to reduce by the greater contentment of the people, I believe that every penny of it would be saved to the Province or to the nation as a whole.

Just one other point, and that is with regard to the import duties in India. Is it not rather iniquitous that, in addition to a Rs. 10 (equivalent to 15s.) licence fee, there should be a 50 per cent. import duty on listening sets and component parts of listening sets? I think that is really too bad. It is killing the business at the start. The Government should maintain a licence fee, but make free the import of receiving sets. It is a great handicap in the interests of India herself to maintain a tax of that kind.

I know the good work that is being done by the Indian Village Welfare Association in this direction. That is sufficiently typified by what we have heard from Mr. Strickland. Is it possible to have a corresponding Committee in India working on the same lines, bringing pressure on local communities, whether legislative or otherwise, but working parallel with the Committee at home in order to give opportunity to go ahead as quickly as possible?

Now I am glad to be able to call upon Sir Akbar Hydari, the Finance Minister of Hyderabad, who will open the discussion.

Sir Akbar Hydari: I am very glad to have this opportunity of testifying personally to the faith that is in me with regard to the immense potentialities of broadcasting and the wireless in the solution of the problems of rural India.

Having known Mr. Strickland's work, and the imagination that he has brought to bear on it, I decided this afternoon to slip away from a meeting [of the Joint Select Committee] in another place, where duty probably required me, to this gathering. And I am really not sorry for it, because I feel that we all, who are at present engaged in trying to construct a Constitution for India, must really address ourselves very seriously to the problem of the education of the villager. For the solution of that problem, to my mind, the broadcasting by wireless is the most important, most efficient and quickest instrument.

We hear a great deal about the necessity of universal primary education in India. I think that what is necessary is to have universal adult education, so that we may not wait till the children who are being taught in the schools have grown up, but that we have immediately a class of people who are properly educated in the true sense to discharge their duties, whether in the towns or in the villages.

I was so struck with the possibilities of wireless that two years ago, greatly daring, I did submit to my Government a proposal for spending a con-

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siderable portion—though, relatively speaking, a very small amount—of the educational budget thereon; because, Mr. Chairman, I share your view that expenditure on wireless is legitimate without requiring any return in the shape of fees. It is as legitimate as expenditure on the foundation of more primary schools or secondary schools, where you do not see whether the particular school pays you back in fees or not. (Applause.)

At that time I was so struck by the necessity of immediately starting this work before other agencies did it for their own purposes—perhaps the introduction of ideas which did not conform at least to my ideas of good government—that I thought that this was a question which must be taken up immediately in right earnest. It was only the fact that I have been so often called away to this country that has prevented my trying to get my proposals being given effect to. But let me assure you that when I get back I propose to have broadcasting taken up in right earnest and constituted into a definite department of government. (Applause.) I feel that it is only in that way that I shall be able to get the people, at any rate of my State, properly in touch with whatever is going on, whether with regard to the improvement of their crops, or the conservation of their health, or the proper utilization of their leisure after their day's work in the fields.

I am very glad that Mr. Strickland has to-day given practical ideas as to what would be the cost of a scheme like this. Why, one or two lakhs or five lakhs in a State of fifteen districts to spend on work of this kind is nothing. I do not think you need wait for a public benefactor : it is the duty of States like mine to go forward and make this experiment. (Applause.)

Mr. Strickland has referred to the fact that many people feel that we are too backward to have an institution of this kind. The more backward a country is, the more you require an agency of this kind to reach your backward classes and to make them more educated in the right sense of the term. I feel that Mr. Strickland has done a great service to all in showing how with a comparatively small amount of expenditure work of this fundamental importance to the Indian administrator can be carried on.

Mr. J. H. Lindsay : I have very little to add to the very clear and striking paper that Mr. Strickland has given to us. I have been interested in this question, especially in regard to education, and in 1927 I was asked by the Indian Broadcasting Company to link up broadcasting with all the schools. But I felt at that time there was not in existence a receiving set that could be kept in order by the local people in the schools. A year later I was present at the British Association meeting, where an account was given of the reception of broadcasting in the schools of the county of Kent, and there it was admitted that they had had continual difficulties, so I felt I had been justified in saying no at that time.

If, however, a receiving set can be made foolproof, and it can be so simple as has just been described, there is nothing in the way of making a start with an experiment such as Mr. Strickland has put forward. We are to have an experiment in the North-West Frontier Province. I am rather afraid of it. If one could ensure that in that Province the real village talk would be employed, one would be very much happier about it, but it is often

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a difficult matter to get this. I myself had been working in Western Bengal and later was sent to Eastern Bengal. When I tried to talk to the people of Eastern Bengal in the vernacular, they apologized, saying they did not understand English! The vernacular varies from district to district. Another point I regret in this Frontier Province experiment is that there is no talk of fun. It is all instruction and information. It is essential that broadcasting should be amusing. As Mr. Brayne has found out, you cannot listen to instruction for more than ten minutes at a time. But you can put on amusement. The Indian village is dull, and the villager will pay almost anything for a show that will amuse him at night-time.

One difficulty is how to ensure that the people are there at the time. The people have no watches. I do not know whether you could have a buzzer or send someone round with a drum about half an hour ahead. That, I think, is a difficulty that would occur in Bengal, but I am sure it could be overcome.

Professor B. R. Deodar (Principal, School of Music, Bombay): I am in full agreement with the excellent scheme suggested by Mr. Strickland. The villagers in India do need amusement and instruction, and broadcasting would certainly supply both if carried out on the lines he has suggested. As an artiste of the Bombay Broadcasting Station I have been in close touch with its directors for some years past. I will therefore set out in the light of my own personal experience the chief causes of the present failure of the broadcasting system.

At present the Bombay amusement programme is given for about three hours every day in the evening. Half of it is Indian and half European. The monthly allowance available for these programmes is, if I remember correctly, Rs. 3,000—about £245. It works out at Rs. 100, or £7 10s., a day. Leaving aside at least half of it for the European programme, the Indian programme has to be bought for about £3 15s. per day. It is obvious therefore that the management cannot possibly engage really good Indian artistes, who would not work for such a small sum. And the listeners send shoals of complaints about the quality of the programme when a poor artiste is engaged to give it. I am aware that sometimes the management gets over this difficulty by engaging one good artiste for the whole evening. But such an arrangement provides for no variety, and the subscribers complain that the programme is too long and monotonous.

The present management are undoubtedly trying their level best to cater to the tastes of subscribers, following different religions, by engaging experts in each to preach on their respective holy days. I am glad to say that these efforts have been very much appreciated.

It is a truism to say that vigorous and widespread propaganda is always required to popularize any great innovations. But the company which began to give radio programmes in India—before it was recently taken over by the Government—paid no attention whatever to this side of the question. No wonder then that the masses of the village people, and even the majority of the city population, have not yet understood the very elements of radio broadcasting. How can you then expect them to avail themselves of an

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educational and artistic facility which remains thoroughly incomprehensible to their minds?

I have seen some well-known artiste mistaking broadcasting for gramophone records in a big city like Bombay. A famous *been* player who had been residing in Bombay for about five years was persuaded by me, with great difficulty, to play one evening before the microphone. After entering the studio he refused to play in an empty hall. He demanded an audience. Finally, he did play after a small band of listeners was placed at his disposal. Then he refused to leave the studio after the programme was finished and insisted on hearing the reproduction of his performance, which he thought had been recorded on a gramophone plate.

I venture to make one or two suggestions with regard to the scheme so ably placed before us by Mr. Strickland. I would suggest in the first instance that, whilst Government should undoubtedly take the initiative in the matter, they must secure the co-operation of the district local boards in the administration of the new project. The elected representatives of the people would thus be brought in day-to-day association with the detailed questions regarding the quality and contents of the programme, which, as Mr. Strickland rightly insists, must be formulated according to local requirements in different areas. Besides, such local authorities could always tender their advice regarding the most efficacious method of collecting the financial quota from the village people.

Mr. Strickland suggests that the village subscription "may be raised by means of a cess added (by the vote of the village) to the land revenue, or imposed by a village panchayat, where such exists, or through a co-operative society." May I humbly suggest that the village quota should not be collected in any manner whatever that might savour of an additional compulsory tax? Even the slightest suggestion of any addition to the land revenue would be seriously resented under present circumstances by the village folk, and would render the whole scheme unpopular in advance in the rural areas. Co-operation again has not so far progressed in the large majority of districts so as to enable co-operative societies to pay the whole quota from its reserve funds. I would therefore suggest that the best method of collecting the village quota should be left to the decision of a small village committee, which would be readily elected by the people so soon as the full advantages of the ratio broadcasts are brought home to them.

Government in association with the local authorities should send young enthusiastic propagandists armed with good receiving sets to distant villages and prove to the people the benefits of broadcasting. Then I feel sure that the village people would be most enthusiastically interested with the new project and would readily contribute their small share towards the costs of their receiving sets.

Colonel HARDINGE: I am very glad to be able to say a few words in support of Mr. Strickland's most excellent address and the remarks that followed. What I say is going to touch on the technical aspect. I am not going to be too technical, but I do feel that some of the things that are known to-day will very greatly facilitate the objects that Mr. Strickland has

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been speaking about. The whole point is this, I think: that the ordinary man-in-the-street looks upon a wireless set—and rightly in most cases—as something with a lot of "knobs on" that have to be twisted and a lot of dry batteries that run down and have to be replaced; and that it is anything but a suitable thing to be put in charge of an Indian in a village.

But the fact is that within the last two years or so there have been certain technical developments—discoveries—which have made it possible to produce a completely different type of receiving set from what most of you imagine possible. I see a few technical people in the room. I think they will know what I am driving at.

Imagine a set which will simply look like a box; no knobs. The village schoolmaster or headman will simply have to turn a switch on before the programme starts, and switch it off when the programme is finished. There will be nothing else for him to do. Unless it is flung on the floor, there will be no reason why it should go out of order. The way it is done is this. Many of you know that we now have receivers which you plug in to the electric system. They derive the necessary power from the distant power station which is also supplying your electric light. In this village receiver we are going to have for India, we are going to put a little power station inside the receiver. That is not strictly correct technically, but it is near enough. This means that instead of having a lot of dry batteries, you will have your own little power station inside your receiver, and you will only have to turn a switch on. That little power station is called the rotary convertor, and it will be driven by a low-tension battery of the robust type used on motor-cars. As regards keeping it in order, the rotary convertor is an extraordinarily fine bit of work, comparable with the magneto on a motor-car. You know how that stands a lot of bad treatment and goes on month after month without any attention. The rotary convertor is something not so very dissimilar to that. It will function month after month without any attention whatever, like the machine inside a Hoover vacuum cleaner or anything of that sort. The engineers will install the receiver in the village—probably screw it up inside the schoolmaster's or headman's house—then tune it in to the local station; and they will then lock it. That leaves only the switch outside available to the schoolmaster. There is a socket on the battery box, into which is inserted a plug connected to the receiver, and the plug is so made that it cannot be put in the wrong way round. The schoolmaster will have a new battery sent out to him in a bullock cart or any convenient way. He will receive the battery, put it down alongside his set, pull the plug out of the socket on the exhausted battery, plug into the fresh battery, and send the old battery back to the charging station.

The proof of the pudding is in the eating. A leading wireless firm in this country with considerable Indian experience has designed and is now making that particular set, and I have a firm official tender from that company to supply these receivers if desired and to equip either one station or a whole Province. As a matter of fact, the tender I have is to cover an area of 15,000 square miles, almost equal to that of a civil district. I am not canvassing. I am just telling you facts.

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I gave this firm a hypothetical case of 15,000 square miles. I said: "How do you propose to cover that by a rural service which will also enable us to give a simultaneous broadcast from a central point?" They put up to me a proposition which includes eleven small transmitters working on the ordinary broadcasting wave band, serving eleven subdivisions of the total area. I said: "Give us 100 sets per unit area"—that is, a total of 1,100 receiving sets to work from these eleven local transmitters. At each of these eleven local headquarters they are prepared to put in, besides, a high-quality short-wave receiver, and at the centre of the Province there will be a short-wave transmitter to serve as a trunk system, linking up the eleven local areas. That means that, if at the centre of the Province somebody wants to talk to all the 1,100 villages, his speech goes out on the short-wave to the eleven local centres, and automatically is transferred across to the local transmitters, whence it goes on medium-wave to the 1,100 villages. At the same time, each local centre has its own little studio from which to carry on the good work explained by Mr. Strickland.

The cost of all that as a firm tender is just over £43,000—for those eleven local transmitters, one trunk transmitter, and all the equipment for the eleven stations, right away down to the gramophone reproducing apparatus, and the complete receiving equipment for 1,100 villages. Each village is to have a receiver, one loud speaker, and two batteries. The whole of that is included in £43,000. The system covers 15,000 square miles.

One large high-power transmitter similar to that to be used in Cairo would cost £25,000. I think I am right in saying it would not cover that area of 15,000 square miles so well, and, of course, that is without taking into account any receivers, which are included in the £43,000. Those figures are f.o.b. London. You have to add on duty and so on.

As to the range of broadcasting stations working on the normal broadcasting wave band, people are far too prone to think in terms of hundreds or even thousands of miles, whereas they should not think in terms of even a hundred miles. I believe Mr. Bulow of the B.B.C. will confirm what I say when I tell you that the London National and Regional Stations, which are heard all over Europe and even further away in the East when atmospheric conditions are favourable, are reckoned to have a "service"—that is to say, at all times reliable—range of about 60 miles only.

Mr. BULOW: Yes, 60 to 70.

Col. HARDINGE: That is the range at which they undertake to "get through" in all but entirely abnormal circumstances. When you are on short waves it is a different matter, but short-wave is not suitable for this Indian rural system. The tuning of short-wave receivers is very critical, and you could not satisfactorily use a "fixed short-wave" receiver. They are entirely unsuitable for that reason alone.

The maintenance cost of the special village receivers is extraordinarily low. I am going out to India at the beginning of December with demonstration receivers to show people that it can be done; to say, "There are 'the goods'—put it in the village and see for yourself." It is easy to show that within

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five, or six, or seven years—something of that order—a district service could clear all the capital and maintenance cost and become revenue-producing. That is perfectly feasible owing to the fact that this new receiver is not expensive, is extremely cheap to run, and remarkably "trouble-free." This is due to the whole of the conditions having changed in the last few years. I would have said only a few years ago that it was not possible to create a rural broadcasting service in India, but now it has become possible. I have an arrangement with the authorities in Egypt to put a set in there on test on the way out, and I think Egypt is going to prove an object lesson to India.

May I suggest one little thing about the duty. I think perhaps we might try to get Government to consider reducing the extremely high duty on the communal receivers; just keep it to that—I think that would be reasonable.

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to have continued this discussion, and particularly to have heard Mr. Bulow, but I am afraid we must now stop.

Mr. STRICKLAND: I agree with the suggestion made by Colonel Hardinge, that we should try for a reduction of duties on the communal receiver for village use.

Mr. Whitley suggested the setting up of a committee in India corresponding to the Indian Village Welfare Association. That seems to me extremely difficult, because the broadcasting system must be installed by the Provinces and States, and I do not think an All-India Committee is likely to be regarded with favour. If we were to suggest that such a committee should be created, we would be deluged with applications from bodies that already exist but have not quite the importance that they would like to have.

I agree with the remark made by Sir Akbar Hydari; we cannot wait for the schools to tackle the problem of education. Carry on with the schools, but you have to supplement them.

On a point raised by Mr. Deodar, my idea is that a special co-operative society shall be formed to run the raising of the levy for the communal receiver, not that the credit society shall meet the cost. Again, he would like to have the district local board controlling the system. Would you like to have the London County Council doing so in London? I do not think it would do. You must have a special committee of people selected for the purpose.

Mr. Deodar did not suggest how the local village committee that he had in mind was going to raise the money, though he apparently discarded my three methods. I think he is putting a hard problem to his village committee.

Sir JOHN KERR: I am sure you will wish to pass a very hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Strickland for the interesting and valuable paper that he has read to us. Mr. Strickland has, I think, shown that the technical difficulties and the financial difficulties in the way of broadcasting in the Indian villages can be set aside. They are not serious and can be got over.

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He has also, I think, reassured us to a large extent on another point which has always troubled me when I have thought of broadcasting to Indian villagers at the end of the day, when they are all tired out, and when it is very hard to hold their attention. It was my duty as Chief Secretary in Bengal for about five years to take Governors round, and the difficulties those eminent statesmen from England had in holding the attention of Indian audiences was appalling. You could always see here and there heads beginning to nod, and I well remember one hot day in July when the greater part of the audience was sound asleep long before the Governor had come to the end of his address.

But we have had Mr. Strickland here, and he has shown us, I think, what an announcer can do in the way of holding the attention of his audience. Even at the lectures of this Association I have seen people occasionally nod and let their attention wander, but there was nothing of the sort to-night. Mr. Strickland knows how to hold the attention of his audience, and, as he says, we will have to get announcers who are capable of doing the same thing. It is not impossible. Even the I.C.S. could produce a Strickland, a slightly insubordinate officer with a dynamic personality and not easy to fit into a cadre, but a man who has now found his métier by preaching village reorganization in many lands. We have to thank Mr. Strickland for putting this very practical and concrete scheme before us to-night.

We also wish to thank you, sir, for your great kindness in coming here and presiding over this meeting. The B.B.C. will play an important part in the development of broadcasting in India, in the way of advice and help in many directions, and we are grateful to you for showing your practical interest in the subject by coming here to-night. (Applause.)

Mr. V. A. M. Bulow (First Chief Engineer, Indian Broadcasting Company) writes:

"Mr. Strickland says the stations of the Indian Broadcasting Service are working at a loss, but I am happy to state that it was announced at the sixth anniversary of the Calcutta station, on August 28 last, that, for the first time since its inception, broadcasting shows this year a small profit. This statement was published in the *Statesman* of August 29. It is stated in the paper that Egypt is installing a 25,000 k.w. transmitter in Cairo. This is obviously a mistake. The correct power is, I believe, 25 k.w.—*i.e.*, 25,000 *watts*.

"I am, in the main, in complete agreement with Mr. Strickland's proposals. They follow very closely suggestions which were put before the Indian Village Welfare Association at the end of last year. One new feature is the proposed connection of individual listeners to the communal receiver so that they may listen to a loud-speaker in their own homes. This is not possible without increasing the output power of the communal receiver, which, in turn, will put up the cost. In my opinion it will be better not to combine rediffusion with communal listening. Should there be a demand for the former, it had better be met by a separate and more costly installation.

"It will be most important to insist on really first-class reproduction from the communal loud-speaker, as otherwise the experiment must inevitably fail.

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"I have gone carefully through *The Balochi Language* and compared it with *The Balochinama*. There is really no comparison between the two works. . . . I like the method of marking the essential parts. The idea of running through the book before settling down to it is sound. The foreword is good, and contains some excellent advice. I only wish the book had been out eight years ago, and that there had been one similar to it on Urdu. I should have learnt the language quicker, and should certainly know more about it than I do now. . . . A creditable work."

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Therefore it will be false economy to attempt to get results from too cheap receiving equipment. Sound organization and standardization of apparatus will be a *sine qua non*.

"Turning now from the more technical aspect of the matter, which is not of very great interest to these Associations, I think it is agreed that India's need of broadcasting is greater than that of other lands, and she has more to gain by broadcasting than the majority of nations. The crux of the matter is to educate her to the need and to the serious loss she is suffering and the tremendous handicap she is putting on herself by her neglect of broadcasting. The power of broadcasting as an aid to government in the coming decade or two would be incalculable, and not to utilize it will be a crime.

"Because of India's present relations to the British Empire and the particular stage of development her peoples have reached, broadcasting is a greater necessity and will prove a greater boon than those other great amenities of Western civilization, such as railways, posts and telegraphs, which we have introduced. It cannot be left to commercial enterprise, nor approached by the Government as an experiment. It is a task that must be treated as of the utmost urgency and carried out effectively. There will be difficulties in the accomplishment, but they are not to be compared with the shoals of difficulties the enterprise will obviate in the future government of India.

"In the introductory phase a great deal will depend on suitable announcers. Indians are more than fond of discussion and controversy, and the method of debating at the microphone and showing both sides of the question has a great future before it in India. Too much is made of the poverty of the people. Granted that a large proportion of India's millions are too poor to become individual licence holders, there is a sufficient population left to furnish millions of individual licences, provided they considered broadcasting worth it. Even the poorest make liberal use of the services already in existence—viz., the railway, motor, postal and telegraph services. Railway travelling is not confined to the wealthier classes. Even the coolie manages to find the fare for long journeys, and hesitates less to send a telegram than his working-class brother in the West. A computation of the amount spent annually on these modern amenities by the poorer classes would disprove the ever-repeated contention that the masses are too poor to pay for another amenity.

"The great need is to find the money to pay for the transmitter, etc., in the first instance. As I have said elsewhere,* finance should not be a stumbling-block, for if the great irrigation schemes can be financed because the need of them is seen, why not also the much less costly broadcasting scheme, when its much greater need comes to be realized?"

The Rev. Dr. H. U. W. STANTON, in a letter to *The Times* of October 16, writes: "The proposals for broadcasting in Indian villages, discussed by the East India Association and reported in your issue of the 11th, scarcely seem to have received the attention which they deserve, for they raise a question

* *World Radio*, October 28, 1932; "Broadcasting and India's Future," p. 964.

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of the first magnitude in the great changes now taking place in India. We expect that some tens of millions of new voters will soon be enfranchised. The mass of them will be villagers, and an appreciable proportion women. They are mainly illiterate, but by no means unintelligent. They will be invested with a responsibility scarcely paralleled in history, for on a right use of this new power will depend the welfare and progress of hundreds of millions. If we feel it right to hand over to them such a burden, surely we are bound to use every possible means to help them to bear it. For Britain to fail in this would be to fail in her greatest trust.

"The carefully reasoned scheme put forward by Mr. C. F. Strickland suggests a practical step towards the solution of a complex problem. By means of a well-devised scheme of broadcasting it should be possible to put authentic news and social and economic information, not without a spice of entertainment, all in the local vernacular, within the reach of villagers—both men and women—throughout India. Here would be a basis for a reasoned appeal to the rural voter and for an intelligent response on his part. This test process for democracy should not be left without the needed appliances.

"A task so urgent, so complex, and so promising demands a high place among the safeguards now being debated in connexion with the White Paper. Able and enthusiastic pioneers have done a priceless work. Is it not time for those in authority to give the matter definite support and systematic treatment? The discussion in the East India Association meeting showed that leaders, both Indian and British, are in favour of action, and those who have lived among Indian villagers can understand the hopefulness of the opening."

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THE FUTURE OF THE ANGLO-INDIAN COMMUNITY*

By Sir Henry Gidney

The subject of my paper is the future of the Anglo-Indian community in the new India, and with the Anglo-Indian community I couple the Domiciled European community, for our economic status and our interests are alike. It will be granted that the only criterion for the future is the past, and the only glasses through which one can visualize the future is the present, and so I shall briefly refer to the past history of the community whose interests I have been representing as a delegate to the Joint Parliamentary Committee.

It is because of the ignorance in England as to who the Anglo-Indian community really is that I shall first of all briefly deal with the meaning of the word "Anglo-Indian." I do so because, unless this is correctly understood, there is a great danger of the whole Anglo-Indian cause being misunderstood and ignored by the general public in England.

Until the year 1911 the European who went out to India for temporary residence, either in trade or commerce, and Europeans who had a domicile or a permanent residence in India, were called "Anglo-Indians." It was, however, in that year, during Lord Hardinge's régime as Viceroy (and to whom the community owes a deep debt of gratitude) that the name "Eurasian," by which the mixed community had hitherto been known, was altered to "Anglo-Indian," and, as a result of this, the European ceased to be called an Anglo-Indian, but called himself a European. If he is in India for temporary purposes he is today called a "non-domiciled European"; if permanently resident he is known as a "domiciled European." However, in ordinary parlance Anglo-Indians and the domiciled Europeans are today called the "domiciled community" in India and, for economic purposes, both these communities are, by the Indian Councils Act of 1870 (33 Vict., Ch. III.), called "natives of India by statute."

There is no doubt that the European and the Anglo-Indian communities who are closely connected by blood and other ties and between whom, in pre-Reform days, very few differences existed and were practised, have, even today, many points of common interest in India—*e.g.*, language, religion, manners,

* Based on an address at a discussion meeting of members of the East India Association on October 13, 1933.

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customs, political views, education, administration, defence, etc.—but, since the introduction of the Reforms, differences, mainly economic in nature, have necessarily crept in and developed between these two communities, the aftermath of the Indianization of the Services; and it was to combat our exclusion from these Services and to protect the economic interests of the Anglo-Indian and the domiciled European communities that the 1870 Indian Councils Act was passed by the British Parliament, giving these two communities equal economic status and claims with all other Indian communities in India. This status was, therefore, meant to be the economic salvation of the community, especially today, with Indianization of the Services being expedited so rapidly and the fact that most Indians look upon the Anglo-Indian as being as much an alien to India, for economic purposes, as the European. There is also the unfortunate fact that he has, hitherto, always been economically dependent on Government employment for his existence.

Vitally necessary as these communal differences appear today, especially for economic protection, it is my fervent hope that the day is not far distant when every European and Anglo-Indian will, as the latter freely does in other Colonies, be proud to call himself a "Citizen of India," for it will be only then that all communal differences will cease to exist, that the cursed colour question in India will disappear and give birth to a common nationhood and a true spirit of nationalism in which alone India can advance for the benefit of Indians, Europeans, and Anglo-Indians alike.

Let me now briefly refer to the past history of the community, for this is our greatest asset in our claim for special protection by the British nation. Those who are familiar with the past and present history of India will agree with me that the history of the community forms one of the brightest and at the same time one of the most tragic pages in the history of the British Empire. It is the brightest in regard to its record of untarnished loyalty and patriotism and its devotion to duty to King and Empire, no matter when the call was made, and in its services in the establishment of British rule and administration in India and its revenues. It is the saddest in that, notwithstanding these services, it finds itself today—the result of political and administrative changes in India and the demands of more powerful and clamant communities—in the uneviable position of being crushed out of existence by deprivation of employment, between the upper millstone of official expediency and policy and the nether millstone of Indianization of the Services. Today, it is the "not wanted" of both the European and the Indian. Its economic position is unprotected and uncertain, and its future is becoming increasingly

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perilous, to the extent that it is being deprived of the right to live in India, the country it has served so steadfastly and so well, and the community is being used by Government as its common sacrifice on the altar of political expediency, in its efforts to satisfy the demands of other more powerful communities and so secure their support in the administration.

A reference to the pages of Indian history will disclose the great and abiding part the Anglo-Indian community has played ever since the British occupation of India; indeed, these records scintillate with acts of devotion, heroism, and patriotism of members of the community. The official records of the pre-Mutiny period—*i.e.*, during the Mysore, Mahratta, Sikh, and other wars—reveal the almost forgotten services performed by the community throughout this period. During the Mutiny, our services were invaluable, for it was Brendish, the Anglo-Indian telegraphist, who, after his colleagues had been killed by the mutineers, displayed the greatest presence of mind and courage and succeeded in sending that memorable message across the wires to Umballa which saved the Punjab. Hearsay saved Calcutta; Forgett saved Bombay; the Martinière College boys saved the Lucknow Residency; the Madras Fusiliers, among whom were many Anglo-Indians, covered themselves with glory. The Anglo-Indian Bengal Yeomanry saved the Britishers who were surrounded by mutineers at Arrah; indeed, the military annals of the British occupation of India abound with Anglo-Indian names known to fame, and their glorious deeds are writ indelibly on the pages of Indian history—*e.g.*, Skinner, Hearsay, Rivett-Carnac, and Foster, to mention but a few. During the Great War it was Lieutenant Robinson, V.C., a member of the domiciled community, who brought down the first German Zeppelin in England, and Lieutenant Warneford, V.C., another member of the community, who brought down the first German Zeppelin in France; indeed, there is no lack of evidence to establish the claim that during the dark and stormy days of the Mutiny and before that period, when England was beset with enemies, it was the descendants of the pioneer Englishman—the Anglo-Indian community—who remained steadfast and loyal and who helped England to retain India. The part played by us during the Mutiny can best be illustrated by the appeal made by the then Metropolitan of India, Bishop Cotton, in his sermon in St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta, on July 28, 1860, when he said that "public thanksgiving to Almighty God for deliverance from the Sepoy revolt should take expression in the form of schools for the children of the community, that has stood so nobly by England in her hour of need and which shed its blood for kinsmen across the seas."

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Then if we turn our attention to the more recent Burma and frontier wars and the history and development of Upper Burma, we shall recognize the great and abiding services the Anglo-Indian community rendered to England.

Let me now refer to the present services rendered by this community. The descendants of the early British pioneers stood by their side when they were defending their then small possessions behind mud walls, and were establishing the nucleus of British trade and commerce as we see it flourishing today in India, and from that time till today the community has been closely allied with its British forebears in the establishment and development of the trade and commerce of India, adopting their customs, religion, language, and traditions, which still form their main characteristics today.

Let me mention three of the more important public Services in India, in which we have played an outstanding part. I refer to the Railways, Telegraphs, and Customs. It would be no exaggeration for me to say that it was the Anglo-Indian who helped the pioneer Britisher to lay the first sleepers of that great system of railway administration as we see it functioning today, and I make bold to state that were it not for our help the railways would not be in such a prosperous position as they are today. From then till today we have stood loyally by the side of the Government, and it is to us that the Government has always looked to quell railway strikes and disturbances, and never once have we failed in our duty. I confidently appeal to history to support this claim.

The Telegraph Department is one of the wonders of India today, and if anyone studied the development of that department he would realize the great services rendered by the community from the time when but a few hundred miles of telegraph wires were the means of communication in the whole of India, until today when there are hundreds of thousands of miles of telegraph wires; indeed, it can truly be said that the Anglo-Indian helped to erect the first telegraph poles, which needed the clearing of jungles, at a time when there were no social amenities and workmen were exposed to the ravages of famine, not to mention smallpox, cholera, and other such diseases. Ask any Director-General of this great department and he will not deny the great services the community has played, particularly in the engineering branch of the Telegraph Department.

Then take the Customs Service. It was but a few years ago that the Preventive and Appraisers Branch of this department was entirely manned by Anglo-Indians. From small beginnings, this department today supplies to the Government of India an annual revenue of 30 crores of rupees. I am sure no one will deny that the community has played a great part in the development of the

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Customs of India, especially the Preventive Branch, nor fail to testify to its honest and faithful services, especially at times when attempts were made to import arms and ammunition—viz., during the recent civil disobedience campaign.

Further, let me refer briefly to the Indian Medical Department, that is composed entirely of Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans. The military history of the Empire, both in India and other parts of the Empire where Indian Medical Department officers have been employed, will show the great and distinguished services rendered by members of the community in almost every battle in which the British Army has been engaged.

Another very important department is the Civil Service—I refer particularly to the Provincial Executive and Judicial Services, the various Government Secretariats, Provincial and Central Governments. There was a time, not long ago, when most of the important subordinate appointments in these departments and Secretariats were filled by members of the community. It is truly said that the Civil Service has built the Indian Empire, but I feel sure no officer of that Service will deny the great part his Anglo-Indian staff have played, and are still playing, in helping him to administer our great Indian Empire.

Lastly, let me refer to the late war. During that war almost 80 per cent. of the male adult members of the community were engaged in every theatre of operations, and those who were not so utilized for services abroad were enlisted in the Indian Defence Force, and helped to maintain law and order in India at a time when the regular British troops were withdrawn for service outside the country. Such a percentage, I submit, is unparalleled in the history of the Empire and well merited the appreciation of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, who, when he visited India in 1922 and received our Anglo-Indian Deputation, said:

> "Gentlemen,—You may be confident that Great Britain and the Empire *will not forget* your community, who are so united in their devotion to the King-Emperor and who gave such unmistakable tokens of their attachment to the Empire by their sacrifices in the war."

These, briefly, are the services rendered by the community to the King and Empire, and it has every reason to be proud of such a record; indeed, we have every justification to claim that the community has largely helped the Britisher to build up the British Empire in India.

The strength of the community today is variously estimated, but I would put the total number as somewhere between 175,000 and 200,000. Although the 1931 census gives a much

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smaller total, yet the Census Commissioner has himself admitted that there are a large number of Anglo-Indians who are wrongly included in the European census returns. The extraordinary fact about the Anglo-Indian community is the status that has been forced on it today, and which, I submit, is the cause of its insecure economic and social position in India. It may surprise you to know that we have a trinity of existence and interests. For occupational purposes we are classed as "statutory natives of India"; for defence purposes we are called "European British subjects"; and for social, political, and legislative purposes we are called "Anglo-Indians," and as such we have been and are today being used for the convenience of Government in any of these categories as they desire and as best suits the occasion and the demand. It was because of the insecurity of our position for employment in the Services recruited in India that Parliament passed the Indian Councils Act of 1870, which gave the community the position of natives of India by statute and which was to give it an equal claim with other communities for employment in all Government Services. And this is the status that every Anglo-Indian and domiciled European is advised by Government to accept and does accept. One would imagine that with such a clear status our position in the official world in India would be clear-cut and accepted, but such is not the case, because, whenever we have demanded our economic rights in the Legislative Assembly, as natives of India by statute, large sections of Indians on the opposite benches of the House have denied us such a claim, and have made it abundantly clear that the community is not included in the term "Indianization." To show you how adversely we are affected by our extraordinary status, let me give you a concrete example.

It is well known that the Government demands from the Anglo-Indian and domiciled European community compulsory enlistment in a purely voluntary force—the Indian Defence Force—as a condition precedent to employment on railways, and that such a demand is not made on any other employee. Now, as I have said, for economic purposes we are called statutory natives of India, and as such we are expected to work amicably on an equality with our Indian fellow-workmen. Suddenly a railway strike develops, as has so often happened during the past decade, or a riot breaks out. Promptly, the Anglo-Indian and domiciled European employee on the railways (still classed as "statutory Indian") has to don his uniform, carry his rifle, and turn out as a member of the Auxiliary Force (the second line of defence to the British Army in India) to quell the disturbance, but by doing so he is suddenly metamorphosed into a European British subject. When peace has been established he reverts to his original posi-

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tion and is expected harmoniously to resume his work with the Indian, under the guise of a "statutory native of India." It surely is not difficult for anybody to realize the terrible position in which we are thereby placed, and, might I add, the Indian has not been slow to realize this, and I know from the treatment accorded to us by certain sections of Indians that, as a result, they have for years harboured feelings of hostility and revenge against us, which, as is only natural to assume, they will show later on when they are in power. The result is that we are economically disowned and unwanted, and are considered, equally with the Europeans, as aliens to India for employment purposes. I submit it is chiefly for this reason that they refuse to recognize us as statutory natives of India for employment in the Services, no matter what Government says or does to the contrary, and, as you know, in all Legislatures, especially when the Budget is presented and the Demands for Grants are being passed, the Indian can and does exercise enormous political pressure to gain his ends and the community is refused recognition as statutory natives of India and is therefore sacrificed by Government. I wonder if Government has realized what this patriotism and sense of discipline and duty have cost the community in the past and will continue to do in the future. In remarking on this matter I do not desire for one moment to insinuate that we object to service in the Auxiliary Force, for loyalty is inherent in us. I only mention it to show the anomalous position in which we are placed as a result of our uncertain status, and how it is reacting and will continue to react on us and our future generations. This is the price that the community has paid for its loyalty to King and Empire. The same criticism applies in almost every other Service in India in which it is employed today. If you ask any Railway Agent in India he will tell you he cannot run his railway without an adequate number of Anglo-Indian and domiciled European employees. Yet all attacks in the Central Legislature are made with a view to displacing Anglo-Indians by Indians, and the Indians demur to our recognition as statutory natives of India in the rapid Indianization of the Services that we have helped to build up.

Again, take the present terrorist movement in Bengal. From police reports, arms and ammunition are today being imported into India, and recently there was a large seizure of arms in one of the steamers in the port of Calcutta. This smuggling was almost impossible when the Preventive Customs Service was manned almost entirely by Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans, a condition which existed as recently as 1921. Today this Service is being rapidly Indianized, and, I submit, with great danger to the peace and tranquillity of India.

Let me now briefly refer to the effect Indianization has had on

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the community, especially in the Services to which I have particularly referred. I would ask you to consult the debates of the Legislative Assembly during the past ten or twelve years. There you will find abundant evidence of the many bitter attacks that have been made on the employment of Anglo-Indians in these Services and the desire on the part of certain sections of Indians to replace us. These efforts are being so successfully made that in some Services in which we were largely employed but a few years ago we are now almost extinct—for example, today in the Bengal and Assam areas of the Postal Department we have but a decimal percentage. Take the Secretariats; at one time, in the Provincial Governments and the Government of India, most of the important and confidential appointments were held by Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans. Today we are being rapidly replaced by Indians. Take the Railways particularly. During the past few years we have been deprived of many of the appointments which we have hitherto occupied; the same applies to the Telegraphs, but in this department a recent committee sat—the Varma Committee—whose recommendations, if accepted by the Government of India, will further reduce Anglo-Indian employment by over 30 per cent. It may be said that this reduction of employment is the result of the retrenchment policy that is being rigidly operated in India today. I submit it is not entirely due to this cause, but to the misapplication and misinterpretation of the term Indianization of the Services. I challenge anyone to contradict me when I state that since no new appointments are being created today, every appointment that is given to an Indian is taken away from either an Anglo-Indian or a European, and, I ask, if by Parliamentary Statute we have the status of statutory natives of India for employment purposes, what justification is there to replace one class of Indian by another? The only reason I can ascribe is that this is due to the political pressure that is being brought to bear on Government by more powerful and clamant communities with their millions behind them and their greater power in the Legislature, and the influence they wield in more ways than one both in England and in India. We are being sacrificed. If the pace of Indianization is allowed to continue unchecked, I have no hesitation in saying that within the next twenty or thirty years there will be scarcely any Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans found in any of these Services, Services which the community has helped to build up from their very inception, and Services in which they have shown themselves loyal and faithful to the Government, especially during the many crises with which Government has been faced since the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms began to operate. If one were able to examine the history of the various railway strikes that have

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taken place during the last ten or twelve years, he would find it is the Anglo-Indian and domiciled European employees who have stood steadfast and loyal to Government and who helped to tide over the crises and assist in the transport of troops for military purposes. And when the strikes have subsided, what has been the reward given for such loyal service? They have been made to vacate their appointments to be replaced by Indians—the strikers. I challenge anyone to cite a parallel case in the British Empire, and yet, in spite of these adverse circumstances, this ungrateful treatment to us in the past, the Anglo-Indian community remains today as loyal as it ever was in the early days of the British occupation of India. This is a great tribute to the virility of the British nation, and, need I add, it is one of the proudest records of the community. Surely the Government and this country cannot undervalue or forget such service? In this connection let me tell you that if ever the Anglo-Indian railway employees joined the Indians in an all-Indian railway strike, the railway administration would be completely paralyzed within twenty-four hours. Does the Government realize the value of such loyal employees in the defence of the country, and if for no other reason, is it wise to exploit such employees to satisfy other communities?

And what has Government done to reward us for these services? Anyone who takes the trouble to study the past history of India will not only be astounded, but will hang his head in shame, when he reads of the cruel orders of oppression and repression that were passed by the Directors of the early John Company. One can never forget the unjust and uncalled for order passed by one of the Directors, Lord Valentia, when he, without any reason except perhaps the power secured by mixed races in other parts of the world, and entertaining similar fears of the Anglo-Indian community, by a stroke of the pen disinherited us of all appointments, both civil and military, in India, except as drummers, farriers, and musicians. This was the reward given us after we had shown our value during the early days of the British rule in India. It will surprise no one when I say that rather than submit to this insult many of us entered the services of Indian Princes and, in time, rose to the highest positions. The fear entertained by the John Company was, however, soon put to the test, for it was during the 1857 Mutiny that an order was issued calling upon all Anglo-Indians in such employment to return and rejoin the British Army. There was not one defaulter; indeed, many Anglo-Indians who left the services of Indian Chiefs suffered death rather than be disloyal to their King and country. Had the Anglo-Indian of that day, every one of whom was a trained soldier, been a disloyalist and joined the Indian mutineers and led them, it is pos-

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sible that the history of India would have been markedly different from what it is today, and the Anglo-Indians would have been in a dominating position, as are other mixed races in other parts of the world. History is only repeating itself today, for one has but to read the recent dispatch of the Government of India on Constitutional Reforms, dated September, 1930, to realize the impotency of the Government of today to protect the community that has served it so well. Let me quote what the Government of India states in this dispatch:

> "In view of the history of the community, a special obligation, we think, rests upon Parliament, before relaxing its own control, to ensure, as far as may be practicable, that the interests of the Anglo-Indian community are protected."

What has been the cumulative effect of this on the Anglo-Indian community as we see it today? Let me tell you that, while in 1921, before the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, there were less than 1,000 unemployed Anglo-Indians in India, today, after a decade of the Reforms and the operation of Indianization of the Services, nearly 20,000, or more than one-third of the total able-bodied men of the community, are unemployed—the majority of them homeless and in rags, roaming the streets in quest of food. Thousands of the community, including many with fine records of military service, are today depending on charity from their friends and public bodies to keep body and soul together. It was but a few years ago that our daily prayer was, "Give us this day our daily work"; today, the prayer from many homes—a prayer that should reach the heart of every Englishman in this country—is, "Give us this day our daily bread." Remember! however necessary it may be to retrench and however unavoidable economy may be in the administration of India today, the unemployment of Anglo-Indians reacts more severely on them than on any other community—*e.g.*, in the case of the Englishman, he has his passage paid back to England, where he comes to his own home and family. Again, while the unemployed Indian menial has his field and his village where he can go and work and eke out his existence, and the subordinate educated Indian need never starve because the joint-family system that prevails in India today assures him of a home and food, yet once you "unemploy" an Anglo-Indian he has no home and no land, for the fate and the needs and studied policy of the British Empire in India have willed that since his inception the Anglo-Indian has been a servant of Government, whom he has served well and on which employment he has been, unfortunately, entirely dependent for his very

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existence. As such, when unemployed, he finds himself turned into the streets—a beggar, unsupported and disowned by the nation who gave him birth and the Government whom he has served so loyally and well. The most distressing feature of this economic tragedy is to be seen in the hundreds of young men and women, descendants of the British pioneers, who are today annually leaving the best European public schools, well educated, with a higher percentage of graduates per ratio of population than any other community, well developed, loyal to the core and keen sportsmen (it was men of this type who formed three-fourths of the first and one-half of the second hockey teams who beat the rest of the world at Olympia), unable to secure employment anywhere, except at a wage on which they cannot possibly exist, but which many have been forced to accept rather than starve. When they seek employment in the locomotive railway department, they are told they can only be employed on a pittance of Rs. 10 per month, or about 5d. per day, and this because the Indian menial can subsist on this wage. Yet it is from our community, as I have already said, that enlistment in a Volunteer Force is a condition precedent to employment on the railways.

Here we have the toll that one decade of the Reforms and Indianization of the Services has exacted from the community.

And now what of the future? This is my great concern. During the past decade, faced as Government has been with the demands of other communities, it has tried its best to help us, but more as a favour than as a reward for our past services. I submit Government has never had the courage openly to say that it is necessary, not only as a mark of gratitude but in the interests of the defence of India, to employ a certain percentage of this community on the Railways, Telegraphs, and Customs. Our retention hitherto, in decreasing numbers, has been due to personal favours and back-door influence which various British officials have exercised in our favour; but times have changed, and the Indian rightly feels that he is entitled to adequate employment in these Services, and so someone must be the sufferer. That sufferer is undoubtedly the Anglo-Indian. It is to protect this economic extinction from Government Services that I have come here as a representative of the community to place before the Joint Parliamentary Committee and the British public and Parliament our past services and our demands. I have no doubt that everyone in this room is familiar with the proceedings of the last three Round-Table Conferences. Let it be said to the credit of my Indian brothers that at the first Round-Table Conference Services Sub-Committee they recommended special recognition of our employment. But let me take the Simon Report. What economic protection did it afford the community? The expressed pious hopes

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and promises, while admitting our services in the past, resigned our future to the benevolence of the future Provincial Governments and Ministers. A study of the Round-Table Conference proceedings and the present White Paper that is before the country will show that almost every other community has been granted considerable concessions. I need not detail these, but no assurance has been given to the Anglo-Indian community, and we fear that any further advance in the Reforms given to India will seriously prejudice the Anglo-Indian and domiciled European community. Indeed, I have no hesitation in saying that the Anglo-Indian and domiciled European community will be the greatest sufferer.

I have submitted a lengthy memorandum to the Joint Parliamentary Committee, which will be released to the public within a few days. I am giving evidence before that body on October 18. The document being still a confidential one, I cannot refer to it except to state that I have, by irrefutable facts and figures, proved the disastrous effect Indianization has had and is having on the economic position of the community unless it is adequately and statutorily protected. That memorandum is, I believe, a complete and correct summing up of the past, present, and future position of the Anglo-Indian community. In passing, I cannot but pay a public tribute of thanks to those of my Indian colleagues who willingly passed what I could call, for want of a better term, the Educational Magna Charta of the Anglo-Indian community, and which is to be found in the Irwin Report. To that great ex-Viceroy of India, Lord Irwin, and to the colleagues who co-operated with him on that Committee, particularly Mr. Jayakar, the community owes a great debt of gratitude, and admitting, as I do, that the future of the community depends on its education, and although its education has been secured within certain legislative limitations, I submit the education of the child is mainly dependent on the economic security of the parent, and it is to obtain this security —*i.e.*, adequate employment of Anglo-Indians, especially in those Services which it has built up—that I am devoting my whole attention. In my memorandum will be found certain demands which I have made on behalf of the community for its future protection in the Services. I have every reason to believe that the Committee, as also every member of Parliament, is wholly seized with the urgency and justice of our demands and their necessity, but I understand that considerable difficulty is being experienced in drafting out a suitable clause for incorporation in the new Constitution Act that will statutorily protect the employment of any particular community in the Services. I know that the policy of Government has been to avoid, as far as possible, any communal preferential employment. But it does seem not only an utter

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anomaly but an absurdity when, with one breath, Government says it cannot exercise any communal preference to the Anglo-Indian community, with the next it practises it. As an example, let me repeat again that it is only from its Anglo-Indian and domiciled European employees that it demands enlistment in the Indian Defence Force as a condition precedent to employment on railways. As an additional example, I know for a fact that the Government of India has ordered a certain percentage to Muslims for railway employment.

Again, let anyone carefully study the White Paper and he will find that it really consists of nothing less than pages full of anomalies of a worse type than the economic demand made by the community. But I do hope that when the Joint Parliamentary Committee writes its report a suitable clause will be found which will protect us, not only for a limited period of years such as we have demanded, but as long as the Government of India continues to employ its servants on a communal basis. There are many ways in which this could be effected; I would like to stress three ways.

(*a*) It is universally accepted that efficiency should be the only test for employment, especially in subordinate appointments, carrying monthly salaries of from Rs. 30 to Rs. 250 and over. We know that by "efficiency" today is understood a working knowledge of English—*i.e.*, up to the secondary standard. In this connection it is interesting to note that out of about 2 millions in India, above the age of fifteen, who are literate in English, about 1 million only are educated up to the secondary standard. In this million must be included about 85,000 Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans, all of whom are so educated. I mention this because the claim is made that communities should be employed in the various Services in proportion to their total populations. This, I consider, is a wrong conception for the following reasons: There are today hundreds of thousands of subordinate and upper subordinate Government appointments, and if "efficiency"—*i.e.*, a certain knowledge of English—is indispensable, it stands to reason that the total population of India is not in open competition for these appointments, but only the 1 million educated Indians, in which are included 85,000 Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans. This means that 8·5 per cent. of such appointments should be given to the domiciled community, but as a matter of history and fact, out of the many hundreds of thousands of such subordinate appointments, there are only about 25,000 Anglo-Indians so employed; in other words, we do not receive anything like the percentage of appointments to which we are entitled. If this principle were applied to the three Services in which nearly three-fourths of the working Anglo-Indian and

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domiciled European community are employed—Railways, Telegraphs, and Customs—we would be filling more appointments than we have today. In short, we are being deprived of our share of such appointments and are not enjoying any preferential treatment.

(*b*) Another method in which our employment might be assured is that a settlement be arrived at on a basis of communal legislative representation in the Lower Federal Chamber. For example, such appointments might be apportioned between the three main communities—viz., Hindus, Muslims, and Europeans, including Anglo-Indians.

(*c*) But there is yet another method which Government could adopt to secure our adequate employment in these three Services and which I would call the defence-security Services of India—*i.e.*, Services which control the lines of communication and on which the defences of the country are so entirely dependent. No one will deny that the defence of India is of paramount importance. Nor will anyone deny that the defence of India will never be secure unless Government has control of these three Services. The past history of these three Services, especially the Railways, will reveal the undeniable fact that the Anglo-Indian and domiciled European community has remained loyal throughout and has always come to the help of Government during any crisis. Can anyone imagine what the defence of India would be if we had a war on the North-West Frontier and, owing to some political or communal disturbance, a general strike occurred on the railways; I ask, how would the troops be transported under such circumstances? And, again, how could this be countered?

Let anyone read the evidence that was given before the Joint Parliamentary Committee by Sir Michael O'Dwyer and his experience as Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab during the 1919 Punjab riots. He admitted in evidence that with the disloyalty rampant in the Telegraph department, he was compelled to seek the employment of an additional number of loyal Anglo-Indian employees. What I want Government to do is to have the courage of its convictions and to take a warning from the past; in other words, see to it that in these three Services an adequate number of loyal employees are retained, which, I venture to submit, is the only means by which these security Services would be effectively administered and which may offer a solution to the present difficulty experienced in drafting a suitable clause to protect statutorily the employment of Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans—*i.e.*, demanding that an adequate number of the domiciled community be employed in the Railways, Telegraphs, and Customs. By this I do not mean that all Indian workmen are disloyal, for they too have rendered loyal and efficient service

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to the Government, but I am talking of my own community only, and I think this is the only solution for the economic protection of the community.

I have tried in this brief sketch to show how perilous is the economic position of the community in the future India; but with all the emphasis I can command, let me tell every Britisher and every Indian that we are their joint responsibility and we look to them as our co-trustees, remembering always what the late Lord Burnham extracted from Sir Edward Benthall, leader of the European Chambers of Commerce in India, when he was examined by the Committee, that "the Anglo-Indian community was the greatest debt that England owed to India."

I would suggest incorporating in the Constitution Act a clause somewhat on the following lines:

That, as long as appointments are made on communal representation, adequate weightage, with due consideration to their present numbers, be given to the Anglo-Indian and domiciled European community regarding its future employment in all Government Services.

A similar protection for other minority communities is obviously not necessary, because, with the weightage that has been granted them in the various Legislatures, their voices can be sufficiently raised to demand and protect their economic interests; with the Anglo-Indian community (although they form 8·5 per cent. of India's English-educated population and are entitled, if English is and must be the "efficiency test" for such employment, to this percentage of Government appointments), owing to the paucity of their representation in the various Legislatures, they possess no such legislative strength or power. In short, other communities have the opportunity and power of voice to secure their economic demands—the Anglo-Indian has not, and is and must continue to be the chief sufferer. The same condition obtains as regards the European community, but even though they have been given liberal weightage in the Federal and Provincial Legislatures that count, yet they would not be able to effectively voice and receive any special protection, and it is for this reason that the White Paper proposes to protect their commercial rights. Not only have they received this assurance, but the Lee Commission protects their economic interests by a continuance of a certain proportion of Europeans in the Services. If this is necessary for Europeans, the powerful and influential forebears of the community, who are today considered aliens and foreigners in India and whom the Indian, without exception, is anxious to replace, the need for a similar statutory provision is all the more necessary to protect the interests of his "kinsmen and

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descendants," the Anglo-Indian, who, owing to his adherence to all that is British and Western and his loyalty, is also considered as much an alien and a foreigner, and who, after all, asks for protection only for a limited period or as long as such recruitment is based on communal representation and percentages.

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INDIA'S PROSPERITY: THE RUPEE, AND THE RESERVE BANK BILL

By Sir Montagu de P. Webb, c.i.e., c.b.e.

Just upon twenty years ago the East India Association did me the honour of inviting me to address its members on the subject of "Money Power for India." Those were the days of rising prices and consequent hardships to all small fixed wage-earners; and I therefore pleaded for open gold mints for India in order, amongst other reasons, that a portion of the flood of the precious yellow metal then overflowing the world from the recently discovered gold reefs of the Transvaal might be diverted to India for the benefit of India, and of the rest of the world. I urged also that a Central State Bank might be set up in India, under Government control, of which every Government treasury and sub-treasury could act as a branch at which deposits from the public could be received. Such a development, I argued, would greatly encourage the banking habit amongst India's backward millions, and so add to India's money power and prestige.

That was twenty years ago. Many things, including the most terrible war in history, have happened since then. And now we have been living, not without apprehension, through a period of rapidly falling prices and shrinking trade, with well over thirty millions of people out of employment in various parts of the world. No longer are we threatened by the magnitude of the oncoming flood of gold. On the contrary, as a result of the war, two great nations have diverted nearly three-quarters of the world's monetary gold into their own vaults, leaving but very little over for all the other nations. There is still a talk of a Central Reserve Bank for India, but not so much this time with the object of encouraging the banking habit amongst India's masses as of creating a financial safeguard for the political developments which the statesmen of this country, and of India, seem bent on carrying forward, notwithstanding the economic chaos and impending

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bankruptcy with which so many countries (including India) are now threatened.

It is of these economic and financial complications in India that I shall mainly speak today. When, eight years ago, I gave you an optimistic account of India's material progress to that date, the grave distortion in the purchasing and measuring functions of the rupee—I am referring, of course, to the disastrous collapse of rupee prices—had not taken place. Economically speaking, the prospect was bright and hopeful. But look what happened after 1924. The index number of wholesale prices dropped from 173 in 1924 to 82 in March last. That is to say that wholesale prices in India fell to less than one-half of what they were ten years ago. Indeed, in the case of food grains, tea, jute, cotton, oil seeds, hides and skins, and other raw products, the collapse in prices occurred *during the last five years*—a calamity of an unprecedented character.

Effects of Fall of Prices

At first thought, a general fall of prices—*i.e.*, an increase in the purchasing power of the rupee—may not seem a bad thing. All fixed wage and salary earners, all pensioners, all receivers of interest, and, in short, all creditors, benefit at the expense of employers—private and State—and of debtors. On the other hand, producers of all kinds—agricultural as well as industrial—are discouraged. Reduced or vanished profits, checked enterprise, and a general numbing of the adventurous spirit, are the inevitable results of a prolonged fall of prices. Production is lessened; expenses are cut down; many are thrown out of employment; traders are paralyzed; and trade shrinks. Unemployment increases, producing widespread hardship and misery. Indeed, it has been said that among the many causes of human retrogression —wars, pestilence, famine, bad governments, etc.—a long period of falling prices (caused by a relative restriction, or shortage, of the currency), is perhaps the worst because it saps the very sources of human enterprise, deadening the desire to venture, and, by checking the leaders and most go-ahead sections of the com-

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munity, stops national progress and jeopardizes the position of the whole country.

This is exactly what has been happening in India during the last five years. Here are the figures of India's exports and imports of merchandise since 1928:

	Exports. (*Crores of Rs.*)	*Imports.* (*Crores of Rs.*)
1928	... 319	250
1929	... 330	253
1930	... 310	240
1931	... 220	164
1932	... 138	136

Is it surprising, in view of this terrible shrinkage in trade, that the earnings of traders of all classes have dwindled very materially? Combined as it is with a most disastrous collapse of prices (included in the above figures), which has crippled many producers, especially agriculturists, the general effect has been a widespread relapse and loss of capital that has brought thousands of well-to-do firms in sight of bankruptcy, and thrown millions in India out of employment.

Economic Distress

It is not generally realized in Great Britain that it was this terrible fall of prices of the last five years that made Mr. Gandhi's boycotting campaign possible. Our difficulties in India have been largely stimulated by economic distress rather than by political dissatisfactions. The calamitous fall of prices in India has dragged down wealthy agriculturists and rich town merchants, and left thousands of the town-educated youth without employment or any likelihood of obtaining employment. Of course, Government are blamed for everything. And not without some reason in this matter of the gross distortion of the rupee, which is what falling prices mean.

Moreover, it is not merely individuals, or individual concerns, who have come to grief during the last five years. Local bodies —municipalities and port trusts—are, for the most part, finding it almost impossible to make both ends meet. The State railways are now reduced to a condition of chronic deficits; whilst Pro-

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vincial Governments (Madras and the Punjab excepted) are experiencing great difficulty in adjusting income to expenditure. Even the Government of India itself has not been able to escape from the general depression. Government's finances are in a parlous condition, expenditure having been cut and cut; whilst revenue, which has been augmented to the very utmost, now includes (*a*) heavy duties on practically all imports (even on food for the people—wheat, sugar, spices, and salt), and (*b*) outrageously unsound export duties on hides and skins, which fall on the very poorest of the poor. Even so, the Indian Budget can only be balanced with difficulty. And now the Law of Diminishing Returns is operating, and Government's revenues are shrinking in some directions.

This, then, is the condition of India today—a land of abundance, yet a land of terrible economic distress. This is the land in which (1) the rupee is overrated, and (2) it is now proposed to establish a Central Reserve Bank to take charge of India's monetary system; to help Government with its finances; to safeguard the interests of all debtors and all creditors; and, generally, to see that the great mass of the people have a proper supply of good honest purchasing and measuring tools.

The Need for a Reserve Bank

It is high time that an institution of this character was established in India, for India has been quite the most unfortunate part of the whole Empire so far as the management of her monetary tools and foreign exchanges are concerned. In the beginning, just as in Great Britain, India used to employ money of silver and money of gold. (At one time, in 1800, India's gold pagodas were legal tender in New South Wales!) The East India Company eventually decided, however, that the silver rupee was the most suitable money tool for all India. At the same time, their Proclamation of January 13, 1841, instructed their treasuries to accept, as well as rupees, all gold mohurs that might be tendered. Then came the wonderful gold discoveries of California and Australia. The world's annual output of gold doubled and trebled, till, in 1852, over £30,000,000 of new gold was unearthed.

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Government became alarmed. On December 25, 1852, a Notification was issued that no more gold coins would be accepted in India! In vain the Bombay Association (representing the Chambers of Commerce of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras) memorialized the Government of India in 1864 for a gold currency for India. In vain the Bank of Bengal, in 1865, urged that the British sovereign and half-sovereign might be made legal tender in India for ten and five rupees respectively. On May 17, 1865, the India Office wrote that it did not see any advantage in admitting British gold money as legal tender in India. And that, too, when supplies of gold were ample and increasing yearly.

Alas for human wisdom! Within ten years the Government of India began to wish that British gold had not been so completely barred from the Indian currency. In 1878 the Government of India openly expressed their desire to adopt a gold standard. The divergence between the relative values of the precious metals which had commenced to show itself in 1873 (when Germany, having extracted £200,000,000 indemnity in gold from France, discarded her own silver currency), gradually became greater, till, by 1890, the gold price of silver had dropped from 60 pence per ounce to below 44 pence per ounce, causing the Government of India, whose revenue was collected in silver rupees, but whose annual liability for "Home Charges" had to be paid in gold, considerable anxiety. The Government of India's remedy (or perhaps I should say Sir David Barbour's remedy, Sir David being Finance Member of the Government of India at that time) was to endeavour to arrange a bi-metallic agreement with the United States of America for the coinage of both silver and gold at a ratio of 15½ silver to 1 of gold, which would have restored the old ratio and the gold price of silver, and so eased India's budgetary difficulties.

Up to this point the refusal of the India Office to allow India to enjoy the advantages of a gold currency, in spite of the appeals of the commercial public in India, may be regarded as a pardonable error of judgment. But after 1890 the management of India's currency and finances by the India Office became so erratic and so neglectful of India's best interests, that I can but concur

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with the repeated condemnations of it uttered by well-informed critics in India—Indian as well as European.

Grounds for Criticism

A brief summary of the leading incidents and criticisms of recent years will explain this:

1893. The Indian Mints were closed to the free coinage of silver—India's chief currency metal—under the delusion that silver was seriously depreciating; whereas the truth was that, for the most part, it was gold that was dangerously increasing in value (exactly as it has done during the last five years). This blunder would have half paralyzed India (by intensifying the fall of prices) but for the accidental discovery in the Transvaal of the largest supply of gold ever known.

1905-7. The Government of India carried out the largest coinage of silver ever known in any country—£42,000,000 worth of new rupees, notwithstanding the fact that Government was then committed to the establishment of a gold standard and a gold currency for India, on the accepted recommendation of the Fowler Committee of 1898.

1910-12. India was deliberately prevented from importing as much gold as she would normally have taken by the quite unnecessary selling of rupees by the India Office at too cheap a rate. This policy led to the unnecessary transfer to, and accumulation in, London of over £35,000,000 of India's reserves and cash balances—a scandal which caused the appointment of the Chamberlain Commission of 1913-14, who condemned these irregularities. After the publication of the Commission's Report, the matter was put right.

1919. The Babington Smith Committee recommended that the exchange value of the rupee be fixed at ten rupees to the pound sterling, instead of the fifteen rupees at which it had stood for nearly twenty years. Mr. (now Sir) Dadiba Merwanjee Dalal, one of India's most experienced bullion dealers and financiers, and a member of the Committee, wrote a minority report strongly dissenting from his colleagues' recommendations. Subsequent events have proved Sir Dadiba to have been quite right in dissenting.

1920. The India Office, in a period of temporary mental aberration—no other words accurately describe it—ordered, unasked, on its own initiative and in face of almost daily protests, the sales (by the Government of India) of British pounds sterling at rates as low as seven rupees, pending the fixing of exchange at ten rupees—a folly without parallel in currency history, which inflicted on India a loss of over thirty crores of rupees.

1926. The Hilton-Young Commission, against the advice of many responsible and experienced authorities, including the East India Section of the London Chamber of Commerce, recommended the sterling value of the rupee to be fixed at thirteen and one-third rupees. This recommendation was made on the assumption, now universally recognized to have been incorrect, that price levels in India and the West had settled down to a parity that could be relied upon as fairly stable. Whereas, as all know, India, Europe,

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and America have, since 1926, experienced the worst collapse of prices on record. This fact, coupled with the sterilization of three-quarters of the world's monetary gold by France and the U.S.A., has made the Hilton-Young Commission's recommendations quite unsound, and so worthless. Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdass, a member of the Commission, protested most strongly against this thirteen-and-a-third rupee ratio. Subsequent events have proved that Sir Purshotamdas was quite right in protesting.

Overrated Currency

And so we arrive at the present time. India today is the only country in the world whose currency, after the Great War, was deliberately overrated instead of de-rated. Whilst the principal nations of Europe have tried to snatch temporary advantages from competitors by aid of their de-rated currencies—whilst Great Britain itself, thrust by force off the gold standard, has also derived advantages from its de-rated pound sterling, India, staggering under the effects of the worst fall of prices in history, has had the blow not softened but made more painful and unendurable by the overrating of her currency, which has tended to increase the fall of prices instead of alleviating it.

The following extract from a letter from Major D. Vanrenen, President of the Punjab Zemindars' Union, that appeared in *The Times* of October 12, 1933, emphasizes this point:

> "There was a time, only five years ago, when the leaders of the Punjab zemindar community, which has an unsurpassed record of loyalty to the British connection, and supplies 70 per cent. of the Indian element in the Indian Army, were opposed to rapid [political] advance in the centre and would have been content with autonomy in the provincial administrations. That time is past, and in recent years they have become as eager as any other element in India, for India as a whole, to secure self-governing institutions at an early stage. The reason for this change of mind has been the growing perception that the control by successive Secretaries of State over India's economic policy has been definitely injurious in its results to Indian agrarian interests."

The writer then quotes the hardship of India having to face the world depression with a 1s. 6d. instead of a 1s. 4d. rupee, and contrasts the position of zemindars in India with that of farmers in Australia and New Zealand who, in addition to other local aids, have been assisted by a depreciated Australian and New Zealand pound.

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I ask you to bear these facts in mind in considering the conclusions at which I shall shortly arrive and the policy that I shall presently advocate.

The Reserve Bank Bill

A Bill to establish a Central Reserve Bank in India was introduced by Sir George Schuster in the Indian Legislative Assembly on September 8 last. This Reserve Bank is about to be set up in order to "ensure confidence in the management of India's credit and currency" and to "secure monetary stability in India," very admirable and much-to-be-desired objects. It may be convenient if I explain briefly what the functions of a Reserve Bank are, or should be. Ordinarily a Reserve Bank is first and foremost a banker's bank. It plays the same part towards all the banks in the country as each of those banks does towards its clients and customers. It sees that the supply of currency—metallic and paper—is adequate to the needs of the country, and in this connection maintains, or should maintain, the stability of the internal level of prices and also, as far as possible, of the foreign exchanges. It exerts a controlling influence over the country's credit, and watches over the maintenance of the country's monetary standard, whatever it may be—silver or gold, or both.

In the case of India, the Central Reserve Bank should be the Government's bankers, because Government's financial operations are on such a large scale that they would interfere with the ordinary finances of the country if carried on independently of the country's Reserve Bank. This means that the issue, service, and redemption of all Government loans would be managed for Government by the Reserve Bank; also all the Government Savings Bank business. The remittance to London of the Government of India's sterling liabilities should be managed by the Reserve Bank. In short, the Reserve Bank, with whom all other banks in India would, no doubt, find it in their own interest to open accounts, could, in addition to facilitating the work of those banks, act, by way of the directors, as a supreme financial

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council, with whom Government would ordinarily keep in close consultation at all times.

Criticisms

All this would be ideal; and, if properly carried out by the new Reserve Bank of India, would be of material assistance to Government, to the existing banks, and to the great mass of the peoples of India. Much depends, however, upon the translation, in practice, of the word "properly." Unfortunately, the Bill, as placed before the Assembly at Simla in September last, exhibits certain very objectionable features—the consequence of copying, too slavishly, Bank of England practices, which have been built up in circumstances wholly different from those of India. To begin with, the Reserve Bank of India Bill proposes, following the Bank of England pattern, wholly to ignore the existence of silver as a money-metal; and that, too, notwithstanding the fact that, in the case of India, silver is the natural money of the country, as well as of all Asia and most of Africa. It is even proposed by the Government of India that India's Reserve Bank shall not be allowed to buy or sell silver, if it elects to trade in gold [Clause 17, sub-clause 11 (*a*)]. But the public will not forget that as a direct consequence of the gold monometallism of the Bank of England, that Bank has had to suspend cash payments on no less than five occasions, the last time being in September, 1931, amidst conditions of widespread economic crisis. There are good reasons for concluding that this British attempt to restrict the monetary operations of the whole world to a one-metal standard is the root explanation of most of the economic crises of the last and of this century. And yet the Reserve Bank of India is now asked to repeat this monometallic blunder.

The second defect is the proposal to reproduce the century-old idea of dividing the Bank's operations into two branches—a Bank note issue department, and an ordinary banking department which, in the case of the Bank of England, was simply a concession to the lack of experience of our great-grandfathers. The public of a hundred years ago, not being familiar with large issues of notes by a Central Bank, thought that golden sovereigns

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were held, or ought to be held, in the Bank's vaults against every note issued by the Bank. To reproduce today a separate note issue department in the Reserve Bank of India is an anachronism, made doubly absurd by the fact that it is proposed that India's Reserve Bank shall hold against its note issue Government securities, foreign securities, and private bills of exchange, some not payable in India (in addition to rupee coins and gold bullion), but not any silver bullion, the money-metal of the country.

The third objectionable feature is the provision in the Bill (Clauses 40 and 41) to compel the Bank to buy and sell British paper sterling in unlimited quantities, at approximately 1s. 6d. per rupee—a rate that is 12½ per cent. above the normal that was maintained for practically twenty years before the conclusion of the Great War. The Bank of England is not compelled by law to maintain Great Britain's foreign exchanges at any particular level —natural or otherwise.

A fourth objectionable provision in the Bill is Clause 42, coupled with Clause 17, which first compels sixty-nine selected Banks in India to deposit from 2½ to 7½ per cent.—surely too heavy a percentage—of their "time" and "demand" liabilities, free of interest, with the Reserve Bank, and then enables the Bank to compete with its own compulsory clients in almost every department of ordinary banking business! The Bank of England has no such unfair advantage as this.

For the rest, I need only say that the idea of introducing a Central Reserve Bank into India is undoubtedly a good one. The wisdom of making it a shareholders' bank (rather than a State Bank), in order to safeguard India's currency and finances as far as possible from political interference, external and internal, is also, in my opinion, beyond question. And provided that the new Bank be run in India, for India, by Indians—I mean residents of India, be their colour, race, and religion what it may—this end will probably be successfully attained.

A Silver-Using Country

But India must not, through her new Reserve Bank, be shackled with the mistakes of the West. Gold has now definitely

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broken down as a good monetary measure; and India is being reduced to bankruptcy by the stubborn prejudice which still persists in attempting to link her thoroughly good silver rupee to the now uncertain paper pound of Great Britain, and at a fancy rate for which there is not the slightest justification. India must seize the present opportunity to engineer her own recovery by insisting that she is a silver-money-using country. (A silver monetary standard will enable her to compete successfully with Japan, China, and the whole world.) Pending an agreement with the United States of America and other countries to reopen their mints to the free coinage of silver, I urge that the normal rate of exchange of 1s. 4d. be now restored. No longer should India's trade be in any way handicapped, even temporarily, by this wholly indefensible rate.

The Rupee Standard

The silver rupee, which the Honourable East India Company a hundred years ago considered to be the most suitable monetary tool and measuring standard for all India, is, I submit, still the most suitable purchasing tool, measure of value, and store of wealth for most of India's 350,000,000 of peaceful and industrial workers. Not until Western financiers and theorists interfered with this excellent coin was its value distorted to any serious extent. It purchased what the people wanted, and served quite satisfactorily as a savings certificate for people in localities and stations of life where other forms of saving were not suitable or indeed possible. If there is one blot on Great Britain's Government of India, it is that unfortunate, short-sighted, anti-silver legislation from 1893 onwards which has, in effect, deprived millions of India's relatively poor country-folk of most of their savings. I only pray, for this country's sake as well as for the well-being of India, that Providence will soon dispel that stubborn British prejudice which still persists in depriving many of its best customers in the tropics and in the East of a substantial portion of their purchasing power by legislating against a metal that not only the peoples of the tropics and the East, but one-half of the population of the whole world, likes and uses as money.

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Not until silver is restored to its old legal position can this gold-starved universe enter upon another period of abounding prosperity. Let us, therefore, raise our voices with greater determination than ever before, and insist that India shall be allowed to proclaim her willingness to reopen her mints to silver, provided other silver-using and silver-producing nations will do the same. Senator Pittman has already urged President Roosevelt to allow the silver States of the great Republic to send their silver to the U.S. mints for conversion into full, legal-tender dollars; and I shall be very surprised if the President's National Recovery plan can succeed without a substantial increase of metallic money of this character. Let us, therefore, stick to our good old silver rupee, and work out our salvation in the way that we, who have used silver money all our lives, know to be possible.

A One-Metal Standard Condemned

As for the Reserve Bank of India, it is a good and sound scheme for the better organizing and strengthening of India's monetary machinery. As at present designed, it is calculated to withstand any local or external attempt to manipulate the nation's purchasing and measuring tool at the expense of the public. In only one matter is it necessary to utter a word of caution. And that is against any acquiescence in the suggestion that India should look forward to building her future monetary machinery on a one-metal (gold) basis only.

The latest and most authoritative work on the subject of Reserve Banks is *The Art of Central Banking*, by Mr. R. G. Hawtrey, a British Treasury official. I need hardly say that Mr. Hawtrey is a monetary specialist of the very first rank, and his views command my greatest respect. He considers that a Reserve Bank should regulate credit, which function, of course, involves the regulation of money. But in regulating money, Mr. Hawtrey appears to have in mind only gold money, plus paper money based on gold. Or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that as the activities of the Bank of England, during the last century, form the main groundwork on which Mr. Hawtrey builds, and as England used only gold as the basis of its monetary

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system during that period, the reader insensibly receives the impression that gold is an essential part of the central banking system; as indeed it was, in England. But in developing the practice of central banking in parts of the world where silver money is largely used, we must apply the principles which Mr. Hawtrey so ably expounds to silver money, and silver reserves, which have played, and can play again, just as useful and just as important a part in the tropics and elsewhere as gold has done in England. Indeed, it is urgently desirable, in my opinion, having regard to monetary conditions today in Europe and America, where gold, owing to a world-wide loss of confidence, is being hoarded to an unprecedented extent, both by Governments and individuals, that silver be re-habilitated as soon as possible, so as to afford an additional metallic basis for the world's money. In the meantime, I urge all who are concerned with the introduction of central banking into India, to study Mr. Hawtrey's latest work.

Gold-Monomania

The Central Reserve Bank of India must on no account allow itself to be poisoned at the start by the gold-monomania that has infected so many of the financial and banking groups in the West. For if it harbour this insidious delusion, its freedom will vanish; and it will find itself in the future, as it has so long been in the past, a mere subordinate of the great monetary powers of the West, to whose follies Mr. Hawtrey himself mainly attributes the recent deadly shrinkage of prices and the present world-wide economic and financial crisis. India's Reserve Bank must encourage the recognition and use of both precious metals, but preferably silver, so long as the present gold-monomania of the West persists.

For India's prosperity now and for many years to come there need be no anxiety, provided only that her peoples be given a fair monetary chance, which they are not receiving at present. The air today, particularly in England, is thick with political strife. But the pursuit of politics never brought any country prosperity yet, and is not in the least likely to do so in the case of India. Even the famous Report of the Simon Commission, upon which

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our "No"-politicians so fully rely, omits to consider, or even to refer to, India's vast trade and industry, upon the successful conduct of which everything else, including Government's revenues, statesmen's salaries, and politicians' pay, directly depends.

Still, India is thoroughly sound, economically, provided she be allowed unrestricted fair-play. She is practically self-contained. Her huge, industrious population can produce ample surpluses of good things wherewith to pay her debts, internal and external, interest and capital. But in carrying on her daily work, she must be allowed to use such monetary tools as are appropriate to her own needs, and not the monstrosities in the way of London-controlled, elastic standards that have been forced upon her in recent years. Further, the manufacture, issue, and management of those tools, including the reopening of the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver, must be placed in the control of brains resident in India, and concerned first and foremost with India, and with India's present welfare and future prosperity.

Granted the restoration of India's full-value silver rupee and the establishment of a self-governing Central Reserve Bank, and I feel confident that India's prosperity will be assured for many years to come.

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THE OLD EAST INDIAMEN

BY

E. KEBLE CHATTERTON

16 ILLUSTRATIONS

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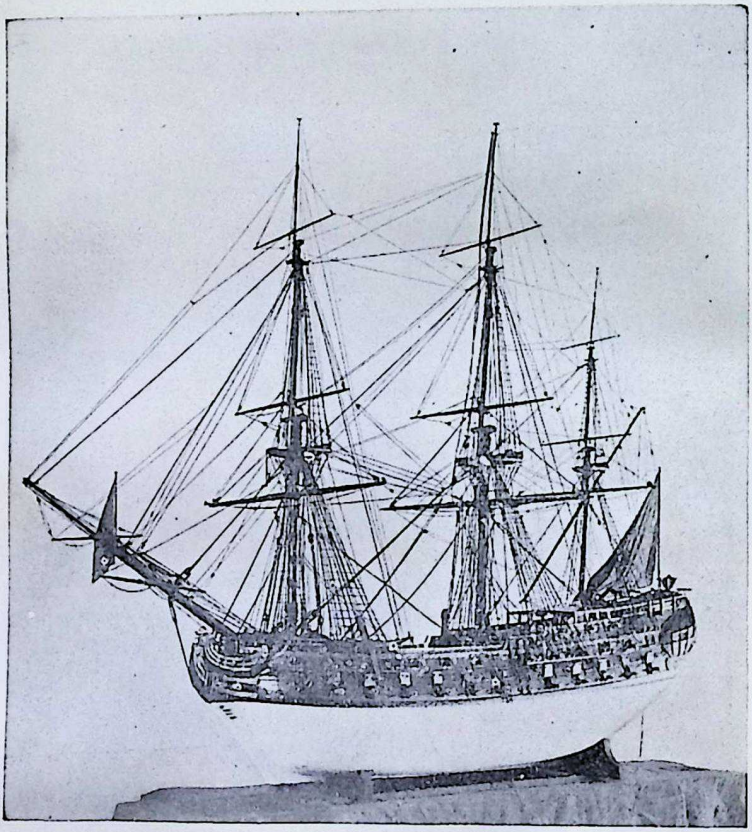

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MODEL OF A DUTCH EAST INDIAMAN OF 1725

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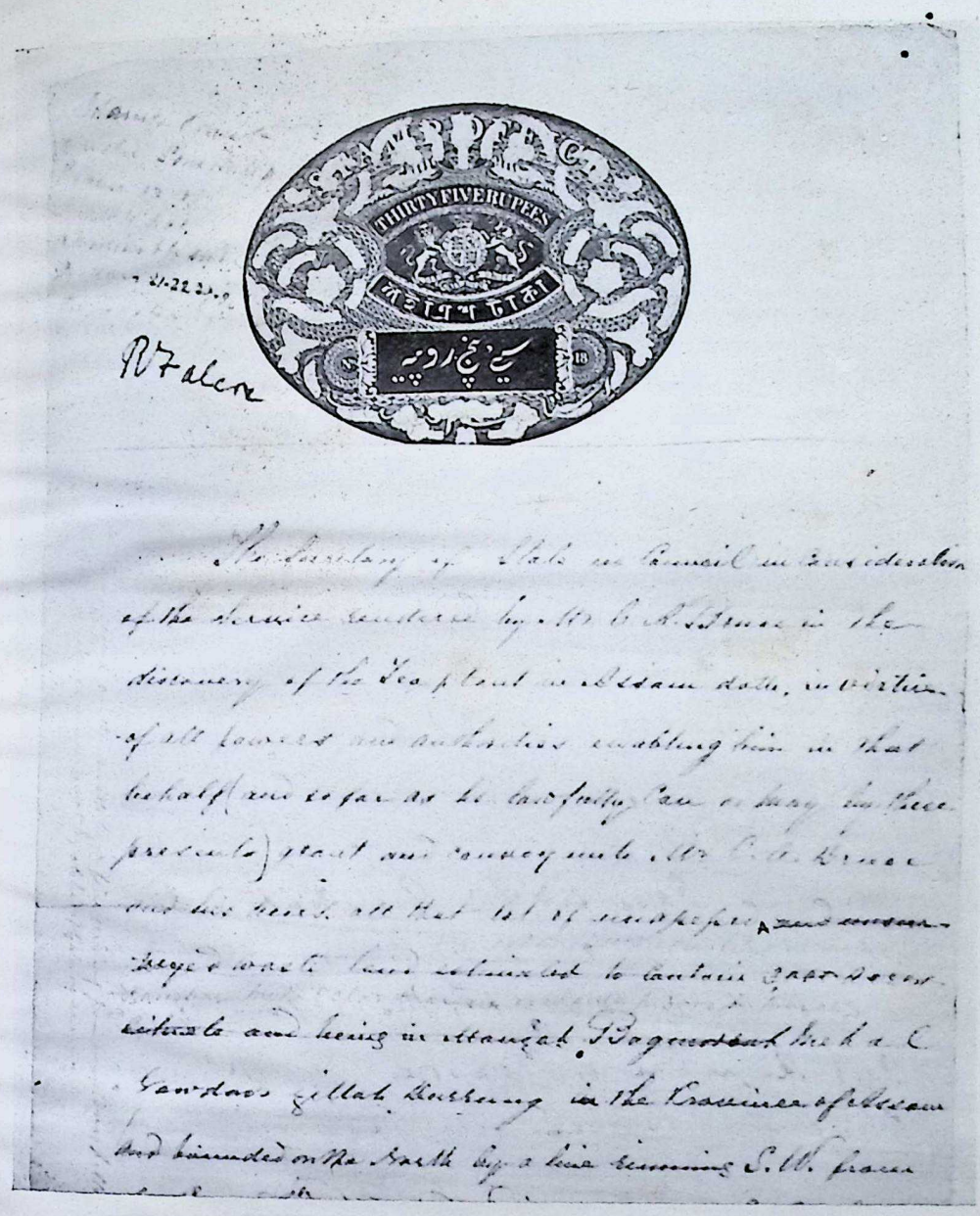

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, November 7, 1933, when a paper, entitled "India's Prosperity: the Rupee and the Reserve Bank Bill," was read by Sir Montagu Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E. Sir John Wardlaw-Milne, K.B.E., M.P., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

The Right Hon. Lord Desborough, K.G., G.C.V.O., Sir John Kerr, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Daniel and Lady Hamilton, Sir John Thompson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Reginald Glancy, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Lady (James) Walker, Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Lady Abbas Ali Baig, Sir Alfred Watson, Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. R. W. Brock, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mr. A. Sabonadière, Mrs. Weir, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. John Ross, I.S.O., Mrs. Rideout, Miss H. Webb, Mr. V. H. Boalth, Mr. C. C. Fink, Mr. James Spence, Miss Speechley, Swami B. H. Bon, Miss C. Dawson, Miss Phillips, Miss Hopley, Mrs. Nag, Mr. A. K. Morley, Mrs. P. D. Bery, Mr. J. Sladen, Mr. C. R. Corbett, Miss M. Sorabji, General A. E. J. Cavendish, Colonel H. D. Lawrence, Miss E. L. Curteis, Mr. L. W. Matters, Mr. H. K. Sadler, Mr. W. Venus, Mrs. Chitty, Miss Callendar, Mr. Jaipal Singh, Mr. and Mrs. O. W. Watkins, Mr. P. F. McDonnell, Mr. B. K. Sinha, Mr. and Mrs. G. B. D. Head, Mr. E. Coleman, Mr. M. Macfarlane, Mrs. Roberts, Mr. A. Bowman, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: I hope you will take it not only as a tribute to my desire to carry out a pledge given to your energetic, tactful, and far-seeing Honorary Secretary some time ago that I should take the chair at this meeting, but also as a tribute to my old friend, Sir Montagu Webb, that, on the day of the opening of Parliament and in the middle of the sittings of the India Joint Standing Committee, I have come here to be able to assure you, if you require any assurance, of the immense amount of time and attention that he has given to the subject on which he is going to address us today.

I have known Sir Montagu Webb for a long time, and I have watched his activities sometimes with great sympathy and sometimes perhaps with anxiety. Not only because I am precluded from saying anything about Indian matters generally at the present time, but also because I know that his views are extraordinarily interesting and his arguments cogent and very much to the point when dealing with anything that has to do with the finances of India, I am sure that you will not expect me, a mere amateur, even if I could, to make any comment upon them when he has finished.

Before, however, I ask Sir Montagu Webb to give his lecture, I want to add that if there are any members present who wish to speak, I shall be glad if they will send up their names, and I will endeavour to give them an opportunity to speak after the address.

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I am looking forward with the greatest interest to hearing Sir Montagu Webb's address. He knows more of the subject and has given more attention to it than most people resident here or in India. I am sure we are all grateful to him in advance for the trouble he has taken.

(Sir MONTAGU WEBB then delivered his lecture.)

The CHAIRMAN: I think you will agree with me that I was not too optimistic when I said we should have an extremely interesting and a very frank address from Sir Montagu Webb. I know that you will all have listened to it with the greatest interest. As I said before, I do not propose to make any remarks in connection with Indian affairs at the present time. I am sure that Sir Montagu will know that I agree with a great deal that he said, and I disagree also with some of it. I fancy that may be the position of most of us in the room. That is, of course, the advantage of a gathering of this kind, as it enables all points of view to be put forward.

I was glad to hear him refer to the tremendous effect on Indian finances of the fall in prices, and to the economic problem which has given us so much trouble in India as elsewhere. I often wonder whether people realize how much that has had to do with trouble and unrest, not only in India, but everywhere else. The problem which he has referred to in regard to the fall in prices is not only a problem of India. If we could find somebody who would solve that problem for us, possibly it would have far-reaching effects far beyond the borders of India. I am sure President Roosevelt would be delighted if Sir Montagu Webb would put before him a solution of the immense problems he has to face in that respect in the United States.

Sir MONTAGU WEBB: I have done so, sir!

Sir ALFRED CHATTERTON: The subjects which Sir Montagu Webb has brought before us this afternoon are of very wide scope, and it is necessary, I think, at the outset to recognize that their special Indian aspect must necessarily be much influenced by international conditions. The principal feature of this discussion should be one which is rather emphasized by Sir Montagu Webb in the opening part of his paper, and that is the extremely ephemeral character of most of the views which experts entertain on these Indian problems. He has referred to his own two papers, which he read before this Society, and only three and a half years ago I had the honour of reading a paper here on the subject of "India's Progress and India's Poverty."

In that paper I drew particular attention to the deplorable habit of the people of India of hoarding gold, and the effect that it was producing on the financial condition of the world. I also drew attention to the extreme poverty of large sections of the people. During the last two years such remarks as were then made have ceased to apply. You all know how since we went off the gold standard India, instead of hoarding gold, has exported it in large quantities; to its own great benefit, and possibly also to the benefit of the rest of the world. In the same way the catastrophic fall in prices has benefited the extremely poverty-stricken section of the Indian community.

It therefore seems to me that Sir Montagu Webb might perhaps have been a little more lenient in his criticisms on the past administration of the finances of India. Many of us will doubtless agree with him that great

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mistakes were made, but most of those measures were taken in the light of the situation as it then appeared.

He is particularly emphatic upon the subject of the 1s. 6d. rupee, which was fixed in 1926 against the advice largely of people who were interested in obtaining a rupee at a lower value. It is true that the rupee then was fixed at a higher rate than had prevailed before the war, but India was one of the few countries in the world which really economically benefited considerably by the war. The general situation was such that, coupled with the fact that for at least two years the exchange value of the rupee had been fairly steady at the suggested rate, no other course could have been pursued without serious dislocation of business and deliberate discrimination in favour of certain interests. True, we were mistaken in thinking that prices had reached a reasonably permanent degree of stability. That is obvious now, but there were no signs of the approaching fall in prices at that time. For that reason I am inclined to deprecate that any action should be taken at the present time to alter the exchange value of the rupee.

The great object of the British Government and of the American Government today is to raise the price level of primary commodities, and people are not at all certain whether they may not ultimately be raised very much too high. It therefore seems to me quite inexpedient that today we should consider changing in any way the ratio of the rupee to the British currency. We have got to remember that the rupee is a link, not to gold, but to sterling, and sterling has depreciated in terms of gold by more than 50 per cent., so the rupee also in regard to gold has similarly depreciated.

I now come to the proposition that the mints of India should be opened to the free coinage of silver. That proposal has my utmost sympathy. About two years ago I wrote several letters to *The Times* on the subject, and I proposed then the establishment of an international silver pool with a view to raising gradually the value of silver to some higher fixed level.

A good deal of water has flowed under the bridges since then, and although I still agree that if we could only get silver back into use as money of account it would be a great advantage to the whole world, and to the eastern part of it in particular, yet the discussions which have taken place during the past two years show us that the chance at the present moment of achieving anything in this direction is somewhat remote.

It looks so at present, but all our views on these subjects are liable to be modified by actions which are going on, about which we know nothing and can conjecture nothing. It may be that in a comparatively short time we shall see some prospect of this being brought about.

One of the great difficulties, so far as I can understand the matter, is to arrive at some definite ratio between, I was going to say, gold and silver, but at the present moment gold is not the standard of value anywhere except in France and one or two other European countries. Assuming, however, that the standard of comparison is to be between silver and sterling, as we know it at present, Sir Montagu Webb would have a 1s. 4d. rupee, I presume, as measured in sterling. At present it is a 1s. 6d. rupee, and the sterling value of its silver contents today is about 6½d.

If there were time, one might dilate upon the enormous advantages which

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would accrue to the East if we could raise the value of silver from 6½d. per rupee to some figure which would give the rupee its face value. The rupee contains 165 grains of silver, and it would mean that silver would have to rise from 1s. 6d. an ounce, its present value, to about 4s.

One of the arguments used against the rehabilitation of silver is, of course, that the yearly increment of silver to the world's stocks might become unduly large, and that at any rate it is an unknown quantity. In this respect it is convenient to deal with silver in a different unit from what we are ordinarily accustomed to. We generally speak of silver as dealt with in ounces, and we get into figures of hundreds of millions when we begin to deal with the value of silver in the world. Let us rather deal with it as we do with the baser metals and consider it by the ton.

The annual increment of silver has never exceeded 10,000 tons a year. The present value of silver is about £2,000 a ton. So that the maximum addition of silver to the world is, at its present value, about £20,000,000 sterling. That is a comparatively easy thing to remember. If that were raised so that the rupee became money of account, that figure of £20,000,000 a year would rise to a little over £50,000,000 a year. Dealing with values of this order, there should not be much of a difficulty in coming to some international arrangement by which the value of silver could be rehabilitated.

In the last two years, however, another factor has emerged which may add greatly to the difficulties of settling this question. The stocks of silver throughout the world, but chiefly located in the East, have been estimated at fifteen thousand million ounces—that is, five hundred thousand tons of silver—which, at £2,000 a ton, represents a value of one thousand million pounds sterling. These are only round figures, of course.

Two years ago most people would have said that no matter what you may do to raise the value of silver, you will hardly effect the hoards of silver that exist in the East, in China and India. The extraordinary experience of the last two years shows in the most definite way that the people of the East are perfectly willing to part with their metallic hoards. The outpouring of gold from India is a phenomenon which nobody would have anticipated two years ago. If any steps are taken to rehabilitate silver, there is a possibility that the hoards of silver may come out to an embarrassing extent.

I rather want to put these points before Sir Montagu Webb because it is a very facile thing to say that it is desirable to open the mints of India to the free coinage of silver, but it will certainly prove a very difficult matter to devise a method or to find financial support both able and willing to carry out the operation to the extent that may possibly be involved by this sudden pouring forth of silver that has been hoarded perhaps for centuries.

Sir Daniel Hamilton: I have listened with pleasure to Sir Montagu's illuminating paper; and with a good deal of his criticism of the Indian Reserve Bank Bill I heartily agree. To tie India to a gold standard which no longer stands, but lies flat, so far as the British Empire is concerned, to my mind, would be the height of folly. Silver being plentiful, a silver standard for the West would be more in accord with common sense than a gold standard for the East. I take it that Sir Montagu is a bimetallist; so

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am I, and for the simple reason that it is easier to balance oneself on two legs than on one; and it is better to have a strong silver leg to support you, or even a good wooden one, than one made of gilded papier-mâché. And I cannot but think that the haste with which the proposed Reserve Bank Bill is being hustled through the Indian Legislative Assembly is an indication that the Western financial powers who stand behind the throne are plotting and planning to secure the control of India's banking machinery before the new Constitution comes into being, in case they might find it difficult to secure that control afterwards. For this Reserve Bank Bill has undoubtedly been shaped by Western financiers, and it has not been shaped in the interests of India.

Who is India? Lord Linlithgow, Chairman of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, in his brochure, *The Indian Peasant*, says that "it may be said with truth that the ryot is India." Yes, the ryot is India and India is the ryot; and, as Lord Curzon said in his farewell speech when he left the shores of India, "the ryot should be the first and final object of every Viceroy's regard"; and so must he be the first and final regard of the Joint Parliamentary Committee and India's Reserve Bank Bill. But is he? No, the ryot has been forgotten; he has been left out in the cold.

The proposed Reserve Bank, as it stands, is a banker's and trader's bank. But the man who stands most in need of finance is the man who is the bone and sinew and the productive power of India; and to leave him outside the scope of the bank when the new Constitution is about to come into being would be nothing short of criminal folly, for without the help of the ryot the new Constitution will not work, any more than a steamship can reach her destination without steam, or a motor-car get here without petrol.

According to the Government Central Banking Inquiry Report of three years ago the rural indebtedness of India was then Rs. 900 crores—say £700,000,000 sterling—and it is more now. And, according to the Government Provincial Banking Inquiries Report published at the same time, the rates of interest paid by the ryot in the twenty-six districts of Bengal were very high, ranging in one district (Pabna) from 37½ to 300 per cent., and nowhere being under 10 per cent. Is the Reserve Bank going to put an end to this iniquity? If its reserves are going to help the bankers and the speculators of Bombay and Calcutta only, and stop short at helping the people, it may as well never see the light of day, for the new Constitution will be a thing of paper and ink only—a barren fig tree without fruit. Sir Samuel Hoare said something lately about there being no orange to divide between the Central and Provincial Governments. How can there be when the fruit is gathered by the money-lender and the gambler? Enable the ryot to gather for himself the fruit of his labour, and there will be plenty of oranges to divide between the Central and Provincial Governments. And this can be done by expanding the Currency Department into a banking system for the people which will stretch out a helping hand to rural India, which needs help more than the bankers and the gamblers of Bombay and Calcutta, who are well able to take care of themselves, and who already can get all the credit they want.

I saw some time ago a letter in *The Times* from our Chairman advocating

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an Empire Bank—a proposal of which I heartily approve. But an Empire Bank which rests on 350 millions of people who are mostly insolvent will rest on an unsound foundation. Strengthen the foundation-stones which now lie scattered and broken, join them together by pushing on with the more rapid development of the co-operative movement, and the Empire will have the greatest bank in the world, and our Chairman's dream will come true.

The Right Hon. Lord Desborough: I so entirely agree with the lecturer and almost everything that he has said that I do not see any particular reason for my addressing you, except this, that it has been well observed that "money is the most important engine to which mankind can lend an intelligent guidance," and I think, in looking back on the history of money, we must admit that the guidance has been very far from being intelligent.

There is no time to go into the history of money; I will merely say this: The essence of money is Quantity and Limitation, and not the substance of which it is made. That is the idea to get into one's head. Some people think that money value is measured by the value of the substance of which it is made. There is another school which says that it is not the substance of which money is made, but it is the number of the units which make prices, and with these latter I agree.

I have in my pocket a pound note. That pound note is of itself not a very valuable article. It derives its power from the law. The law says that that is a pound. You can take that pound to a bank. They won't give you anything for it. Nothing at all. They won't give you silver, or gold, or any Government securities, but the value of those pounds depends on the number that are out, as legal tender for the payment of debts and obligations.

I thoroughly agree with the lecturer in the remarks he made about the folly of the monetary policy pursued in 1893. In 1893 I was Member for Hereford. Even then I was so horrified at the action of Parliament that I resigned my seat for Hereford when the mints were closed to silver in India. The Indian people, as you know, in their hoards and currency and in the ornaments which they wear, have an enormous amount of silver. A lot of these ornaments were actually made by the goldsmith out of rupees. A woman in India is not allowed to possess land or money, but she had those bangles. When we closed the mints to silver, these bangles, when they were taken back to the mints, were refused, and a large part of the savings of the people of India were rendered valueless. To my mind, if you want to raise prices you want more money, more legal tender money, and this money should be in the hands of the people who are going short of the necessaries of life all over the world owing to the breakdown of the monetary system.

You cannot ignore the money of half the world, which is silver. You cannot ignore the money of 450 millions of people in China and the 353 millions in India, and the other silver-using countries. That is the money of half the world, and the object of those who take up this question should be to create some link between the moneys of the East and the moneys of the West. That is why I am a bimetallist. I am not frightened at the amount of silver. On November 6 last the American Bureau of Labour

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made a calculation that the wages of the American people since 1928 had fallen by £7,500,000,000 sterling. That being the case, the possibility of an adequate supply of silver would not frighten me. You want more money in the world. You have this absurdity going on now of wheat being destroyed and millions of people being on the verge of starvation.

I most cordially agree with what the lecturer said, and I hope he will continue his exertions, and all of us who are interested in this cause and have the welfare of mankind at heart will do what little we can to get the money of the world on a better basis and secure a stable measure of value.

Sir ALFRED WATSON: I may say that I most cordially disagree with most of what Lord Desborough has said, and with very much of what Sir Montagu Webb said.

We have heard a good deal this afternoon about the gold monomania which has possessed those who have been responsible for currency questions in India. Gold monomania is not the only form of mania in regard to currency, and although I came here to hear criticism of the Reserve Bank Bill, I was not surprised that I had to witness the production of the King Charles's head of bimetallism. Personally, I have no prejudice whatever against bimetallism, but before you can establish bimetallism or any alternative form of currency, you must find the people in the world who are willing to give you the value which you seek to put upon silver.

Silver in the reserves of the Bank of India, which Sir Montagu Webb wishes to see, would not have the value at which it was bought and put into the vaults, but exactly the value which America or France or some other country would give you for that silver in a time of crisis. So long as you cannot get other nations to agree to a fixed ratio as between silver and gold, bimetallism becomes an impossibility. It may be true that it is better to stand upon two legs than upon one. I believe the elephant in India has a prejudice in favour of four legs rather than two. Although the rupee value in India has been fixed, as Sir Montagu Webb has told us, at 1s. 6d. sterling, the actual value of the rupee today, as Sir Alfred Chatterton has reminded us, is 1s. gold. Sir Montagu Webb, as long as I remember, has been an advocate of lowering the value of the rupee. How far does he want it lowered? It has come down from 2s. to 1s. 6d., now to 1s., in international currency—1s. in its value in relation to gold. Would he have it at 6d., or will the day come when the rupee will have no value at all?

While the rupee has been fixed to sterling, and while India has had to encounter, with the rest of the world, a catastrophic fall in prices, there is no part of the world in which the peasant has benefited so much from that fall, inasmuch as foods unsaleable in the markets of the world have gone into the belly of the Indian peasant. The last few years, a time of catastrophic fall, as we have been told, have given the Indian peasant a fuller life than he has ever had before, and personally I am glad, since my chief concern for India is the welfare of its people.

Mr. JOSEPH NISSIM: I think we have all enjoyed Sir Montagu's most interesting dissertation. It comes down to this, that he approves of the fundamental idea governing the foundation of the Reserve Bank in India.

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I am glad to know that he approves of it, because I am quite in sympathy with that point of view. His criticisms are directed towards matters of detail. A Reserve Bank of India is wanted, and very urgently wanted. Look at what might have happened to Australia—I will give you an illustration—in these last few disastrous years had it not been for the Commonwealth Bank of Australia to support the credit of Australia, internal as well as external.

If you turn your attention to South Africa, that Reserve Bank was also established at a time of much uncertainty and under grave doubts. It is the Reserve Bank of the country with which the cash assets of the two principal banks there have been placed, and some of their deposits have been compulsorily placed, as is going to be the case in India, without interest. That also has functioned extremely well, to the satisfaction even of those two great banks. What happens is this. The Standard Bank of South Africa leave with the South African Reserve Bank their legal currency. The Reserve Bank keeps a very large proportion of it in gold—very nearly half, not quite. So instead of having mere paper money, these two banks can call upon the South African Bank's credit practically for gold.

The Reserve Bank is not going to hurt the Indian ryot in any way. I firmly believe that it will keep credit cheaper than it has ever been during the régime of the Imperial Bank of India, where the balances of Government have been scattered and policies governed by dual parties with dual considerations in mind. The cheapening of credit in India will ultimately percolate downwards and will help the ryot.

I do not think I have time to go into any matter of detail, so that I pass on to the question of the rupee ratio. That is a subject which Sir Montagu Webb has made his own, but I do think there is a different point of view, and I beg of him to try and look at it somewhat differently. You see, what has happened in India is this, that the Government by its magnificent efforts has given the silver rupee in India a value far in excess of its silver content: 6d. the silvent content; 1s. 6d. the external value of it. So that what Sir Montagu wants has actually been done in Indi- The silver rupee commands a price in world markets as high as he wisnes it to command. Well, has it helped the world or India very much? No, because you see that India has suffered with the world and stands to gain with the world.

Per contra, look at China. Take Shanghai. There you have the state of affairs which Sir Montagu Webb wants for India, a silver currency commanding a silver external value. Has that helped China, the trade of Shanghai? No, Chinese trade has never been lower than it is at present. Its external trade is something the like of which we have not seen for many a long day. The truth is that all efforts should be directed to raising the value of silver as a commodity, as those efforts are directed towards raising the value of wheat, and in that enterprise Great Britain jointly with India and many of the Powers of the world now are engaged.

But it is not necessary to return to bimetallism or to a silver exchange, and I will tell you how Sir Montagu really is somewhat inconsistent in his historical analysis. He has told us that the Government of India nearly came to the brink of one of the great disasters of history in 1892-93. True;

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it was when it had to rely solely upon silver, or mainly upon silver, to meet its external obligations as well. That lesson the Government of India took to heart. It discarded silver as having no great value to the financial structure of India in its external relations, which are important relations, and it has endeavoured to endow India with the same sort of currency as we enjoy in this country. Great Britain in its financial dealings with India is not animated by any considerations other than what it applies to itself.

How can you get the financial authorities in this country and the Bank of England to do for India what they are not prepared to do here, and that is to take on silver as an endowment, not so much with regard to internal affairs—in that matter I am entirely in agreement with Lord Desborough—but to do it in meeting the external obligations of India, which are very serious. The ryot must stand to lose greatly if his taxation were increased in order to meet India's heavy external commitments. He would lose by it; he would have to be taxed more, and that is a consideration that the Government of India bears in mind.

I think the truth lies in this, that silver may be encouraged as much as you like for internal purposes, but beware of the fallacy of relying on silver to keep India's imports and exports balanced. There are many such considerations I would place before you to justify the stand I take, but I cannot do so in view of the limitations of time.

Sir Montagu Webb: The points that have been raised are very familiar to me, and I should much like to deal with them at length—I should take at least two hours—but I must confine myself to one or two of the most important.

Sir Alfred Watson said, if we were going to make use of silver, what we should have to do is to find the people who would give the value we seek to put on silver, and would accept that silver.

I have travelled in all parts of the world. I have seen many millions of people in Africa who will give you good labour and good things in exchange for silver. I have lived all my life in India, where 300 millions of people have given me everything I want in exchange for silver. I have travelled in China and seen 460 millions of people working, exporting, producing in exchange for silver. So I submit that there is not the slightest difficulty in finding people who will give you good things in exchange for silver; the difficulty is to find legislators in this country who will open both their eyes, and not legislate against the use of silver as money.

Sir Alfred Watson: May I point out that what I said was that the difficulty was to find people who would give you for your silver the artificial value which you had yourself put on that silver.

Sir Montagu Webb: No, sir. I am not proposing to put any artificial value on it at all. I can find one thousand millions of people who will work in exchange for silver, and so I think it would be a good thing to put them to work by aid of silver money.

One point Sir Alfred Chatterton raised. He thought the export of gold was such a fine thing for India. I happen to know that a great deal of that gold was the last resource of a starving people, taken out of their reserves

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and parted with because it was the only way to save themselves from bankruptcy and starvation. Nobody yet has been able to find out exactly what proportion, but a large part of that gold was "distress" gold. I do not think it is a source of congratulation that many unfortunate country people and others have been obliged to part with their last reserves.

Sir Daniel Hamilton said two legs are better than one. I agree. Nature has taken the precaution to duplicate not only our legs, but other limbs and organs of our body. I submit that we should be wise, in building up the monetary structure of our Empire, to take a hint from Nature, and utilize two precious metals rather than one.

The CHAIRMAN: I am afraid my old friend may be disappointed if I tell him that the two-leg argument does not appeal much to me. I met a dear old lady last night, who did not approve of aeroplanes, because men were not intended to fly or they would have been provided with wings. I pointed out that Nature had not provided us with railway trains or motor-cars, to which she had no answer. (Laughter.) I am afraid you cannot go back.

I do think that this discussion has shown me, at any rate, that the problem is not only one of India, but one even wider than India. I suggest to you that there is one interesting thing we might all consider. We all realize that there is a measure of length and a measure of weight. You could not buy a yard of cloth without a measure of length, and if you want to know the standard upon which that measure is based you can see it set out in Trafalgar Square or at the Guildhall. The weight by which you buy a pound of tobacco or sugar is also marked from a standard in the same way. What has happened is that the third essential standard for the world, the standard of value, has broken down altogether. What we have to do is to find a new standard of value. Unless that is done, and without much delay, there will be, believe me, a catastrophe which will not be felt in India alone.

Sir JOHN KERR: It is fortunately no part of my duty to express an opinion on the subject under discussion this evening, because it is one of those subjects I have never understood. But Sir Montagu Webb has put off his departure for India in order to address us this evening, and for that, among other things, we owe him our very grateful thanks. Whatever view we may take of his opinions, or whether, as in my case, we have no view at all, we can all see he is a bonny fighter, and we wish him all success in his return to India to continue the fight he has carried on all his days for what he thinks to be the best interests of that country.

It has been a great pleasure to find Lord Desborough taking part in our discussions this evening, and on behalf of the Association I should like to say how glad we are to see our old friend Sir Daniel Hamilton here again.

We also wish to thank the Chairman. He is a member of the Joint Select Committee. The time that those unfortunate people are allowed to have off the Committee is very scanty and very precious. We are all the more grateful to you, sir, for sparing some of it to us this evening, and we are particularly grateful for those few but illuminating remarks which you made at the end of your closing speech.

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Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to pass a very hearty vote of thanks to all those whom I have mentioned.

This motion was carried by acclamation.

Sir MONTAGU WEBB writes: "I am sorry that time did not permit me to reply to more than two of the very interesting points raised after reading my paper. May I do so now?

"Sir Alfred Chatterton, whilst recognizing that 'great mistakes' had been made in the past, thought I was too severe on the Government. The measures taken in the past seemed the best possible at the time, he urged. May I remind Sir Alfred that in 1893 the Bimetallic League, which included many leading experts of the day, protested most strongly against the closing of India's mints to silver; whilst the Right Hon. Leonard Courtney, M.P., a member of the Herschell Committee, in a note attached to the Report, exposed the truth—namely, that the mints were in effect closed by London's orders, and in opposition to the Government of India's proposals. On each subsequent occasion—in 1905-07, 1910-12, 1919, 1920, and in 1926—Government acted in face of the strongest possible opposition from the public in India.

"'There were no signs of any fall of prices in 1926,' says Sir Alfred. Well, here are the index numbers, Indian and English:

	India (*Calcutta*).	*England* (*Statist*).
1924	173	164
1925	159	160
1926	148	148
1927	148	144
1928	145	141

"Several expert witnesses (including the East Indian Section of the London Chamber of Commerce) urged (before the Hilton-Young Commission) a waiting policy. But Government took its own course, and was wrong! Index numbers show that prices went on falling till they reached 82 in India and 90 in England (in March last).

"Sir Alfred Watson accuses me of being an advocate of lowering the value of the rupee 'as long as he can remember.' I certainly urged the Hilton-Young Commission not to fix the exchange value of the rupee at 1s. 6d., and have since advocated 1s. 4d. So that Sir Alfred remembers my activities for some six years. I never pressed for a lower rate of exchange in the previous thirty-five years during which I have written and spoken on these matters, so far as I remember.

"It is everywhere recognized that falling prices *temporarily* benefit the 'peasants' and the 'poverty-stricken' classes (and also all other fixed-wage earners, pensioners, annuitants). But every authority is agreed that these benefits are far more than counterbalanced by the very serious consequences that develop in other directions. As already explained, a long period of falling prices paralyzes industry, numbs enterprise, breeds unemployment, and checks national progress.

"Important as the exchange value of the rupee in British currency may

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seem to those who work in India and send remittances to England, or who live in England and draw interest or pensions from India, the internal value of the rupee—*i.e.*, its purchasing power in India—is a far more important matter. Every expert economic authority recognizes this. Internal monetary stability is of the first importance. Britain's pound today will only buy eleven or twelve shillings gold, yet Great Britain goes on its way unperturbed. Sir Alfred Watson will find that India, too, will prosper if her rupee be restored to 1s. 4d., or allowed to adjust itself to trade requirements at 1s. 2d., or even 1s., just as England's trade is progressing, and now reviving, under the stimulus of a greatly depreciated pound sterling. It is the purchasing power of the rupee inside India that is of the first importance. That purchasing power must now be restored to the 1928-29 measure.

"Silver has helped China enormously to produce, to live, and to grow. Internal political disorders have been China's chief handicap in recent years. Provided India can escape similar internal political convulsions, silver can stimulate cheap and abundant production in India, and put her in a position to trade even more profitably in the future than she did in the past, and with the whole world.

"The Chairman hit the nail on the head when he drew attention to the fact that our standards of length, weight, and capacity are fixed standards. Government has passed laws and created machinery to assure the stability of those standards. And severe is the punishment which all receive who attempt to tamper with those standards.

"But in the case of the standard of value—the most important measure of all—Government have wholly neglected their duty and allowed the standard to contract or stretch as local circumstances determined. The British pound sterling has become so distorted during the last few years that the cruellest injustices have been perpetrated. The rupee, being tied to the pound, has become similarly distorted, so that the zemindar (and India is three-quarters agricultural) has now to give twice as much of the produce of his fields to pay his land revenue and the interest due to the bunnia as he did five years ago. Not until this cruel injustice be remedied can prosperity return. 'A perfect and just measure shalt thou have,' said the great Law-giver. Let the British Government see to it. I have suggested in my paper what I believe to be the best practical method of procedure in order to restore and uphold British canons of fairplay in India.

"May I add that a 2s. 6d. rupee would suit me personally better than a 1s. 4d. rupee. It would no doubt last for my time. But it would be very bad for India."

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INDIAN AND CEYLON TEA*

By Mrs. H. M. Lidderdale

"The Secretary of State in Council in consideration of the service rendered by Mr. C. A. Bruce in the discovery of the tea plant in Assam doth, in virtue of all powers and authorities enabling him in that behalf and so far as he lawfully can or may, by these presents grant and convey unto Mr. C. A. Bruce and his heirs all that lot . . ."

Mildewed paper and faded writing of 1869 . . . but to those interested in the development of the industries of our Empire the document from which these words are taken unfolds a pageant of romantic enterprise. This first deed of gift from Government, granting to a gallant pioneer 3,000 acres of land in Assam, was handed to the writer by a member of the East India Association a few weeks ago, and at once her mind went back to the beginnings of that great industry which has made the British Empire the tea garden and tea market of the world.

In 1788, the great East India Company, which had gained its charter from Queen Elizabeth and still held a monopoly of British trade with India and the Far East, frowned on the suggestion of tea-growing possibilities in India for fear of losing its highly profitable trade in China tea. Yet at that very moment British merchants, anxious lest China might close Canton, the one port where a foreigner might purchase tea, were diligently seeking for a new source of supply within British territory. They had welcomed the suggestion by eminent botanists that the soil, elevation, latitude, and climate of Northern India would afford the desired conditions, and had learnt with interest that the Dutch had already found tea-growing practicable in Java. But in face of the opposition of John Company nothing effective could then be done.

It is one of the ironies of history that the East India Company should have continued to go to China for all the tea it brought to England while a superior quality was growing at its doors. Even when in 1823 a native tea plant was discovered growing in profusion in Assam (whether actually by C. A. Bruce, as the deed I have quoted would suggest, or by his brother, Major Robert Bruce, as some authorities state) everyone still thought only in terms of China tea. And when at last tea gardens were planted in India, it was the Chinese variety that they tried to grow—

* Based on an address at a discussion meeting of members of the East India Association on November 13, 1933.

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an interesting sidelight on the mentality of the British producer and trader, slow then as now to grasp and utilize a new idea. It was left to Major Bruce's brother, C. A. Bruce, to foster the infant industry of Indian tea, but by then the monopoly of the East India Company had been abandoned, to the immense relief of British merchants and the great benefit of British trade.

Mincing Lane was roused to enthusiasm in 1839 by news that eight boxes containing tea manufactured from the Indian plant were on their way to London. The tea had been manufactured to imitate as closely as possible China tea, by Chinese labour imported into India. The bidding at the auction was extraordinarily spirited, each box being put up separately, the prices varying from 16s. to 34s. a pound. The next shipment in 1840 fetched from 11s. to 16s. a pound, though even then it was considered a somewhat fantastic statement that India might one day produce tea better than the best from China.

All the experiments in Indian tea-growing had so far been carried out at Government expense. The first commercial enterprise, the Assam Company, was founded in 1839 to take over two-thirds of the Government gardens, rent free for the first ten years. Before very long, however, it became obvious that the Chinese methods adopted were of little use in India, and the Assam Company came to the brink of ruin. But then, as so often happens in our history, at the eleventh hour men of initiative and enterprise were found to turn defeat into glorious victory. Through their aid in a few years the Company became a paying concern and our tea industry was placed on a firm foundation, eventually to form one of the greatest assets in the British Empire.

This industry in India, Ceylon, and East Africa owns approximately $1\frac{1}{4}$ million cultivated acres and produces every year about 650 million pounds of tea. It purchases British machinery and stores (involving the employment of British labour) amounting annually to several millions of pounds sterling, and it employs British capital to the extent of over 75 million pounds.

Powerful, however, as its position is, this industry, built up through the adventurous qualities, the ceaseless labour and untiring patience of British men, has now to face remorseless competition, and if it is to maintain its greatness it emphatically needs the intelligent co-operation of British women. The danger that faces Empire growers today is the manufacture and importation into England of foreign teas of low quality and price, a danger which it is disastrous to meet by importing similar growths from the Empire. Used as they often are by retailers "as a cheapener or makeweight," without any indication on the packet of their origin and nature, these cheap foreign teas naturally tend to supplant better growths from the Empire.

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While it may not be desirable to exclude such teas, especially at a time of greatly reduced incomes, they must not be allowed to undermine our own production.

It is here that woman can play her part with immediate effect, since her intelligent demand will maintain the market for the finer teas. She will thereby have the satisfaction, not only of playing her part as a good citizen, but of proving her wisdom as a housekeeper, for since there is a duty on tea it is obviously to her advantage to buy the finer quality, which yields many more cups to the pound. Moreover, the duty on tea is preferential, the foreign tea paying twice the duty charged on Empire-grown tea, and here, again, it is essential for woman to understand the situation. As most people know, nearly all tea is blended before sale to the public. If a blend contains only teas produced within the Empire, it may be marked by the retailer with the words "Empire Grown," a title which guarantees that the contents have only borne the preferential duty of 2d. a pound. If, however, the dealer should use any tea from foreign possessions, the packet could not be marked "Empire Grown," and its foreign contents would have borne a duty of 4d. a pound. The title "Empire Blend," so freely used, is most misleading to the public. It is purely a fancy name, carrying no guarantee of Empire production or benefit of preferential duty. All these points are as important to the consumer as her knowledge of them is to the industry, and must be placed before her by women, who understand her point of view.

It is a commonplace of British industrialists that the housewife must be educated; but, as has already been pointed out, such education needs comprehension of woman's point of view, and includes infinitely more than the mere shouting of a slogan. It is obvious that, as buyers, women hold the key position and that in these days of wider intelligence they must be approached through the avenues of education and economic good sense, not through an appeal to emotional sentiment. Nor is it helpful to direct a publicity campaign from the point of view of the producer or manufacturer alone, as is so often done, when it is primarily that of the consumer which interests the audience.

The first step in the campaign on behalf of Empire-grown teas was to gain an entry into organizations of women throughout the country, so as to place before them the whole position of the industry and to gain their enlightened support. The second step was to arrange lectures which, though dealing with the furtherance of trade, would be planned on such historical and educational lines as to make them acceptable to scholastic and social circles. Thirdly, it was found necessary to choose as lecturers women with sound publicity knowledge, since without

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this the lecturer, however eloquent, may do more harm than good to the industry concerned.

So rapidly did these "Trade Talks" gain a hold on the imagination of the public that hundreds of audiences, in public libraries and rural institutes, in provincial towns and isolated villages, have listened and are listening to "The Romance of Tea." Opening the story with early Chinese pictures and telling of the days when the Zen monks had introduced a very simple tea ceremony, the lecturer shows its elaboration into a stately ritual by the Japanese. Then from the adventurous voyage of Bontekoe, sailing the China seas, and from tales of early travellers bringing back to Europe costly consignments of tea and porcelain, we pass to the Court of Charles II., where Queen Catherine of Braganza, whose dowry was the Island of Bombay, received an offering of two pounds of tea from the great East India Company. Lovely pictures of silver teapots, urns, and caddies illustrate the reign of Queen Anne, "who sometimes counsel took, and sometimes tay." A tea scene in Hogarth's "Marriage à la Mode" reveals the absence of a milk-jug, since tea was too precious to be diluted in his time, while the conversation of Dr. Johnson and Mrs. Siddons is "enlivened by the infusion of the fragrant leaf."

Cartoons from the British Museum tell the story of the Boston tea party and the American War of Independence. Romney's lovely and almost unknown portrait of Mrs. Elizabeth Wedgwood shows a serene brow, untroubled by a note from her grocer announcing a rise of 20 per cent. in tea prices owing to the new war with France. So with views of the old tea gardens, whose pump-water was specially advertised for its tea-making qualities, we come to the days when the clippers raced round the Cape of Good Hope and women in their finest frocks and proudest crinolines welcomed the new season's teas.

Then at last, in 1933, we see the tea table as the centre of the home, set with English china and finest linen from the mills of Ulster—1933, when a great Empire industry has reached a pitch of perfection attained through tenacity of purpose, concentrated work of the most arduous kind, and a standard that its rivals must never be allowed to surpass. It is made clear in conclusion that the members of the audiences, one and all, must play their part in the splendid task which lies before them, for by placing their intelligence and good taste at the service of British industry they will help to maintain its fine record and our high place among the nations of the world.

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THE LANCASHIRE TEXTILE MISSION TO INDIA

By S. S. Hammersley, M.P.

Though the production of Lancashire cotton goods has been reduced to a tithe of its former proportions, exports of these goods, even in these depressed times, are still the most valuable manufactured exports from this country. Despite political unrest, India remains Lancashire's largest customer, and the maintenance of the trade link in textiles between India and the United Kingdom is of overwhelming importance to the economic stability of Great Britain. Moreover, in practice the selling organizations through which this great textile trade is conducted are organizations extremely helpful to other branches of British commerce in addition to textiles, so that in fact the Lancashire trade is, as it were, the keystone of the whole of our commercial intercourse with the great dependency.

In a trade of this magnitude many interests are involved in addition to those of the producers in Lancashire. I therefore welcome this opportunity to speak on the work of the recent British textile mission to India to some of those whose preoccupation with the welfare of India as a whole must of necessity make them concerned with the outlook for future trade relationship between the two countries.

Background of the Mission

By the spring of this year, Japanese competition, so disturbing in its effect on the industrial life of the world, had invaded the Indian market to such an extent that serious difficulties were being experienced both by the hand-loom and mill textile industries of India. In consequence of the vehement representations of these Indian interests the Government of India had given notice to denounce the Indo-Japanese trading agreement, and the Japanese had decided to send to India a diplomatic mission to negotiate a new trading agreement. This diplomatic mis-

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sion was to be accompanied by a textile mission representing Japan's important export trade in textiles.

It was the sending of this Japanese mission to India that influenced the British Government to look with favour on a textile mission from this country, to enter into conferences both with the Indian and the Japanese textile industrialists, and to make such representations to the Government of India as the mission thought fit with a view to ensuring that the new trading agreement was neither harmful to the United Kingdom's cotton interests nor contrary to any policy which H.M. Government might be forced to pursue on the particular problem of Japanese competition throughout the Empire as a whole.

The Lancashire-India Trade Aspect

This objective of entering into tripartite discussions with the Japanese and Indian industrialists was not the only cause of our being sent out. Since 1928 Lancashire's exports to India had dropped by over one thousand million yards. The trade had become the victim of political passion and prejudice. The Bombay Millowners' Association seemed never to be content with the protection they enjoyed, and were continually urging the Government of India to increase ever further the tariff barriers against Lancashire's goods. Moreover, it was well known that the Congress party, with its general hostile reaction to every aspect of British rule, had received considerable financial assistance from Indian mill interests. There existed, therefore, an indefinable but continuously active adverse influence handicapping Lancashire trade —the belief that the furtherance of Indian Nationalists' aims was synonymous with increasing barriers against British textiles. In the light of the discussions on the proposed new Constitution for India, the question was freely debated in trade circles whether advance along the lines indicated by the White Paper was possible without endangering the whole structure of commercial intercourse between India and the United Kingdom, which is so essentially one of the economic foundations of British power.

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A Unique Opportunity

When, therefore, the various textile organizations in Lancashire learnt that the textile associations in India would welcome the opportunity afforded by a mission to India for a free and frank discussion of the general problems common to both industries, the Lancashire trade associations readily agreed to appoint and send out the delegation. They agreed the more readily because they appreciated the opportunity afforded to represent "face to face" to the Government of India the reasoned views of Lancashire.

There were thus three objectives before the mission: Japanese competition; representations to the Government of India; and negotiations with the Indian millowners. These three objectives were intermingled in the fabric of our aims. Sometimes one or another was uppermost, but at no time were any of them forgotten.

In Bombay

Our meetings with the Millowners' Committee commenced immediately after the weekend of our arrival. This committee, sitting under the chairmanship of Mr. H. P. Mody, the Chairman of the Bombay Millowners' Association, contained representatives of the whole of the Indian cotton mill industry: Ahmedabad, Cawnpore and Delhi, and the mills of Madras and Calcutta, as well as those concentrated in the Bombay area itself.

Some of them were reputed to be friendly to Lancashire, and others said to be intensely hostile; some had opposed Congress; many had supported it. Indians of every religious persuasion and Europeans were included; it was a complete and comprehensive gathering of All-Indian interests.

We met them face to face. It was our task to try to convince them that Lancashire's expectations of a reasonable share in the Indian market (considerably greater than our present share) were neither harmful to Indian mill interests nor to the legitimate aspirations of political India.

I do not propose to burden my account with any of the technical

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details of our negotiations; I content myself by saying that after a week of stiff discussions with the millowners' group, we got them to go a little way with us. It was a very little way indeed, and as far as we were concerned it was by no means far enough, but we knew where we stood. There was a general disposition to be helpful, but there were undercurrents. How were these undercurrents working? We were to see.

In the meantime the Japanese mission had arrived. It had gone to Simla, and the Government of India required the presence in Simla of many of those who were negotiating with us in Bombay. By mutual consent the negotiations in Bombay were broken off, and we set off on a journey of nearly one thousand miles to Simla.

The Japanese Negotiations

As recently as 1928 Japan's exports of cotton piece goods to India were in the neighbourhood of 350 million yards. In 1932 these imports had risen to 600 million yards—an increase of 70 per cent. in four years. This abnormal expansion of trade has taken place during the period when the world as a whole has experienced a severe depression. The point we made to the Japanese textile delegates was not that we raised any objection to a normal expansion of trade in normal circumstances, but that in a world which was consuming less Japan was producing more. In other words, the growth of Japan is not a common advance in company with the rest of the world, but is made at the expense of other nations. We emphasized that such a position could not possibly be allowed to continue, and we put to the Japanese textile delegation this plain question: "Is Japan prepared to accept during the continuance of existing conditions a limitation of the volume of her exports and some effective measures in regard to the prices at which these exports are sold? Or as an alternative, is Japan prepared to face those measures of self-defence which other countries will otherwise be forced to institute?"

We found it extremely difficult to make progress with the Japanese. They had arrived in Simla in very large numbers—52 representatives, to say nothing of servants. They had a club

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of their own, and they had imported their own special food. One Indian delegate just arrived at Simla, noting the large number of Japanese, exclaimed, "I thought the Japanese invasion had begun!" In addition to the hampering effect of excessive numbers, the Japanese textile delegation (it appeared to us) were strictly limited in their authority, and it seemed as though they were under orders from their diplomatic negotiators to give nothing away. In the end we were fortunate to extract from them a qualified statement that they were prepared favourably to consider a reduction in the volume of their exports.

Indian Raw Cotton

Our informal negotiations with the Government of India began as soon as we arrived in Simla. We delayed our formal representations for several days in order to give ourselves time to deal with some particularly virulent propaganda emanating from the Japanese. The Japanese are the largest external purchasers of Indian raw cotton, and their buying organization for this cotton is spread throughout all the cotton-fields of India. A boycott of Indian cotton by Japan had been declared, and through this Japanese organization the Indian agriculturists were being drenched with propaganda to the effect that they would obtain practically nothing for their raw cotton while having to pay more for their cotton cloth. Naturally the representatives of agricultural interests were up in arms, and the Government of India were being subjected to great pressure to make a quick settlement satisfactory to Japan so that the Japanese would resume the buying of Indian raw cotton.

We therefore were at great pains to placate Indian agricultural interests so that our representations to the Government of India could have a greater chance of bearing fruit. We agreed on certain practical proposals to increase the use of Indian cotton by Lancashire and agreed to recommend these proposals to the trade when we returned home.

In my view it is absolutely vital if we are to maintain our trade with India on a sound basis that no stone should be left unturned in Lancashire's efforts to use more Indian cotton.

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Japanese Propaganda

To show you what we were up against in the form of Japanese propaganda in India I quote from a pamphlet published by the *Jiji Shimpo*, which was circulated freely in India.

> Are India and her people responsible for the present difficulties of Lancashire? Are the lives of native Indians to be made happier and richer by lowering this country's import tariff on cotton goods made only in England? Who are to blame for the depressed conditions of Lancashire spinners and shippers, who have not so far shown a whit of industrial courage and progressiveness rationalizing their trade nor made any praiseworthy effort to open and expand the market for their products? They have only themselves to blame for their own miserable plight. Yet the British spinners, unmindful of this indisputable fact, want to cripple their legitimate competitors by prohibitive tariffs in order to exploit India to the utmost with a weapon of unreasonable preference in their hands. Such is so-called British sportsmanship in the field of international commerce.

Here is another extract:

> Are the Britishers going to further persecute the Indians?

You will appreciate from these quotations how necessary it was for us to confer fully with every representative agriculturist body in order to assure them that our legitimate demands were not against the best interests of the Indian agriculturist. We had to inform them of the simple fact that the United Kingdom takes between three and four times more of Indian agricultural products than Japan does, and we illustrated to them by argument and example that the more they could develop the growth of the longer staple cottons which Lancashire could take in large quantities the better off they would be, as such a growth would be in world demand and the agriculturists would not be at the mercy of one country's purchase. After very many meetings we obtained from the unofficial Agricultural Advisers to the Government an indication that our proposals in respect to the increased use of Indian cotton in Lancashire were practical and satisfactory.

Government Help

The Government of India were most helpful. They listened sympathetically to all our representations, and in respect to the one on which an immediate answer was possible they gave us an unqualified undertaking to enter into negotiations with the

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Government of the United Kingdom to see that cotton and artificial silk goods are placed on a basis of legal preference in the Indian market.

The letter from Sir Joseph Bhore on behalf of the Government of India to our Chairman, Sir William Clare Lees, has been published, but may well be reproduced here:

DEAR SIR WILLIAM LEES,

Before the United Kingdom Textile Delegation leaves India I would express to you and your colleagues the gratification of the Government of India and myself at what—apart from its future potentialities—I conceive to be the visible and immediate consequences of your visit. I am particularly glad to learn that by your discussions with the leading representatives of the Indian cotton textile industry you have succeeded in establishing a greater measure of mutual understanding than has ever existed previously between those whom you represent and the cotton industry of India.

You will not expect me to comment upon the outcome of the discussions, but I take this opportunity of stating that the Government of India are in full sympathy with the principle of such industrial conferences as those in which you have just taken part, and they will always be prepared to consider most carefully the results of such deliberations. They hope that the precedent now happily established will be followed in the future whenever circumstances make it opportune so to do.

You have made certain representations to the Government of India on behalf of the United Kingdom cotton and artificial silk industries. I can assure you that these representations will be carefully and sympathetically considered. It is impossible, owing to the nature of some of your submissions, to give you an immediate reply, but when the time comes for Government to take decisions on the matters in question, your representations will be borne in mind. You understand, I know, that our economic policy has been and will be framed primarily with a view to the best interests of India. But, subject to that basic condition, we are at all times ready and anxious to assist British trade and to foster and enlarge the trade exchanges between Great Britain and this country.

Although a full reply to your case is for the time being impracticable, it is possible to give you an assurance on one point. You have mentioned in the course of your representations that the industries which you represent greatly regret the indeterminate character of the provisions relating to their manufactures in the Trade Agreement which was concluded at Ottawa, although you recognize that the circumstances at the time of the Ottawa Conference did, in fact, make it difficult if not impossible for the Government of India to negotiate a more precise understanding. I can give the assurance that the Government of India will enter into discussions with His Majesty's Government in Great Britain on this point as soon as the negotiations now proceeding with the Japanese Government are concluded. The Government of India recognize the natural wish of an export trade of

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such great importance to Great Britain to be included within the scope of the Trade Agreement which now exists between the two countries.

In conclusion, I wish to convey to you my appreciation of the manner in which you have conducted your negotiations in India. You have made many friends, not only for yourselves, but for the industries you represent. You have removed many misunderstandings and misconceptions in India, and if on your return to the United Kingdom you are able there to perform the same service, you will have made a valuable contribution towards the creation of more cordial relations between India and your own country. It is my sincere hope that in due course people in India, as in the United Kingdom, will come to recognize that no better basis for future trade relations could be evolved than that which the visit of your Mission has initiated. Should this come to pass I am sure that India would play her part, and that she would always give a warm welcome and every consideration to any representatives of British trade who might come, as you have, to discuss common problems.

Yours sincerely,
J. W. Bhore.

The Agreement

In the meantime we had endeavoured to make progress with the negotiations begun in Bombay with the Indian millowners. When we arrived at Simla it became clear that there were dangerous differences of opinion within this All-Indian body. Some there were who did not want an agreement with us at any price. At Delhi these recalcitrants came out into the open against an agreement with Lancashire. Mr. Mody, to whom I desire to pay a tribute of respect for his courageous leadership, decided boldly to advocate an agreement with Lancashire. At Bombay the battle between the two sections was joined and fortunately Mody emerged victorious.

An hour before we sailed an agreement was signed which reversed the principle of higher production against Lancashire's goods, affirmed the principle of preference of cotton goods for Great Britain and associated us in a request to the Government of India for unconditional reductions in the duties on cotton yarn, artificial silk, and artificial silk and cotton mixtures. To deal in detail with the agreement between the Bombay millowners and the British Mission would delay the discussion to which we are all looking forward, but I shall be most happy to answer questions which any member may wish to put.

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The great value of our work consists in the fact that we have established the existence of a large body of active industrial opinion in India prepared to co-operate with Lancashire under suitable conditions. Our agreement calls a halt in the process of higher duties against Lancashire. It does more; it advocates unconditional reductions over certain sections and conditional reductions over the whole range.

Future Steps

Let nobody be unaware, however, that much more remains to be done if we are to take full advantage of the favourable atmosphere which the work of the mission has created. Our efforts must be backed up by the trade itself in the direction of the increased use of Indian cotton and by the Government in more than one direction.

The British Government should without delay proceed to negotiate a trade agreement with India embodying the principle of "fair and equitable treatment" of British cotton and artificial silk goods in the Indian market. Our signed undertaking from the Government of India opens the door for this to be done.

In respect to Japanese competition, the Government cannot divest itself of responsibility to protect British trade by merely instituting discussions between industrialists. All my information indicates that resolution and vigour are required in dealing with Japan.

If it is possible to summarize a complex situation in one sentence I should say that the outstanding result of the work of the mission lies in the fact that it is now possible for the Lancashire cotton trade to cease to be a political pawn and that it is free to conduct its policy with a view to making India a valuable commercial ally.

संदर्भ ग्रन्थ
REFERENCE BOOK

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, December 12, 1933, when a paper entitled "The Lancashire Textile Mission to India" was read by Mr. S. S. Hammersley, M.P. Sir Stephen Demetriadi, K.B.E., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

Sir John Kerr, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir John Thompson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Hubert Carr, Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Charles Innes, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir John Maynard, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Duncan J. Macpherson, C.I.E., Mr. Hugh Molson, M.P., Mrs. Hammersley, Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Dr. Haris C. Sinha, Mr. R. W. Brock, Mr. George Pilcher, Mr. H. K. Sadler, Miss Irene Dowling, Mr. T. F. Wakley, Mr. T. T. Williams, Mr. Norman Crump, Mr. L. W. Matters, Mr. Cecil Longcroft, Mr. J. W. Golsby, Mr. W. Harris, Mr. A. Carlyle, Miss Leatherdale, Mrs. Bacon, Miss Hanson, Miss M. A. Thomas, Mr. A. Stathacopoulo, Mr. A. Hood, Mr. H. H. Charnock, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: It is my pleasant duty to take the chair for Mr. Hammersley, who has recently returned from a remarkably successful mission from Lancashire to India. The account which Mr. Hammersley will give you of that mission once more demonstrates how much more can be done when men come together in a spirit of conciliation to meet one another's difficulties than can ever be achieved by efforts to overbear opposition by coercion.

I have a letter from Lord Lamington regretting that he cannot be with us as he is in Scotland. Further, I should like to read a letter which has been received by Mr. Brown from Sir William Clare Lees, the Chairman of the mission. He writes:

"I am writing to say how sorry I am that I am not able to be present on Tuesday, December 12, in order to hear the paper which my friend and colleague, Mr. Hammersley, is to read before your Association on that date. I know that he will give you an interesting, instructive, and thought-prompting paper, and I have little doubt that when you have heard what he has to say to you, you will form the same conclusion which we, as a delegation, have done, that the way to bind the trade of this country and India to us firmly in the future is to develop the off-take of Indian produce into this market, and to make the interests of the agriculturists in India identical with our own. If India realizes that each year she is more and more dependent upon the consuming power of the United Kingdom to take her produce, particularly if that can be extended to the use of more Indian cotton, we shall find that obstacles to our trade will decrease, and Indians

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will tend both consciously and unconsciously to buy from those who buy from them.

"I hope that you will have a very successful meeting."

(Mr. HAMMERSLEY then read his paper.)

The CHAIRMAN: In thanking Mr. Hammersley for his admirable address, I am sure you will all agree with me that not only does he deserve well of Lancashire for the part that he took in his mission to India, but he has also rendered signal service to the trade and industry of this country as a whole. There is no doubt that the mission has created a far better atmosphere for our trade generally, and it has furnished a precedent for settlement by conference which in years to come may prove most valuable.

Sir CHARLES INNES: I am very glad to have this opportunity of associating myself with the Chairman in thanking Mr. Hammersley for sparing time to come here this afternoon and for his very interesting address. I am also glad to have the opportunity of congratulating him and his colleagues on the success of the mission. I do so all the more warmly because I think that I can claim that I have special knowledge of the difficulties they were up against. Indeed, when I heard Sir William Clare Lees broadcasting on the night before he sailed for Bombay, telling us what he hoped to accomplish, I must confess that I had very considerable doubts as to his success. For over seven and a half years, first as Secretary of the Commerce Department and then as Commerce Member, it was my lot periodically to visit Bombay, and many a weary hour have I spent in conference with Bombay millowners, and with that even more difficult body the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau.

The difficulty I was always up against was suspicion. Merely because I was a Britisher I was suspect. They seemed to labour under a perpetual suspicion that I regarded it as my job to further the interests of British trade and not those of Indian trade, and that I looked upon India more or less as the tied house of the United Kingdom in matters of trade.

I think that the textile mission have rendered a very real service in this matter, not merely a service in commercial matters, but also in regard to the larger question of our relations with India. They went out and met the Indian millowners face to face on terms of equality, and by doing so they went far towards breaking down this barrier of suspicion. More than that, I say without hesitation from my own experience that they must have displayed a very exceptional degree of patience, tact, and diplomacy.

I think that this agreement they have arrived at is a very hopeful and encouraging sign of the times. It is not the first agreement of the kind. We have already had an agreement between the Indian iron and steel manufacturers and the British iron and steel manufacturers. It was incorporated in the Ottawa Agreement. It was agreed that the British manufacturers should undertake to buy certain quantities of surplus steel billets produced by the Iron and Steel Company, and in return they were to get certain preferences in galvanized sheets. I notice that in the first six months of the current

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year the British manufacturers have practically knocked out their Belgian competitors in the galvanized sheet trade, and I hope the agreement which has been arrived at between Lancashire and the Bombay millowners will have equal success.

I entirely agree with the lecturer that it is most important that early legislative sanction should be given to it, but I am not altogether sure that Lancashire is yet out of the wood in this matter. I see that Sir Joseph Bhore has already been tackled on the subject of the agreement in the Assembly by the representatives of Ahmedabad and other up-country mills. If I were still Commerce Member of the Government of India, and if I were to be charged with the duty of piloting through the Legislature a Bill to give effect to the agreement, I should feel happier in my mind if I could come before the Indian Legislature and point out that Lancashire was not merely receiving, but that she was also giving.

It is unfortunate that, for reasons which were entirely beyond the control of the Indian delegation, it was not possible to include the cotton trade in the Ottawa Agreement. A separate isolated Bill will be necessary, and that will be a difficulty. I am sure that the crucial point of the Bill will be, What has Lancashire to offer? The Chairman himself has referred to this matter in his lecture. He has said that it is of vital importance that Lancashire should take more Indian cotton. Sir William Clare Lees said the same thing in the letter he wrote to Mr. Brown. What I should like to ask the lecturer is whether there is any body or association existing in Lancashire which is in a position to make, so to speak, a firm offer, so that the Commerce Member can tell the Indian Legislature, "I have a firm offer here. We can guarantee that Lancashire will take so much Indian cotton." I am quite sure that the fate of the Bill will largely depend on what can be said on that matter, and whether any sort of a firm offer can be made.

I am afraid that I am rather out of touch with the Indian cotton problem. It is no less than six and a half years since I was Commerce Member of the Government of India, and now the problem is different from what it was then. The problem as I see it is that the market for imported cotton goods has contracted very much and that Japan is butting more and more into this contracted market. I can give the relevant statistics to you in a sentence or two. I take the first six months of 1928-9 and the first six months of the current year for the purpose of comparison. In the first six months of 1928-9 India imported 939 million yards of cotton cloth, and England had 79 per cent. of that trade. In the first six months of the current year India imported 419 million yards, and the United Kingdom had only had 47 per cent. of the trade. In the same period Japan had increased her share of the trade from 15 per cent. to more than 50 per cent., and that in spite of really terrific import duties. These figures show the sort of problem that Lancashire is up against.

As regards the restricted market, that is mainly the result of world conditions. The great buyers of cloth in India are the agricultural population. The agriculturists make up about four-fifths of the total Indian population. You can see in what a plight the cultivators are when I tell you how much less they are receiving now for the agricultural produce which they export

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from India. Taking again the first six months of 1928-9 and the first six months of the current year, though the volume of exports of agricultural products has gone down only by 16 per cent., the value of those exports has gone down by nearly 60 per cent. That is to say, the agriculturist's income may be said to be only two-fifths of what it was five years ago. It has been computed that with the agriculturist his fixed charges—rent, water rate, and so on—take up 22½ per cent. of his income, so you can imagine how he is suffering now, and that is the main reason for the reduced imports of cotton cloth.

Sir George Schuster has done a great deal for India's finances, but undoubtedly there are dangers in the present condition. I feel that if possible something should be done to rehabilitate the agriculturist, but the question must be taken up as an All-India question. No Local Government can deal with it. You will realize how serious it is when I tell you that when I left Burma the land was passing from the hands of the Burman agriculturist into the hands of the money-lender at the rate of 1,000 acres a day. His debts to the money-lender were incurred when paddy was being sold at between Rs. 150 and Rs. 200 for 100 baskets. Now the price of paddy is less than Rs. 60 for 100 baskets, and most peasants are insolvent.

The other thing is, I do hope Sir George Schuster will soon be able to reduce taxation. When I first went to the Government of India the general tariff rate was 5 per cent. We raised it first to 11 per cent. in 1921 and then to 15 per cent. in 1922. Now it is anything between 25 per cent. and 30 per cent. That is very high for a general rate, and if Sir George Schuster could see his way to reduce the general level, it would be a very great thing for the purchasing power of India.

As regards Japanese competition, I have little to say. The Government of India have the matter in hand themselves. All I would say is that I hope the Government of India will succeed in coming to an amicable arrangement with Japan. The two countries cannot afford to quarrel. The Government of India cannot afford to alienate a customer like Japan. In a normal year Japan takes between 10 and 20 crores' worth of raw cotton. So I hope that the negotiations will be successful and that the relations between the two countries will remain friendly.

Japan cannot really complain of the action proposed by the Government of India, for she takes much the same action herself. This year she has taken only Rs. 6,000 worth of rice from India. Not long ago she used to take Rs. 4 crores worth. She has placed an embargo on rice from India. But, as I say, I do hope that the eventual result of these negotiations will be that the relations between the two countries will remain friendly.

There is one other point I want to raise. This Japanese competition in India is only one aspect of a very much larger question, a world question, for I have no hesitation in saying that the competition of Japanese goods at the present time is the most serious danger that English trade has ever had to face. It is a most serious danger, not only to Western standards of living, but one might almost say to Western civilization. If the negotiations between India and Japan are successful we must remember that Japan will have a smaller market for her textiles in India. That means that her com-

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petition in the other parts of the world will become more intense. But it is not only textiles that she competes in. Her competition is felt in other articles also. Every year, every month almost, Japan is competing in a wider range of articles over a wider range of countries. We have all heard in the last few days of the threepenny fountain pen, of the threepenny electric light bulb, of the 1s. 7d. Homburg hat, and the twenty-shilling bicycle, all from Japan. And only recently I have read reports from South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Java, India, and Malta—indeed, from almost every country in the world—all telling the same story: dealers writing to their English correspondents and saying, "We would like to place orders with you, but cannot do it. You are shut out by Japanese competition." Can the lecturer tell us whether any action is being taken in this matter? The Government of India are negotiating with the Government of Japan. Is the British Government also going to take up the question with the Japanese Government, and is it possible for the British Government to act not alone, but in concert with the other Governments of the Empire? For, as I say, we are up against the most serious economic danger that has ever faced the British Empire and the whole of Western civilization.

Sir Louis Dane: For twenty years of my life I was a District Settlement Officer employed in assessing the land revenue and was actively engaged in considering products and prices. Naturally cotton bulked very largely in these enquiries. I am sure we all agree with the lecturer when he says that it is vital that "no stone should be left unturned in Lancashire's efforts to use more Indian cotton." We all welcome that statement. He also says later on: "We illustrated to them by argument and example that the more they could develop the growth of the longer staple cottons which Lancashire could take in large quantities, the better off they would be."

History repeats itself. Early in this century, about twenty-five years ago, that was preached in India. We were all exhorted to encourage the Indians to grow longer staple cotton. Great efforts were made in the Punjab with our new canals. We imported seed from America and Egypt, and the agricultural experts worked away very industriously for a number of years until they produced excellent long staple cotton. We thought then that the millennium was arriving, and that the agriculturists were to get an intense demand for this cotton and a very good price.

Alas, they did not. It was asserted that that cotton, although it took nearly six weeks longer to grow and required much more water and was much more delicate, could not be sold for any more than the short staple cotton, because they never were certain that it was not adulterated in some way. The zemindars very soon were all getting thoroughly disgusted and giving up the cultivation of long staple cotton.

There must be some definite engagement on the part of Lancashire manufacturers to take a specified amount of cotton. India at the present moment can produce all the long staple or other cotton Lancashire requires without any trouble whatever. Further, if the great Sukkur Barrage Canals are to pay at all, it will only be by an extensive cultivation of cotton, for which the land is quite suitable. You will have 8 million more acres

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there for cotton. Is Lancashire prepared to engage to take this Indian cotton or not? Otherwise it is no use talking to the Indians. They suffered very much by the old excise duty, which made them very bitter against Lancashire. They will not believe you unless you make some definite offer.

There is another aspect of the question of cotton which the lecturer has not touched upon. I understand Lancashire at present derives most of her cotton from America. At the present moment we do not get meat, grain, or wheat to any great extent from America, or motor-cars, but we do take cotton; and the enormous demand of Lancashire for American cotton must make it extraordinarily difficult for us to do anything as regards proper trading with America or the payment of our debts. If Lancashire would only undertake to buy all her cotton from India and the British Empire, I am certain that the demand could be met. Probably a little adjustment will be required in your mills and looms, but this can be made, and you will do an immense benefit to the Empire by reducing the enormous debit balance of trade between Great Britain and America.

One other point. As you all know, in the early days of the war the Indian troops stopped the gap in the line and did very useful service. Two years ago, before we were about to go off the gold standard, I remember having a discussion about the enormous amount of gold there was in India. It had been hoarded there for centuries, and in recent years, from 1905 to 1915, the Punjab alone used to absorb 5 million sovereigns a year. I have also as Foreign Secretary and in other capacities become aware of the great hoards of gold in certain States in India, so I was prepared to say—I was talking to one of the leading bankers in London—that there was an enormous amount of gold in India, and the idea was to get this gold in circulation. I put the amount at probably 650 millions. He said it was very difficult, and he did not believe there was. I seemed to him as one that mocked. Shortly after that we went off the gold standard, and I think up to the present moment there has been 150 millions of gold sent from India. After all, people on the spot do get to know things that even bankers are unaware of!

India in the war, and in the maintenance of our sterling value, has rendered us most valuable service, and I do hope everything will be done to encourage that trade union between India and England which is so desirable, and that Lancashire will play her full part in this effort.

Dr. Haris C. Sinha: The previous two speakers have said most of the things which I wanted to say. The really important point is to satisfy Indians that something is actually going to be done, and both of the previous speakers have mentioned the importance of satisfying Indian opinion in this respect.

Two difficulties have been mentioned. One is the shortness of the Indian staple, and the second the mixing of Indian staples. But there are others, as, for instance, imperfect ginning and wide variations in colour. These militate against the use of Indian cotton to any large extent. I would like to know from Mr. Hammersley how these difficulties are going to be overcome by the proposed Indian Cotton Commissioners. Secondly, there are difficulties also on the British side. Where is the fresh capital to come from for

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adapting Lancashire machines to short staples? In the next place, how can we make adequate arrangements for the marketing of Indian cotton in Lancashire in the same way as American cotton is being marketed at present? These points I mention, not because they are insuperable, but because they have to be faced resolutely. I know that some business men in India have expressed doubts about the possible success of the proposal for the increased use of Indian cotton in this country. I will not go so far as to say that they believe this to be eyewash, but they have expressed their doubts in no uncertain manner.

There is another point on which some more information is necessary. I am afraid sufficient importance has not been given to the point of view of the Indian hand-loom industry. The importance of that industry is not always recognized in this country. The Tariff Board estimated that hand-looms produced nearly two-thirds as much as Indian mills during the year 1925-6. Some later figures are available in *Capital* of Calcutta for 1928 and some official publications in India. I just want to know whether the reduction of the duty on cotton yarns from 6¼ per cent. to 5 per cent. will be regarded as a satisfactory offset for the lowering of the tariff against the artificial sik goods and mixtures from 50 per cent. to 30 per cent. Indian hand-loom weavers must depend more and more on quality goods, and in face of the present keen machine competition they cannot hold their own unless they can get sufficient protection against quality goods. Their interests are not identical with the interests of the producers of cheap stuff in mills.

I am glad that one of the previous speakers has mentioned the importance of developing the market for Indian piece-goods. I know that a proposal has been made in the trade agreement that Lancashire will use her best offices for widening the market for Indian goods to oversea and colonial centres, but I think there is enough scope for widening the market in India itself. One speaker mentioned the low purchasing power of the Indian consumer, but there is another aspect of the matter. There is now a wide disparity in the price which the Indian cultivator gets for his crops and the price which he has to pay for his purchases, and this must be bridged. I can give one illustration. According to the Calcutta index number series for October, 1933, the price of jute is 38 and of cotton manufactures 113, the pre-war price being taken as 100 in each case. In other words, the Bengal *ryot* can now buy for his bundle of jute only one-third of what he could buy in pre-war days. Unless you remedy this state of affairs, I do not think there can be much hope for the expansion of trade in cotton goods in India.

Sir Charles Armstrong: I had no intention of speaking because I have not seen Mr. Hammersley's paper, but my qualifications are these: I was born in Lancashire and spent my early days there; I spent thirty years in Bombay; I was a director of one of the largest cotton mills in Bombay. At the present time, perhaps unfortunately, I hold a few shares in that mill.

I do congratulate Mr. Hammersley and the delegation on the success of their mission. It has been a very wise thing indeed for them to have gone out to India and entered into a friendly discussion with the Bombay mill-owners.

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When I was a young man in Manchester I copied out for the Chairman of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce a request to the Secretary of State for India at that time to impose an excise duty on cotton goods manufactured in India. It was thought to be a wise and just move at that time; but it was one of the greatest mistakes ever made. It caused the most unpleasant feeling in India, and during the whole of my time in Bombay I had this point constantly before me, the jealousy of Lancashire for the Bombay industry.

Mr. Hammersley referred in the early part of his paper to what happened years ago, when the Bombay millowners were always pressing for continual advances in the import duty. What struck me over and over again was the extremely complacent way in which Lancashire used to accept these increases. As a general rule, they said nothing until the increase had been passed, and then the Secretary of State said it was too late; he could do nothing. If not, they wrote a pleasant letter to say they did not want to interfere with Indian millowners. That was the general attitude and one which surprised me very greatly.

Then we come to the question about Lancashire using more Indian cotton. Sir Louis Dane has put the case very well before us, but I want to say this. Only last week I said to a man in the city, "How are you getting on with your Bombay mill?" He said at the moment they were doing fairly well. I asked, "Are you using Indian cotton?" "No," he replied, "not a pound. We import all our cotton from America or East Africa." If India produces the better class of cotton—and she can—it will all, or nearly all, be taken by the Bombay and other Indian millowners.

In my opinion, the import duties in India are far too high. It is that which is affecting not only the trade of this country, but international trade generally. It is impossible in my view for Lancashire to import Indian cotton to make the class of cloth that she would have to make and be able to sell freely in India at a 25 per cent. duty.

The Government of India will tell you that these duties are put on for revenue purposes, but the duties generally, in my opinion, are altogether far too heavy.

Mr. A. Hood (Messrs. Steel Bros.): I feel it is a pity that this meeting should have been held before the results of the Japanese mission to India are published. I believe the publication to be fairly imminent now, but since it has not yet been made we shall have to do the best without it. I am afraid some of the previous speakers—all accomplished orators—have somewhat taken the wind out of my sails.

There are many people in the same boat as myself who are neither Indian millowners nor Lancashire people, but in the unfortunate position of merchants who stand or fall between the two. From Mr. Hammersley's address I would just quote towards the end, where he says: "The great value of our work consist in the fact that we have established the existence of a large body of active industrial opinion in India prepared to co-operate with Lancashire under suitable conditions. Our agreement calls a halt in the process of higher duties against Lancashire." There is nobody who would

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be more happy than merchants of my own class if that should turn out to be the case.

I should here like to ask the question, however, at what point in the negotiations with the Indian millowners did the Ahmedabad people break away, because this agreement, admirable in many respects, has been arrived at with the Bombay millowners only, and I think from practical knowledge of the Indian trade, extending over the last twenty-five years, that Bombay is no longer the centre or even the leader in the Indian textile industry. Ahmedabad today is a long way ahead of Bombay in the class and variety of its productions.

The Bombay millowners once gave their full promise of future support for Lancashire in return for Lancashire's assistance in getting repealed this dreadful excise duty, which the preceding speaker has mentioned. That support was illustrated in the active financing of the last boycott of British goods by certain members of the Bombay Millowners' Association. I know that I voice a considerable volume of opinion in being somewhat pessimistic as to real results from the agreement. It is very easy to be critical, I know, and personally I fully endorse the Chairman's opening remarks, when he said that one of the great attractions of the work of the delegation to India was the resort to friendly discussions instead of coercive measures for achieving our end. The delegation, I think, have probably done all that was possible so far as negotiations with Indian industrialists are concerned.

I should like a little fuller information from Mr. Hammersley as to the negotiations with the Government, apart from that letter from Sir Joseph Bhore (which is exceedingly nice and appreciative), and as to what the Indian Government's views were regarding Lancashire's right to protection in India. No rationally minded person will gainsay the Indian industrialist's premier right; but next only to India's own interests I think British interests have an unquestioned right to premier consideration.

The lecturer has mentioned the Japanese propaganda freely disseminated amongst the agriculturists of India. The report of the delegation itself refers to the Japanese methods in their own country and in their own outside territory with regard to the admission of British or any other foreign goods. We have hitherto reciprocated by giving them an open door.

Now we have had certain forecasts as to what this Japanese delegation has been able to negotiate. It is reported that one of the things they have achieved is a reduction in the duty which was so recently increased against foreign goods.

I should like to know—and Mr. Hammersley can probably tell me—what the delegation did to oppose that reduction in duty. It may seem strange to many that a duty against Japanese goods of 75 per cent. was necessary as against a duty on British goods of 25 per cent. to make the one competitive with the other; but it is a fact that the 75 per cent. only made the Lancashire goods *begin* to be competitive. I speak with intimate knowledge of the Burma market and can assure you that British merchant firms trading there have not lain down inert and inactive under the holocaust of Japanese competition which came upon us. My experience is that 75 per cent. of the

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trade done ten years ago with Lancashire has gone to Japan, a much larger percentage than can be applied to India as a whole.

Sir JOHN THOMPSON: May I raise one more question? It is this: If we take the unit of production and consumption of cotton piece-goods annually in India at 100 million yards, it is, I believe, a fact that twenty years ago India produced twelve of those units and imported thirty-two. Now India produces thirty-two units and imports twelve. That is to say, her production has increased to the extent of twenty units in the last twenty years, and at the same rate of development she would produce at the end of another twelve years another twelve units. Thus, she would be producing up to the limit of her consumption.

The question I should like Mr. Hammersley to answer is what chances he thinks there are of Indian mill production increasing up to that limit—that is, up to the limits of her requirements—within a reasonable number of years?

Mr. PILCHER: I should like to ask my very old friend Mr. Hammersley one question, if I may. We have often discussed this matter on the floor of the House of Commons. In the discussions at Bombay and at Simla was the consumer directly represented at all, and, if not, was he ever mentioned?

I should like to go further and ask whether he will enlighten us on this whole point of the consumer's position. Sir Charles Innes has referred this afternoon to the Indian consumer. He has given us figures presenting the decline in the consumer's purchasing capacity as contrasted with the lag in the decline of costs as inflated by wartime influences.

No one is more sympathetic in a way with Lancashire than I am myself, with its terrible unemployment. Ten years ago we tried to direct Lancashire's attention to the fact that her Indian market was going, and would go inevitably. Does Mr. Hammersley think, and does that delegation think, that there is a real basis of permanent health for Lancashire's Indian trade in the kind of agreement reached by the Clare Lees delegation with the Bombay millowners? I should have said myself that this Japanese importation into India has never exceeded 600 million yards. In 1914 Lancashire sent India over 3,000 million yards of piece-goods. It is the fashion today to deplore the growing competition set up by the Japanese, and personally I regret that we ever relaxed our influence over them as a concession largely to American opinion. I wish still we could exercise the influence over them that we did. But I should have said this. The index figure of cotton manufactured piece-goods is still 120. The selling value of raw jute in Bengal, according to the index figure, is 38. There has been a fall—if not as serious, yet very serious—in the selling price of every primary commodity produced in India. I should be inclined to regard a reduction in the selling price of essential secondary commodities, such as cotton piece-goods, as a "scourge of God" applied to those manufacturers and others who refuse to fall in line with inevitable post-war economic tendencies. I cannot see how you are to get back to economic health on the basis of a perpetuation of abnormally high retail prices.

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All I have heard as regards the agreement with the Bombay millowners is that an understanding was come to that if the 5 per cent. surcharge is ever taken off the Bombay millowners will offer no objection. Apparently Ahmedabad, Calcutta and Madras, and the up-country mills would not come into that understanding. How far Bombay will carry it I do not know; but does Mr. Hammersley think that we can settle down and that any considerable portion of Indian trade can be recovered?

Mr. Hammersley: I think I had better begin by saying that nobody on the mission pretends that by our efforts in India we have succeeded in making a new heaven and earth. As a result of our activities we think we have obtained a better atmosphere and laid a basis whereby we can now in Lancashire look forward with hope to the continuance of the existing amount of trade and its gradual increase from present figures to a reasonable amount—but certainly not back to the pre-war figures.

I greatly appreciate what Sir Charles Innes said about the success of the mission, particularly as one realizes that he speaks with such great knowledge of the position. He mentioned the fact that what was of advantage was that we had mollified the atmosphere of suspicion which he had always felt existed so much in Bombay. That is quite true. When we got to Bombay we said this to the millowners: "We are going to ask you for everything we are going to ask from the Government of India. We are not going to ask you for 5 per cent. of what we want and then go to them with a request for very much more. Whether you like it or not, we are going to say to you here, to put down in black and white, everything we want." We established first a feeling of mutual respect, and I think that was very important.

Several speakers have made the point that Lancashire is getting more than it is giving. I want most emphatically to repudiate that. Just look at the figures. No country in the world would, to protect its agricultural population, single out one staple growth and say that external trade must be related to that particular staple growth. The facts are that this country takes from India three or four times, certainly over three times, as much as Japan takes. We offer to India the whole of the British market under the favourable terms of the Ottawa Agreement. You have only to look at the growth of Indian importation into this country as a result of that agreement—linseed, pig iron, wheat, tea, and many other commodities. While the world prices of these commodities have been showing a continuous and steady decline, yet the prices in India, by reason of the Ottawa Agreement, have been showing an increase. Although I do not say for one minute that we have done as much as can be done, I do say that this fact is a very valuable index of how we are giving to the Indian agriculturist a little bit more through the Ottawa Agreement than he is able to get anywhere else in the world. That is a very important point. I do hope that I have made it sufficiently clear, because in my view it would be a grave misconception to say that, because we in Lancashire make a tremendous amount of cotton goods, we have to relate our exports to India to the import of a specific quantity of raw cotton.

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The lines on which we in Lancashire propose to work are not lines of taking large quantities of the short staple cotton which India grows so easily and which, in point of fact, is required less and less in the world. Our policy is to stimulate India to grow more and more of the longer staple cotton, and to do this by Lancashire increasing her demand on India for these varieties of cotton, which will form much more valuable crops than the short stapled varieties.

It should not be forgotten that Japan is not taking more and more Indian cotton, but less and less, and we in Lancashire are starting to take more and more.

It is quite true, as Sir Louis Dane pointed out, that in years gone by Lancashire said, "Grow long staple cotton and all will be well." The Punjab, for instance, started to grow long staple cotton, but all was not well. The cause of that failure should be examined a little more closely. One factor is the fact that Indian cotton is very frequently mixed. It is exported under a mark. Because India has not the experience that America has, Indian cotton has been sent out not as an unmixed growth but adulterated with the shorter staples. When this cotton goes into the mill it does not do what the spinner expects it would do, and in consequence Indian cotton has got a bad reputation in Lancashire.

The methods of marketing are being improved. They will be still further helped by the two experts that Lancashire is soon to send out. It will take time to deal with the problem of reputation, but a great deal of effective propaganda is already afoot. Our proposals are not to take large quantities of short staple cotton, but to take increasing quantities of long staple cotton, to use it as an admixture to produce types of yarn and cloth which will have a reasonable proportion of Indian cotton and will be acceptable in the existing world markets where we trade.

We are not going to try to do anything revolutionary, such as to replace American cotton wholly by Indian. Such a course is impossible. But we are going to try and take larger quantities of Indian cotton. By sending out various commissioners, and by making arrangements for a stock of Indian cotton to be kept in Liverpool and Manchester, we hope to make it easier for the Lancashire spinner to buy and experiment with Indian cotton. By these methods we are confident that it will be possible for a greater quantity of Indian cotton to be consumed in Lancashire.

Dr. Sinha asks me, how is Lancashire to get over the difficulty that the major part of the Indian crop is short staple? I hope that what I have said will answer his query. The job is being tackled with vigour; we are going to do our best to deal with the problem, which admittedly is bristling with difficulties. We do feel that these difficulties must be overcome if we are going to put this great trade on a more satisfactory basis.

Mention was made about the hand-loom weavers. I think their position is appreciated in the agreements with the mill interests of India, whereby they agree to a reduction in the import duties on imported cotton yarn from Lancashire. It really is a difficulty between the mill interests of India and the hand-loom interests of India rather than a difficulty which we ourselves are faced with. It is an internal problem for them. We were able to convince

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the Indian mill interests that they themselves must look after their own agriculturists. There is a growing feeling with the agriculturist and the hand-loom weaver that his stake in the country is very large, and that it is quite wrong either for Lancashire to exploit his interests or for the Indian millowners themselves to exploit them.

A word was said about art silk mixtures. Although there is a reduction in the import duties of art silk mixtures, that reduction looks very much more on paper than it is in reality, because in comparison with Japanese importations the prices will still be too high to compete against Japan.

Sir Charles Armstrong suggested that long ago the Indian mill interests were pressing for higher tariffs; but it is not so long ago. They gave evidence before the Tariff Committee last year and requested an alteration in the duties, which amounted in fact to an increase. So I do say that the work we have done, not only of a positive but of a negative character, in convincing Indian millowners that it was to their interests that they should not press their demands too far, is a very definite and valuable thing for Lancashire and for the country.

Mr. Hood asked, why did Ahmedabad break away? I do not think Ahmedabad ever intended to come in. I think it was influenced a little by our first meetings in Bombay, by the persuasive way in which we swallowed a lot of unpalatable medicine and did not get cross. I do not think, however, that at any stage they really envisaged an agreement with Lancashire. We put this argument to the whole body. We said: "You in India are finding competition. That competition in our view comes from two main sources, one Japan and the other your own internal excessive production of particular varieties and kinds. If you add another rung to the ladder of protection, you will get new mills starting to produce those varieties that you can produce easily and economically."

It is the internal competition of the Indian mills themselves which is causing them to lose money. It is not the industrial development of India that is in question. It is the pace of that development in certain directions which is harmful to her interests and to the economic interests of the world.

When it was suggested that the Government of India were going to allow Japanese goods to come in on a lower basis of duty, we made strenuous representations, as strenuous as lay within our power. We said that we appreciated the necessity for reducing the duty from 75 per cent. to some lower figure, but that it was essential for any reduction of the duty to be coupled with some currency dumping duty to equate the present depreciated value of the yen.

Sir John Thompson asks if I think that, considering the present rate of production in India and the present rate of consumption, the time is going to arrive soon when the consumption and production of cotton goods will equate themselves inside the country. I think that though you might get the volume of production, you are not going to get the variety, and that it is not an economic thing to get a country to produce every kind and variety of textile goods which are required. Further, if they do try to do that, they will not be making the variety that the country itself requires; they will

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aggravate the problem of having excessive production of the goods they are already able to produce.

My old friend Mr. Pilcher made a final remark in connection with the consumers' representation—how were the consumers' interests represented? We took particular care to make ourselves as well acquainted with the consumers' interests as we could. In fact, they were not backward in pressing their case to us. We had scores of conferences with the various interests. We went into the difficulties of the farmers. The zemindars entertained us; they put us in touch with their problems, and we mollified their apprehensions as well as we could. We assured them that what we were after was to erect some kind of real stable structure by which the exchange of goods between this country and India could be of such a character as would help the interests of individuals on both sides of the bridge, and in that way lead to a situation in which all could look forward to the future with equanimity.

The CHAIRMAN: There is one point I should like to touch upon. We heard Sir Louis Dane and Sir Charles Innes make strong reference to the fact that India does not get a good enough market in this country. While I am sympathetic to the idea of Lancashire buying a much larger quantity of Indian cotton, I do not think India can feel very aggrieved when you come to consider other trades in which this country and India conduct business. I have particularly in mind that whereas India imposes heavy tariffs on our cotton goods coming from this country into India, we in this country allow India to export jute manufactured goods in competition with our own mills in Dundee without any duty on them. I think it is only fair to allow the meeting to know there is that side of the question.

Sir JOHN KERR: In complex questions of this kind, personal negotiation is better than more weighty forms of argument. We have had the good fortune to have here today one who has taken a leading personal part in these negotiations. We can understand, I think, how he and his colleagues secured a very considerable measure of success. We have no doubt that if they put their case in the practical and praiseworthy manner in which Mr. Hammersley has made his statements this afternoon, they will achieve complete success. We are greatly obliged to him for the trouble he has taken to prepare this paper, and we also wish to thank you, sir, for finding time to come and preside over our meeting this afternoon. I ask you to pass a very hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman and lecturer this afternoon. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: On behalf of Mr. Hammersley and myself I thank you all very much for your kindness.

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THE LATE SIR MANCHERJEE M. BHOWNAGGREE

At a meeting of the Council of the East India Association on December 12, the following resolution was ordered to be entered in the Minutes:

The Council places on record its sense of great loss by the death on November 14, 1933, of Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree, a Vice-Chairman of Council, whose membership dated from 1883 and thus extended over half a century. Indeed, some years earlier, as a young man, he had taken a share in the work and discussions of the Bombay branch, which existed in the first period of the history of the Association. For many years he was the "Father" of the Association, and his constant interest in its work for India fitted him for the position on grounds other than those of seniority. Some years ago, in recognition of his great services, he was elected an honorary life member. While health and strength permitted he was regular in attendance at meetings of Council, and frequently took part in the discussion on lectures, and in the Annual Meetings. It was largely on his initiative and on the basis of material which he collated and supplied that in the early years of the century deputations from the Council waited upon the Secretaries of State for India and the Colonies, to represent the grievances of Indians in the King's Dominions overseas, and especially those of Indians in South Africa. The Council recalls that at its meeting in October it was intimated that, with the permission of the President, Sir Mancherjee had taken steps to give a Reception to members of the Association in honour of Lord and Lady Lamington at Grosvenor House on December 9. Even in his last serious illness he adhered to this intention, and provisionally arranged less than a week before his death that in his absence he should be represented at the function by his daughter, Mrs. Bahadurji, and by his granddaughter. He was for nearly half a century one of the most conspicuous and honoured figures among Indian residents in this country. The Council deplores his loss and hereby conveys to Lady Bhownaggree, his son and daughter, and other members of the family, condolence upon their bereavement.

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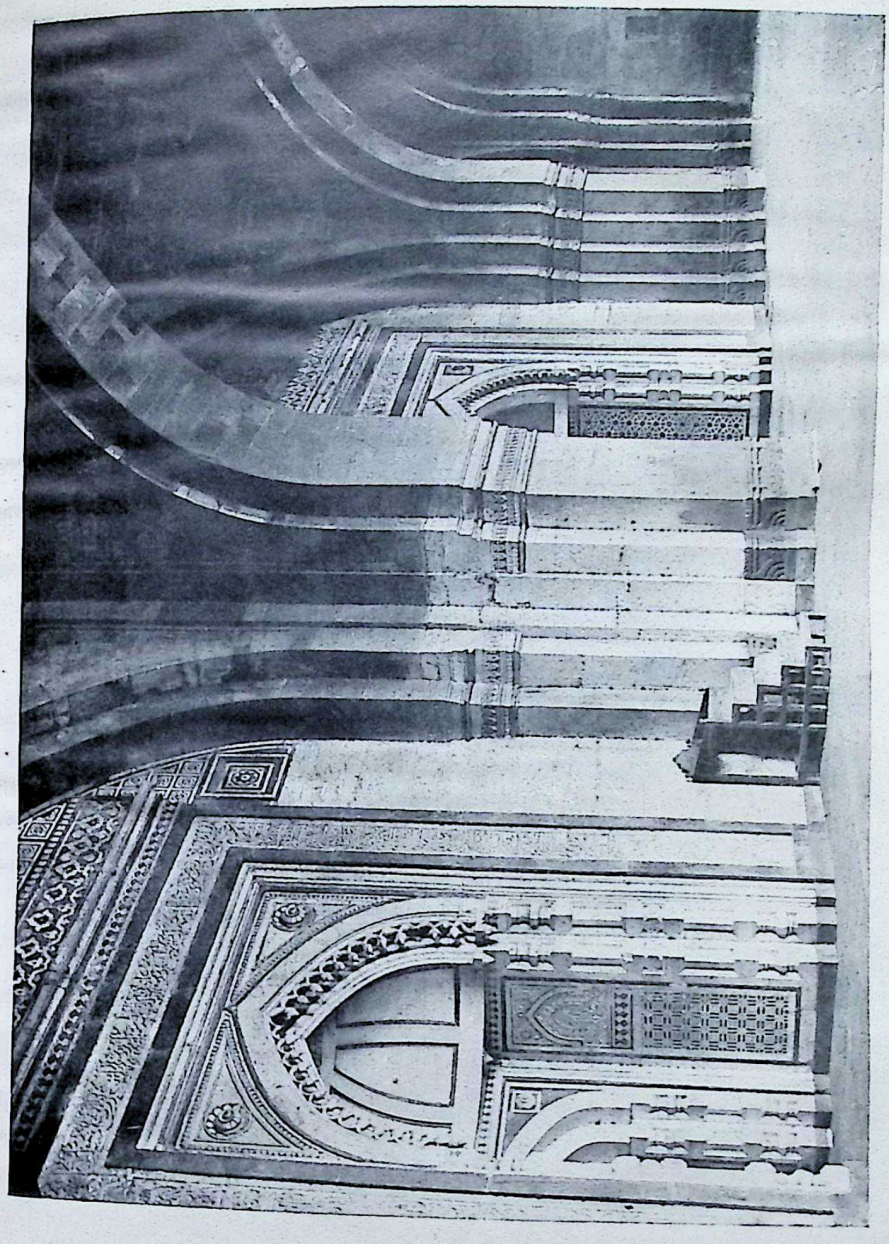

INTERIOR OF SHER SHAH'S MOSQUE IN THE PURANA QILA, DELHI

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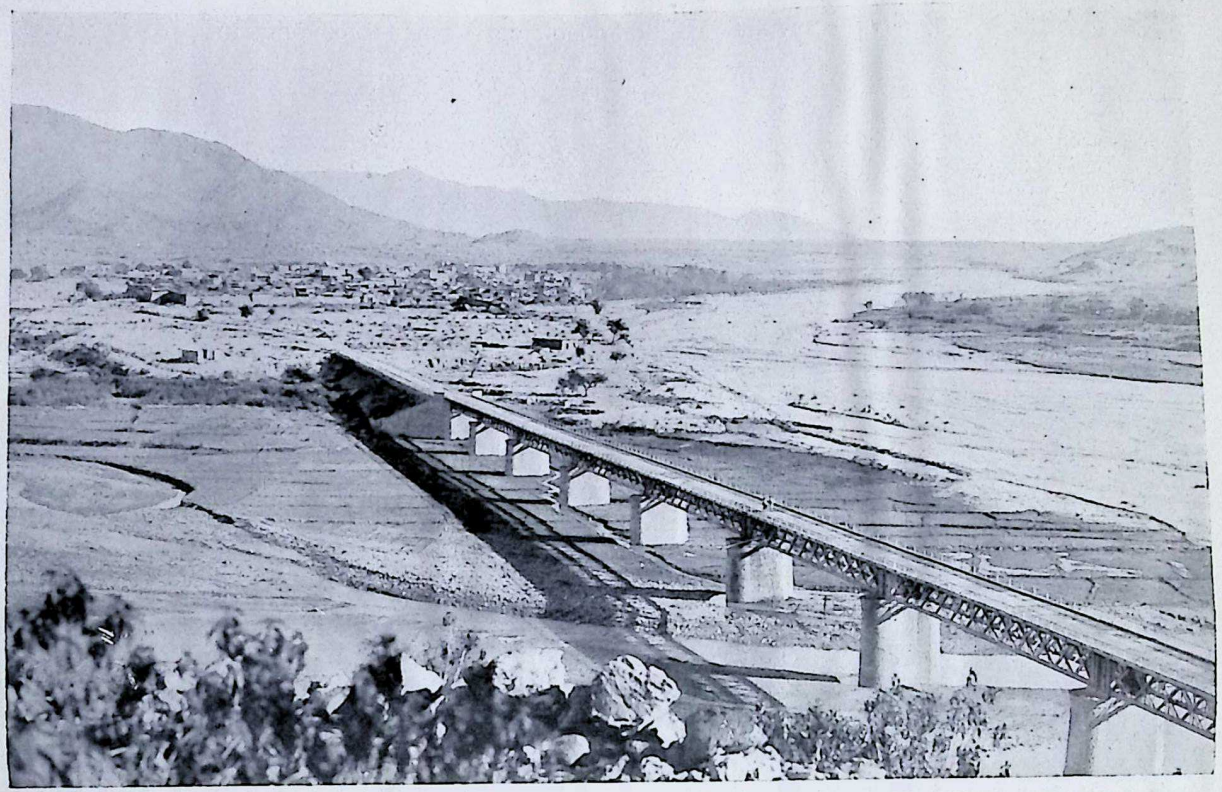

THE KURRAM BRIDGE AT THAL CONNECTING BRITISH INDIA WITH WAZIRISTAN: THAT VILLAGE IS IN THE BACKGROUND

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WHITE POPPIES IN THE VALLEY OF THE SWAT RIVER

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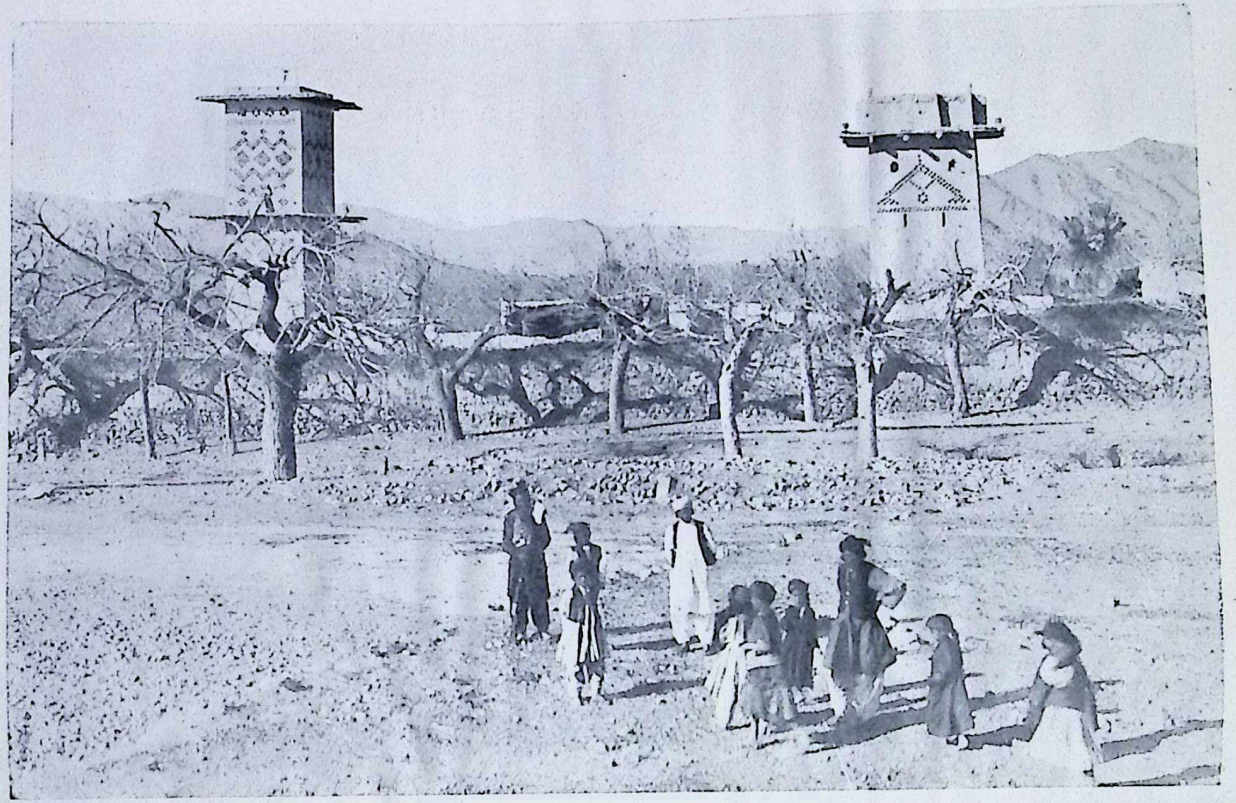

A TYPICAL FRONTIER VILLAGE IN THE TOCHI VALLEY SHOWING THE DECORATED TOWERS FOR DEFENCE

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THE FEDERAL ASSEMBLY

By Stanley Rice

The idea of Federation, not as a pious aspiration, but as a policy in being, took many people by surprise and in certain quarters produced something like consternation. Smoke-screens were produced to befog the mind of the average English elector, uninformed, or at best partially acquainted with Indian conditions. We were told by high authority that no such gigantic task had ever been undertaken as the federation of 350,000,000 people, or, in a cliché meant to be impressive, of "one-fifth of the human race." We were reminded of the evergreen obstacles of "race, religion, caste, and language." And so it was made to appear that we were about to create a Frankenstein without knowing what we were doing; we were, in fact, trying to achieve the impossible.

All these things, though they are not negligible or beside the point, do not go to the root of the matter. The difficulties of Federation do not lie in mere numbers; the population of the Swiss Confederation is just over 4 millions; the German Federation comprised about 60 millions; in the United States the census of 1930 returned 137 millions. It is true that electoral divisions may be somewhat unwieldy and difficult to organize, but these difficulties arise very largely from geographical considerations, from social conditions, and from limitations of the franchise. Obviously if you have a small percentage of voters, living in scattered villages and inadequately provided with transport, you have a more difficult task than those who have to deal with a town population furnished with the latest devices for speed on land. It will be necessary to revert to this later on; the point I am trying to make is that, given suitable conditions, it is no more difficult to federate 350 millions than 100 millions.

Now Federation may be defined as an association of states, provinces, or counties (by whatever name they may be known), which, while they retain a large measure of autonomy, are subject in certain important matters to a central Government and are thus bound together into a single unit. It differs from the more closely knit nation in that the laws of its component parts need not be homogeneous and may even be in some respects at variance with one another. That exactly describes the situation at present existing in British India. There are provinces, some large, some small,

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which enjoy a very large measure of autonomy in the sense that subject to the Viceroy's sanction laws are made by the Provincial Legislatures to suit the peculiar conditions of each part of the country. Other matters which affect the country as a whole are reserved to the Government of India, and to the all-India measures Provincial Governments are of course subject. That in broad outline is, *mutatis mutandis*, the position in the United States. It follows, therefore, that British India, containing some three-fifths or more of the whole population, is already federated, and, arguing on numbers alone, if it be possible to federate 250 millions, why does the task become so gigantic when the 250 becomes 350?

The main obstacle to Federation lies, not in numbers, but in the ingredients of which it is composed. Putting aside for the moment caste, creed and language—none of them really formidable if the will be there to make a success of the experiment—we shall find that the principal difficulty lies in the autonomous States. It is sometimes asked what prospect there can be for two such uneasy yokefellows as autocracy and democracy. Two systems of government cannot exist side by side; autocratic power must conform to democratic ideals or submit to be swamped and eventually to disappear. That is the argument, but it betrays a very limited acquaintance with the present position of the States. The States are autonomous in all internal matters; they can levy their own taxes, promulgate their own criminal and civil codes, set up their own system of justice and administration, introduce or reject modern reforms or progressive institutions, act with or without a Legislative Council. The constitution, if there is one, is at the will of the ruler, who may dispense with or employ ministers.

On the other hand, there are certain subjects which concern all India and in which, therefore, continuity and uniformity are essential. Railways, posts, and telegraphs are the obvious examples, and to a certain extent Customs and salt. In these matters, amongst others, the States have already surrendered sovereign rights in return for protection; thus the States can levy their own sea customs, but subject to the condition that they are not lower than those of British India; the railways exercise jurisdiction over all land classed as railway, though the reversionary right vests in the State. Such things as these do undoubtedly give rise to particular controversies, not only as between the State and the Government of India, but also as between State and State; but they are presumably to be dealt with, as now, by the Resident working under the Executive Government and not by the Assembly. It is therefore perfectly possible for a State to have its own system of administration—autocratic, bureaucratic, democratic—and yet to surrender its individual authority in certain specified subjects, just

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as it is perfectly possible for nations with widely differing systems of government to meet on a common platform on matters of international concern. There is, however, this difference, that whereas the nations can only be bound by their own consent, a Federation must accept the laws passed by the Federal Assembly, provided that those laws are not incompatible with any existing treaty between the States and the Paramount Power. The case has been provided for by paragraph 28 of the White Paper; it will be the duty of the States' representatives to point out how any proposed measure will injuriously affect any State, nor will the matter be confined to the particular State, for the creation of a precedent is always dangerous and may lead to widespread abuses. It is, however, a contingency that, given goodwill and co-operation, is not likely to arise.

The size of the Federal Assembly is conditioned by three main factors: it must be manageable, it must be representative, and it must be such as will admit of due representation of the States in the proportion of 1 to 2. The extreme limit of size has been put down at 500, but everyone is now agreed that that is too large. The smallest number suggested is 300, 200 for British India and 100 for the States, and these proportions must be maintained, since they have been arrived at after prolonged negotiation and represent an agreed compromise. The White Paper proposes 375, of which 250 shall be British Indian. An analysis of the proposals, which are based in the main on population, shows that the three most populous provinces—Madras, Bengal, and the United Provinces—will have 111, and the three next in order—Bombay, Punjab, and Bihar—90 more; the remaining 49 will represent the rest of India. Of these 250 seats, 105 are general, 19 reserved for Depressed Classes (the number may or may not be modified by the Poona Pact), and 82 for Muslims; 63 seats are allotted to special interests. Election is to be direct, but there are to be separate communal electorates for Sikh, Muslim, Indian Christian, Anglo-Indian, and European constituencies.

Now, apart from the physical difficulties of transport in India, we have to face the facts (1) that the people live in villages widely scattered and often boasting a population of not more than 500; (2) that though they are far more interested in politics than they used to be, what moves them to take real trouble in the matter is that which concerns themselves; and (3) that the prospective candidates of a type suitable for the Federal Assembly will be very disinclined to tour the villages in view of the difficulty and expense involved and of the poor accommodation. If Mohammed will not go to the mountain, the mountain must go to Mohammed. So that if direct contact is to be established, numerous meetings at village centres will be necessary, or, in the alternative, the electors

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will be required, often at great inconvenience, to attend a smaller number of meetings at larger centres. This difficulty will be much enhanced in the case of special communal electorates, more especially in the case of Muslims in provinces predominantly Hindu.

The Lothian Committee calculated that the constituencies in the country districts would average from 5,000 to 10,000 square miles—which certainly allows for a wide margin between maximum and minimum; under the proposals of the White Paper they will be rather larger. It is possible, by adopting different criteria, to arrive at all sorts of conclusions, but such calculations would hardly be profitable. The area included under the heads cultivated, fallow, cultivable, and non-cultivable, which is practically the area of habitation and therefore of potential voters, is about 663,000 square miles, and this divided amongst, let us say, 150 seats—105 general constituencies, with some others added for special rural constituencies inhabited by Mussulmans and Sikhs—gives an average of about 5,000 square miles: the estimate is given for what it is worth. This in itself is a very large figure, but it is not likely to be greatly enhanced by any reduction of the figures within the limits already mentioned. It is not possible to have at the same time a small Assembly and small constituencies. But it is, I think, relevant to bear in mind that there are other factors, which might perhaps be called psychological, besides the purely arithmetical one of distance. Journeys which in England seem long are of no account in India; to travel from Bombay to Delhi, a journey of some twenty-four hours, is no great matter; and with motor-cars now available wherever there are tolerable roads, the difficulty of accessibility may very well be exaggerated. Every district in British India and in all the larger States at any rate have certain definite centres, the headquarters of a tahsildar*, to which the villagers are quite accustomed to resort for the business of the revenue as well as of the courts, not to speak of ordinary domestic affairs or of the times of festival. Moreover, the population is always at its greatest density according to the nature of the country; villages tend to become scattered, small, and unimportant as you approach the hills and the jungles. It is therefore perfectly feasible for any candidate who has the necessary energy and the necessary enthusiasm to get into personal contact with the most important part of his constituency, both at the taluka* headquarters and by visits to selected villages; and that personal contact is not likely to be much enhanced or reduced by any manipulation of the figures for the Assembly.

Whatever is finally done must be at the best experimental. The

* A tahsildar is a revenue officer who administers a subdivision called a taluka.

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rural population, for all their mother-wit and their increased interest in politics, are not yet advanced enough to be greatly interested in, or to understand clearly, the kind of subjects which will come before the Federal Assembly. Their choice will be largely upon personalities, possibly upon parties, perhaps also on promises, such as are made in all countries at all elections. Gradually, by means of the leaders in village politics, by the extension of transport, especially of the motor-bus, and by the increased use of the cinema, the villages of India will, or may, come to understand better the meaning and use of the Federal Assembly, but these things will have both a greater and a more lasting effect than any personal contact established in the space of a few weeks at most. If, on the one hand, the argument from the size of the constituencies may be over-stressed, on the other too much weight can be given to this matter of personal contact. In order, therefore, to keep the numbers of the Assembly sufficiently low to prevent waste of time in interminable discussions that lead nowhere, to ensure a body of men of the right quality, and to keep the members tied to Delhi for as short a time as possible, it has been suggested that the original figure for British India of 200, which involves a total of 300, should be reverted to. This might, and probably would, lead to the abandonment of any conscious effort to establish personal contact between electors and elected. That this would be a matter of any particular moment may well be doubted. The reduction of the numbers by 75, spread over all India, will not appreciably increase the size of constituencies. If therefore the system of direct rather than indirect election be preferred, the actual numbers within possible limits are of no great importance, since in either case effective contact cannot be established to the same extent as in England, and in either case partial contact can be had.

The arguments for direct election appear to be mainly these. Apart from this question of contact, it is a system to which India has become accustomed, it increases the value of the individual vote, and it is desired by Indian opinion. Those who favour indirect election base their case largely upon administrative difficulties; it is obviously easier to deal with a smaller number of electors who have themselves been elected by small groups. Against this must be set the risk that the individual voter will have less interest in the result and that the smaller numbers will be more susceptible to corruption by the unscrupulous. There is, further, a possible danger of creating a factious spirit in the villages and of misrepresentation of policies. At all times and in all countries there are the leaders and the led, however small the groups. And faction which is always latent in villages may well become active, especially when, as we have too good reason to know, the active

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minority, with their imperfect education, may tend to confuse issues or so to deflect them as to mislead their followers; and this is likely to become more acute as the voters become more conversant with politics, a state of things which it is the object of the policy to bring about. There is much to be said for either system, and, the advantages being weighed, it is perhaps the expressed desire of the leaders of Indian political thought that should turn the scale in favour of direct election.

There is more to be said for a reduction in the numbers of the Chambers. At present the two Chambers consist of 60 in the Council of State and 145 in the Legislative Assembly. The Council of State should be a body of elder statesmen who, by their experience, their superior education, and their proved capacity, are in a position to check the exuberance and the possibly ill-directed enthusiasms of the Lower House. It should be not merely a select body but the very quintessence of Indian political wisdom. If it be argued that such a body will destroy the democratic principle by leaving to the Lower House only the shadow of responsibility and by thwarting what is rather unctuously called "the will of the people," it may be answered that it will be reluctant to interfere, that the responsibility for initiative will always be with the Lower House, and that the Lower House will in the long run be itself judged by the moderation and the sagacity of its measures. In these circumstances a body of 260 men seems to be far too large. It is doubtful whether England could supply such a body; it certainly does not exist in the House of Lords. And if England would fail, can India hope to succeed? All practical purposes would be served and better served by a body of about 100 to 120 members; if the present proportions are maintained, this will leave the British Indian representation unchanged in the first case and increased in the second by some 12 members only.

In the case of the Lower House, the numbers would seem to be of less importance. If the States are to have adequate representation, the figure cannot well be lowered beyond 300, though an even smaller number has been suggested on the ground that it is more possible to increase than to decrease. That has, however, been done in the case of the British Parliament, though it must be admitted that in India enlargement has been the rule. But an increase of some 55 seats is no great matter, even though the composition of the Assembly be somewhat changed, and though it may not be easy to find from the States so many as 40 or 50 in the Upper and 100 in the Lower House of the requisite calibre, it will also be difficult to secure adequate representation of the States, scattered as they are all over India, with a smaller number. The exact figures are a matter of detail and do not matter for our present purpose. The main principle to be observed is that the

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numbers should not be unwieldy, having due regard to adequacy of representation, to the available material, and particularly to the proper representation of the States, whose position, viewed in the large, is somewhat peculiar.

The idea that each State, whatever its size, should have individual representation has only to be stated to be dismissed at once as absurd and impracticable. Under the lead of Italy we are coming to the conclusion that theoretical equality of all States at the Council of Geneva breaks down in practice, and this claim of the small States is no less unpractical. In the first place, it would necessitate an Assembly some 1,500 strong; in the second, it would enormously reduce its prestige for obvious reasons; in the third, it reduces States of the calibre of Hyderabad or Mysore to the level of a petty State with an area of a few square miles and a population of a few thousands; and, finally, apart from capacity, it sweeps aside the experience and, one may add, the vision which comes from the administration of large areas. It is evident that if separate representation cannot be had there must be some sort of grouping, seeing that each State is sovereign and autonomous. This must depend very largely on geography and upon similarity of interests, which are bound up together. Now, a glance at the map of India shows that, apart from the separate States of Kashmir, Hyderabad, Mysore, and Travancore, all of which would be entitled to separate representation, though possibly in varying degrees, there is one very large block—Rajputana and Central India—so grouped for administrative purposes, and a smaller group contained in the Kathiawar Peninsula (with Cutch) which are distinguished by peculiar interests. The rest come roughly under four heads: (1) Those around Simla; (2) those which run from Allahabad to the Orissa coast; (3) some scattered States in Bengal; (4) a small group lying between Bombay and Goa, of which Kolhapur is the chief. These categories contain all the important States except Baroda, which, alike from prestige, from its area, from its population, and from its revenue, must be classed with the major States.

The Peninsula of Kathiawar is peculiar for more than one reason. It is the only block in India with large maritime interests; it contains no State of real importance, save only a portion of Baroda, which also possesses in the tiny strip called Okhamandal a valuable port; it is cut off from British India, and is in fact artificially separated by what is known as the Viramgám (Customs) line. It is very necessary for a Federated India that trade and prosperity should be developed on harmonious lines and not on the cut-throat principle of each State trying to grab what it can for itself to the injury of its neighbours. Moreover, the peninsula contains a number of State-owned railways, which ought to be

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worked on a system of collaboration. What happens now is that if, for example, any State wishes to extend its line in order to develop outlying parts, objection is taken that this proposal will affect some other State line, and if the route is shifted, a second State will object.

Kathiawar is thus marked out for grouping under the leadership, if you will, of Junagarh, Bhavanagar, and perhaps Nawanagar, but the special interests of Baroda demand that it too shall share in the grouping in addition to its own separate quota. There should be no difficulty in arranging for this. Rajputana, on the other hand, presents a different problem, and in Rajputana I include those States which really belong to it, though placed under the Central India Political Agency and of which the principal are Indore, Gwalior, and Bhopal. Besides these there are the important States of Bikanir, Jodhpur, Jaipur, Udaipur (with its associations of Hindu leadership), and Alwar. But in addition there are also small States—Jhalawar, Kotah, Tonk, Baria, Sirohi, and Palanpur, to name only a few—and these are not in any group but are scattered all over the area. Of the other blocks, the Bengal States seem to offer the greatest difficulty, inasmuch as they are all separated from one another, and some of them, notably Sikkim and Manipur, are not easy of access. There are, too, in Madras small States, such as Banganapalle, Sandur, and Pudukottai, which lie far apart from one another and also from the other Madras States.

If, then, we allot separate seats to the dozen or so major States in proportion to their importance, we shall probably find that what is left over out of 125 seats, as proposed in the White Paper, or 100, as proposed earlier in this article, will be none too many. In arriving at any fair distribution of seats too much importance should not be given to mere mathematical data. Revenue, population, area—these are valuable criteria in appraising the importance of a State, but too slavish a homage to figures is likely to land us in difficulties. We have to consider also the progress of a State, the condition of its industries, its general features, and other such matters. Some adjustment will therefore have to be made, when once a rough proportion can be fixed. If upon a strict mathematical computation a State like Hyderabad is entitled to 14 members, it involves no real sacrifice to be content with 12 or even with 10, for, like a cricket team, there will be some who, as the phrase is, "choose themselves," and others who will have strong claims; the further you go down the list the greater is the dilution with consequent loss of competency. For when the Assembly is completed it will tend, as all Assemblies do, to fall into parties with their respective leaders, active members, and passive onlookers content to give a silent vote; and it is not

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unlikely that the representatives of the States will combine to form a bloc, not necessarily viewing every conceivable subject with a single eye, but recognising that, subject to treaties, and excluding those matters which concern only the maritime States, the interests of all will be, broadly speaking, identical. And since the representation of any one State, even the largest, must be but a very small fraction of the whole Assembly, it is more important that the representation should be strong in weight and prestige than in actual numbers. The two or three silent votes of insignificant men will be of less service to a large State than the powerful advocacy of a number from a medium or even small State. If the claim to individual representation by every State, however small, be absurd, it is hardly less absurd that any State, however large, should insist too rigidly upon its quota. For every State is an entity in itself; and though it may be true—and is perhaps inevitable—that the interests of the States as a whole *vis-à-vis* British India as a whole will sometimes clash, yet the interests of each State are not always identical. From certain calculations that have been made it appears that the larger States, upon a basis of population only, would be entitled to 57 members in a House of 100; 106 medium (or Salute) States would have 28, and the remaining 17 members would represent 441 States. As a working hypothesis it may be suggested that the larger States should have not more than 50 per cent. of the whole; but a fairer proportion might be 40, 35, 25. But, again, the figures do not matter; all that is here argued is that some adjustment is required upon any basis of population and revenue alone.

Much will, of course, depend upon the goodwill of rulers and peoples of the smaller States and upon their willingness to come into the Federal scheme. It will, no doubt, need vision, patriotism, sacrifice, and statesmanship to sink individuality (and therefore to some extent sovereignty) for the general good of the whole, and in certain cases, more especially when suspicion is aroused as to financial possibilities, some tactful persuasion may be needed. If these can be had, and if the larger States are prepared to meet the smaller in a spirit of compromise which they have already shown towards British India, a long step forward will have been taken. It should first be decided what major States should have separate representation and in what proportion, allotment being made within the limit of an aggregate percentage, as suggested; the remainder could then be divided amongst the various groups. The division into Salute and non-Salute States, however, takes no account of geography; they cannot, therefore, be grouped in those categories, and in giving the Salute States their due weightage, regard will have to be had to the rotation of representatives or general representation within the group limits. That question

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will to some extent settle itself, however, for it is only in the nature of things that candidates for election will be forthcoming more easily from a State of 300,000 inhabitants than from one of 30,000.

In these groupings a panel of candidates would be maintained from which the Princes would choose their representatives, and care would have to be taken that the larger States within the group did not monopolize representation. As the Princes are hardly likely to attend to such business themselves, the task would devolve upon their ministers, who would thus form a kind of *ad hoc* committee, somewhat of the nature of a political organization in England for the purpose of choosing a Parliamentary candidate. It would certainly be desirable, if not absolutely necessary, that the Princes within the group should be able to agree on a uniform plan of selection; at present the position seems to be that some might or would favour nomination, others election; some would prefer candidates to represent the Government, others the people. This divergence of method will not matter in the case of the States with separate representation; in the case of a group the more democratically minded States might resent representation by a candidate nominated by the autocratic Prince of another State, and even if there were no such feeling, the committee of Princes, ministers, or delegates will perhaps tend to choose the man whom they know and whom they have themselves nominated; but with the proviso that there should be a rotation of representation, with a system of a second ballot after elimination of the less favoured, and above all with goodwill and common sense the difficulty could be overcome, if indeed such a difficulty ever arose.

But these groupings cannot be had everywhere, and, as already pointed out in the case of Rajputana, a large State sometimes intervenes to prevent convenient grouping. It might be possible in such cases to tack on the smaller State or States to the larger and to have one or two members who will represent the combination. The two tiny States of Banganapalle and Sandur in Madras cannot hope to have representation at all, unless they are combined either with a British Indian constituency or with the State of Hyderabad, and for the reason that the interests of the States are more likely to be identical the latter alternative is to be preferred. Nor should this plan be resented by the larger State, for it must be said again that the success of the new experiment depends, not on separate representation in supposed particular interests, but on quality and weight of influence. A joint member would be able to speak both for his own State and for the smaller unit with the authority and prestige belonging to the former. If in the whole representation of the States, whatever the number, only those can get a hearing who speak in the names of the great

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States, what is the use of a crowd of small men crying to empty benches the particular grievances of their particular State?

For out of the formidable catalogue of subjects wholly or partly Federal there are only a few which will seriously concern the Assembly, and at the same time be of interest to the States. These are in the main Extradition, Railways, Inland Waterways (if this includes the difficult question of the control of rivers for irrigation), Ports (for maritime States), Posts and allied subjects, Development of Industries, Opium, Customs, Salt, and Excise; and amongst social subjects Marriage and Divorce and Adoption, with perhaps Control of Newspapers. Not all of these are of equal importance, and some of those which are of the first rank are not likely to give the Assembly much trouble, since they are already well organized and are administered under a well-recognized policy. It is to be presumed that all Federal laws, in which by hypothesis the States will participate, will be binding upon all members of the Federation and therefore will supersede all State laws whether they be in harmony with them or not. That is part of the price which the Princes will pay for Federation, but as these laws are generally fashioned upon the British Indian model, the sacrifice will not be great. It follows, therefore, that in the larger matters the States will be affected not necessarily equally, since conditions differ, but at any rate upon general principles applicable to a group, and by either plan suggested there would be a spokesman who would be able to obtain information about any special subject which comes within the purview of the Federal Government.

These speculations and suggestions are, of course, based upon the assumption that Federation will become an accomplished fact. The Princes must settle their own affairs; one may, however, be allowed to hope that the Federal Assembly will not be overweighted in numbers and that considerations of individual prestige will not overshadow the need for a strong Chamber. India will be on her trial before the world and must give of her best.

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THE CONTRIBUTION OF ISLAM TO THE SOLUTION OF ECONOMIC AND OTHER WORLD PROBLEMS

By A. H. Ghuznavi

(Delegate to the Indian Round-Table Conference and Joint Select Committee)

My theme is very broad, and can be treated only in general outline. But on the whole, I think this is preferable since the introduction of masses of statistical detail, or quantities of historical facts, would obscure our vision rather than help us. Now, I think it is quite clear, even at a cursory glance, that the contribution of Islam to world economic problems must be mostly indirect, or, where it is direct, can be of only secondary importance. For consider the economic position of the various Islamic countries. To begin with, none of them is in the first rank of the world's economic Powers. Most of them, indeed, are not autonomous countries, and form parts, or even mere appendages, of one or other of the great European Powers.

Further, a survey of their natural resources, as far as they are at present known, shows them to be, on the whole, the step-children of nature. Some of them—as, for example, those which occupy great portions of Northern and North-Central and North-Western Africa—fall quite definitely within the class of countries deficient therein and, consequently, with but meagre prospects of any considerable economic development. The chief Muslim country, Turkey, is certainly not distinguished for her natural resources, or for her potential economic development. Indeed, when we have mentioned the oil of Persia and Iraq, and the rubber and tin of Malaya, we have almost exhausted the catalogue of commodities in regard to which Islamic countries play an important part in international commerce. After these, apart from somewhat minor examples, like Northern Nigeria with its tin, and the as yet unrealized possibilities of mineral and agricultural development in certain of the French Muslim colonies in Africa, we are left with a number of countries still in the subsistence phase of economic development.

The sheer lack of known resources is, therefore, one sufficient reason for the economic backwardness of Muslim countries. But there is another general reason, one which is of the very essence of Islam itself, and of the Muslim attitude towards economic affairs. This reason is to be found in that characteristic doctrine of Islam which prohibits the practice of usury by pious Muslims. You will readily understand how such a doctrine, faithfully

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adhered to, as it has been, has acted as a brake on the progress of Muslim countries. Finance, with its necessary feature of an economic rate of interest, is the life-blood of all economic activities, and the flow of this vital stream has, all the time, been blocked, as far as Muslims themselves are concerned, by their religion. But I may be permitted to observe, incidentally, that an approximation on the part of certain Western countries to the Islamic view of interest would greatly facilitate the settlement of the vexed question of War Debts.

Further, the history of Islam, even today, has been and is one of ceaseless expansion, either by means of the sword or through the milder means of conversion. In a word, the preoccupation of Muslim kings and chiefs has been not material development, but the safeguarding and the spread of their religion. An Omar, or a Salah-ud-Din, did not concern himself with the establishment of trade routes and the foundation of great emporia. He was concerned rather to spread the faith, or to defend it, against the onslaughts of those who would restrict or destroy it. I need not explain to you the various ways in which this peculiar Muslim attitude towards the economic side of life has powerfully influenced the economic development of Islamic countries, since one can recall parallels from European countries.

But although this is the position when we think of the direct contribution of Islam to the solution of world economic problems, a different state of affairs is revealed when we consider the contribution which Islam has to make to the solution of certain other major problems which now face the world. Now I, for one, have always been disinclined to divorce economic from political and social problems. To me there has always been a very strong nexus between them, and today we know beyond any shadow of doubt that politics, economics, and social and international relations are inextricably intertwined.

Every action of the great Powers of the world, certainly since the Great War, and even before the War, has demonstrated this to us. Every word which has been spoken at international, monetary, reparations, tariff, and general economic conferences during the last ten years has provided an argument in support of this thesis. The economic situation of the world today is a reflex of its political relationships in the present and the past. Is there anybody who, viewing the progressive strangulation of international commerce by means of tariffs, quotas, exchange restrictions, and other forms of restrictive legislation, would deny that what we are watching is nothing less than warfare carried on by means of economic weapons? Further, who is there who, viewing the chequered career of the Disarmament Conference, would deny that the shadow of war still hangs over the earth?

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Thus, anything which makes for stability, confidence, or increased good feeling in the political relations between the different nations, *ipso facto* makes for improvement in economic relations also. And, of course, the reverse proposition is true.

Now in this matter of political and general international relations I maintain that Islam has a direct and an important part to play. Look at the Islamic world today from the non-economic point of view. What do we see? Leaving aside for the moment those Islamic countries which form part of the empires of the different European countries, we see Islam once more renascent. Turkey, Persia, Iraq, Afghanistan, are all in strong hands. The Hedjaz, only two decades ago a backward part of a decadent empire, is now a nation in the making, strongly governed and undoubtedly destined to play a great part in the affairs of the Middle East. Indeed, if for a moment we recall to our mind's eye the map of the Middle East we see how it is dominated by these revived Islamic countries. Then let our thoughts carry us to the outer fringes of the Middle East—to the Muslim provinces of Russian Turkestan, to the Muslims of India, and to the Muslims of distant Chinese Turkestan. How can these Muslim peoples, in direct geographical contiguity to the autonomous Muslim kingdoms of the Middle East, to say nothing of their complete cultural and spiritual affinities therewith, possibly escape being inspired by the same ambitions, and revived with their new life, or sharing to a greater or lesser degree in their fortunes?

Thus in this vitally important area of the earth's surface, an area, let me recall, which was one of the principal foci of international relations before the War, we have a region in which the world's fate is now in Muslim hands. Contrast the position today with that of 1913. The Hedjaz and Iraq were moribund vilayets of a corrupt and dying empire; Turkey herself was rent by factions, by political disturbances and by foreign intrigues; Persia, with an absentee monarch, was divided into spheres of influence between Great Britain and Russia; and Afghanistan was hardly better than a semi-barbarous appendage to India. Such was the picture in 1913. Today the picture is as I painted it a few moments ago. Now, clearly, the change has been brought about by great natural forces. Clearly, also, it is to the benefit of the whole world that the working of these natural forces should be aided and not thwarted. These renascent Muslim kingdoms are the expression of the said natural forces, and their growth and progress consequently mean harmony and progress in the body politic of the whole world.

Therefore, the Islamic contribution to the solution of the great problem of world peace and harmonious international relations is nothing less than the gift of stability of political relations inside

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this old cockpit of international conflict, and between it as a whole and the rest of the world. But, of course, the argument does not end there. The rest of the world also must recognize and acknowledge this. Whilst these countries are still comparatively weak, it is for the great Western Powers to do all that they can to guarantee the conditions in which the healthy processes of growth can take place.

And now let us return to the economic problem. Every developed country in the world is crying out for markets for its industrial products. Well, in these new developing countries you have new and developing markets if you want them. The City of London is virtually concerned with safe and profitable outlets for its capital. Here, again, British traders have potential outlets if only they will use them. And may I remind them that the traditional policy of Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan is one of friendship to Great Britain. His Majesty is the greatest Muslim monarch in the whole world, and he counts no more loyal subjects than his Muslim subjects. Here, again, are very powerful links between Great Britain and the Muslim Near and Middle East. All these considerations are going to prove of immense importance in the future.

I would touch finally on a topic which is not as a rule present in the minds of those who discuss world affairs, but which, nevertheless, is of great and growing importance. I have indicated that Islamic lands are divided into autonomous countries and those which form parts of the different empires. The increasing importance and difficulty of the problems of colonial government is well known. Of these problems none is more important than that of the relations between Muslim subjects and their rulers. Inside the British Empire, happily, those relations are almost as good as they can be, and whether we think of India or Ceylon, Malaya or Northern Nigeria, this is true. But others, who need not be specified, are not in this happy position. In the present state of world relations, any determined movement of Muslim peoples against their foreign rulers would precipitate consequences which would extend very far indeed from their centre of origin. Now, as I have indicated, there is a very real sense in which all Muslim peoples form members of one body, and these Islamic subjects of whom I am speaking, like the Muslims of India, Russian Turkestan, and so on, must partake to some extent of the revival now proceeding in the home of Islam in the Middle East. Therefore, it behoves the public to give careful thought to this subject also. Profound knowledge of the idiosyncrasies, ideals, and conditions of these subject Muslim peoples, and sympathy and broadmindedness in their treatment and wise co-operation in their efforts, are called for.

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They also, subject though they may be, have their great contribution to make to the solution of the problem of world peace and stable international relations. For willing acceptance of their position, based on the conditions which I have outlined, will be one of the most powerful contributory factors possible to the solution of the very vexed and dangerous problem of the future development of colonial peoples. Their contentment and their influence will further beneficially affect the opinion and attitude of their autonomous co-religionists, the importance of which we have seen.

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CENTENARY OF RAJA RAM MOHAN ROY*

By A. Yusuf Ali, c.b.e.

Is it good to celebrate a centenary? It depends on the spirit in which we do it. If we merely dream of our past, and rest on our oars, we may get an arrogant or indolent spirit, and make ourselves ridiculous to others. But there is another and nobler spirit in our commemoration of the past. We can do it in all reverence and humility, and yet with legitimate pride. Our present and future cannot be stable unless we build on the past. There is an exploration backwards as well as forwards. Every eager spirit must necessarily meet with checks and disappointments. He may be a lonely figure in a crowd that shouts but does not understand. If he could with historic imagination turn the time machine and walk with fellow-pilgrims whose opportunities were perhaps fewer and whose achievements greater, he would take heart. And heart, courage, and confidence are the things most needed in the battle of life.

Centenary remembrances are thus useful from an individual point of view. But a celebration brings in the collective spirit. It is this collective spirit which creates energy. It feeds the individual, and by reflex action it feeds the multitude. The finer thoughts and impulses are broadcast. In the very process they gather strength and get the stamp of approval from the many-headed multitude. The multitude may be dull, stupid, slow to move, encrusted in prejudice. But to do it justice, when you reach its ear and heart, it imparts its emotion to the finer thoughts and impulses, and it is only then that they become winged seeds of progress and advance. A celebration brings the individual into touch with the fructifying forces of the world.

I wish there were more celebrations in India—celebrations of the right sort, which bring understanding, not celebrations of the wrong sort, which bring conflict. Some political celebrations are of the latter kind. Why should we not celebrate Asoka and Akbar, Chand Bibi and Ahalya Bai, Kalidas and Amir Khusrau? I do not bar political celebrations if they still, and do not stir up, controversy and wrong feeling. We want to celebrate virtues, great and heroic deeds, honest thought. No man is perfect. Even some of our heroes have feet of clay. We call to remembrance what is good and true, sincere and noble, that our own

* Based on a speech at a memorial meeting at Essex Hall, London, on September 22, 1933.

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thoughts may be made sincere and noble. There is too much of the sordid, the false, the selfish, in and around us. Let us grasp every opportunity of awakening in ourselves a desire to rise into a purer atmosphere and thirst after streams of human nature nearer their source. For no celebration is worth the name which does not plant our feet on the very texture of human nature—with its joys and sorrows, its triumphs and failures, its hours of sunshine and storm, of clouded vision and serener insight. These perhaps come home to us in lives nearer to our own, and yet not so near that contemporary controversies drown their more essential music in the din and clash of prejudices and predilections. Ram Mohan Roy, Saiyid Ahmad Khan, Toru Dutt, Shah Jahan Begam of Bhopal are of our own world, and our own tears and laughter can mingle with theirs, and we can feel theirs as if they were our own.

Ram Mohan Roy died in Bristol on September 27, 1833, having lived three years in England. It is not only because he lived and died in England that there is some appropriateness in the celebration of his centenary in England by Indians and British together. His generation saw the first efforts in cultural co-operation between British and Indians together. The names of Ram Mohan Roy and that British watchmaker, David Hare, are inseparably associated together in the first beginnings of English education in Bengal. Their friendship was lifelong and intimate, and the Hindu College, founded in 1817, owes as much to the one as to the other. The liberalized religious outlook of Hinduism can be traced to their joint efforts, and to the sympathy of good friends and true in India and in England. The constitutional position in India was being examined anew by the British Parliament a century ago, and Ram Mohan Roy was heard by a Select Committee of the House of Commons as a witness. Today Indians are not only being heard by a Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament as witnesses but being consulted as colleagues in evolving a new Constitution for India. In his day it was considered an innovation that Indians should exercise authority as magistrates and justices of peace. In our own day Indians are beginning for short periods to exercise authority as Governors of Provinces in the name of the King of All the Britains and Emperor of India, and the question of delegated seats and centres of Parliament's authority in Indian Legislatures is a live question being hotly debated in every newspaper in the Empire. The co-operation of British and Indians was never more necessary than it is today, and the disastrous results of non-co-operation would accrue not only to India but to Britain and the British Empire.

There is one point on which it may be permissible to draw

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both a parallel and a contrast between the days of Ram Mohan Roy and our own day in India. It relates to the communal question. In the form in which it exists in India today it did not exist in the 'thirties of the last century. Ram Mohan Roy's title of Raja was conferred on him by the Mughal Emperor at Delhi. The Mughal Emperor sent him as his trusted envoy to London to place his case before the authorities in England. That mission bore no direct fruit. But it shows that Hindu-Muslim relations were not then embittered. There is no trace of communal feeling in the Raja's utterances or evidence in England, and there was none in India. The Raja's studies had embraced not only Sanskrit and the Vedas, but Persian and Arabic and the Quran, as well as European languages and literatures. His religious synthesis brought Hindu religion nearer to Islam and to Christianity. It was not only that his personal relations with Muslims were cordial and based on mutual trust. He established and maintained such relations between his societies and the general public, Hindu and Muslim, in India. He carried about him an atmosphere of peace and reconciliation. If we could revive that atmosphere in India today, half our difficulties would be solved.

It is not my purpose in this brief note to bring the whole of Ram Mohan Roy's life under review. I will concentrate on three definite points: his passion for reform, his ideas on education, and his faith in practical and doctrinal Theism.

Those were the days of reform, both in England and India. The Hindu College, founded in Calcutta in 1817, was almost wrecked because the slogan of reform was shouted too vehemently. Indians who had drunk of the new stream of English thought almost despised their own ancient traditions. In this attitude Ram Mohan Roy himself was not perhaps altogether beyond reproach. In England it was the period of the Reform Bill and the extravagant hopes founded upon it. Two of the leaders of English thought who befriended Ram Mohan Roy were themselves passionate reformers. Jeremy Bentham brought everything to the test of common-sense, and thought nothing too sacred to attack which did not conform to that test. Social reform, legislative reform, reform in legal procedure and administration, reform in our ideas of philosophy—these were as the breath of his life. Lord Brougham, who was Lord Chancellor in 1830-34, was also ardent in law reform, and must have welcomed Ram Mohan Roy's enthusiasm in the cause of reform in India. If Roman Catholic Emancipation, Irish Church reform (combined with a policy of firm government which some people called coercion), slavery in the West Indies, and factory legislation, agitated England, besides the larger question of political reform,

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there were similar minor issues in India, though they took a different form. Sati, the opening of higher employment to Indians, the abolition of slavery, and financial economy, were all prominent in the public mind in India. In these matters Ram Mohan Roy's balanced mind was cautious, but there is no doubt that his sympathies were all on the side of reform.

On education his views were radical, almost revolutionary. He was all for English education, and education in the new sciences, and opposed the establishment of a Sanskrit College under Hindu pandits in Calcutta. He wrote a protest to the Government in 1823, comparing such a college to the seminaries which "existed in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon." In his view the Sanskrit language was so difficult that almost a life-time was required for its acquisition. "The learning," he said, "concealed under this almost impervious veil is far from sufficient to reward the labour of acquiring it." "Nor," he added, "will youths be fitted to be members of society by the Vedantic doctrines which teach them to believe that all visible things have no real existence, that a father, brother, etc., have no real entity, they consequently deserve no real affection, and therefore the sooner we escape from them and leave the world the better." This is an extreme view in condemnation of the old learning. The pendulum has swung round to the other extreme now, and even learning and study have taken on a political colour. I look forward to the time when we shall respect and study the old learning and, with the same zest, acquire and profit by the new.

The living memorial to Ram Mohan Roy is the Theistic school which he founded, and which, under different names and forms, exists and carries on a sane, practical religious, educational, and social propaganda today. Bishop Heber and the Serampore missionaries disapproved this new Theism, but it commended itself to sober minds in India and brought it into touch with universal religion in many countries. Though its original fervour has somewhat abated, sects and divisions have arisen, and there is a tendency to go back to the older attitude against which it was a protest, the Brahmo Samaj and the Prarthna Samaj have left an abiding impress on Theistic thought, women's education and emancipation, and social work among the depressed classes. Its adherents are in fraternal relations and religious communion with liberal schools of religious thought in all countries. To explain its objects I cannot do better than quote from its trust deed of 1830: "A calm worship of the Deity, the practice of virtue and charity, reverence for all that is sincere and helpful in every faith, and active participation in every movement for the bettering of mankind." There is no room here for frenzy, or barren contemplation, or exclusive arrogance.

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Here was a man who sincerely loved his country and his people, and whose love was not confined to narrow bounds, but passed beyond sentiment to action, struggle, and exploration. He is an example to us, worthy of a place in our thoughts and our affections.

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EDUCATION IN THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES

By Dr. K. F. Creutzberg

(Dr. K. F. Creutzberg, the news of whose death was announced at the time the present article reached us, was in the service of the N.I. Government from 1904 till 1929. The last five years of this period he occupied the post of Vice-President of the N.I. Council (second only to the Governor-General). From 1916 to 1923 he was at the head of the Department of Education and Public Worship, and during that time he laid the foundations of the educational system, the outlines of which he describes in his article.—Ed.)

INTRODUCTION

The present educational organization is chiefly, at least so far as it concerns the autochthonous population, the achievement of the last three decades. Until the end of last century Indonesian* society, except in Christianized regions, cared little for other than Muslim teaching of youth, and it would hardly have been possible, even by putting pressure upon the parents, to fill many more than the few schools existing at those days.

Besides propaganda carried on officially for the benefit of education, it is particularly the national movement, which arose shortly after the beginning of our century, that has transformed the former indifference into a vivid interest in educational matters and a great demand for more and better schools. The strongest pressure is exerted by the upper and the middle classes, who desire a good education on the largest possible scale for their own offspring as well as they regard education as the most powerful lever for the whole people and the ultimate realization of their national ambitions.

When the first signs of this urgency became apparent, the Government had to deal with such difficult problems as how to lay the foundations of a future educational building for a population of (at present) about sixty millions, and to balance the most various desiderata and the restricted possibilities of their fulfilment.

These problems, as well as their solution, can only be understood by keeping in view the economic and financial conditions of the country. As in other countries where evolution is still a

* This name, though not yet acknowledged officially, is coming into vogue more and more, among other things as an appropriate term to distinguish the whole of the native population of the Netherlands East Indies from other national and racial groups, especially in international intercourse.

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young and somewhat forced process, the super- and the sub-structure of Netherlands-Indian society shows infinitely greater differences than those apparent in countries which in their development have followed more normal and gradual lines. The very large sub-structure lags so far beneath the relatively small and swiftly evolving super-structure that one might get the impression of a totality composed of two parts taken from two distant periods of history and put together haphazard. While the great mass of peasants, etc., though living under the protection of a modern administration, still show in the utter simplicity of their existence the statical image of mediæval communities, the upper and middle classes participate actively in the dynamical life of the Westernized super-structure. The scope of this essay makes it impossible to work out that contrast, but it may be useful to illustrate by a single example its reflection in the different standards of life: while in normal countries the wages of lower grade clerical workers stand in a ratio of 2 or at the most 3 to the earnings of unskilled labourers, many Western-trained Indonesians earn 15 to 30 times as much as their coolie colleagues.

The educational system consists of two main constituents, a vernacular and a Western organization, entirely different in their aims, their levels, and the possibilities of their development.*

Those points of difference are partly connected with the much-discussed question which every colonial power has had to face: how far it is advisable to direct the education of the autochthonous population on Western lines. From all divergent searchlights which might be shed on this question one fact stands out, that vernacular education, even extended on the largest possible scale, involves far less risk of mental and social dislocation than Western education. Naturally, the first vernacular schools in several regions had the effect of making many ex-pupils look down upon the modest position of their fathers, but this is a normal symptom in the first stages of education, and even a slight extension of schools would make it clear that the bulk of the pupils cannot expect an improvement of their living conditions merely as a result of the most elementary instruction. People soon come to realize and accept this idea.

In many Oriental countries matters stand very differently as regards Western education. It goes without saying that the want of such education, once it is felt by the upper and a large section of the middle classes of the population, must be met unconditionally. Apart from that, Government and private employers cannot do without Western-trained workers engaged in the country itself. But how far has Western education to be extended beyond the limits of these needs? It is ardently desired

* A significant bridge joining the two parts will be mentioned later on.

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by many parents who want their children to enjoy the same chances in the struggle for life as have Europeans with their much-envied standard of living. Unfortunately, however, the opportunity of realizing such ambitions is restricted. Hence the danger of yielding to the pressure towards immoderate extension of Western education, which causes in the long run more dissatisfaction than satisfaction, and even dislocation. This is the main reason—apart from financial motives—why in the Netherlands East Indies it has always been a principle of educational policy, rather than to provide the large masses with Western education, to keep them as much as possible in their own sphere.

Therefore, while the foundation of new vernacular schools wherever they can be expected to attract a sufficient number of pupils depends only on the available funds, it is in the main from motives of principle that Western education is extended with caution—at least so far as the Government has control of it. For especially of late years a strong movement is going on in Indonesian circles for founding Western schools on their own account. Some of these efforts have had very satisfactory results, but others have resulted in failure and the establishment of mere caricatures of schools. In the worst cases the administration intervenes, but it is hardly possible to stop entirely inefficient private initiative.

In the following outlines of the systems of vernacular and Western education no distinction is made between the work of the Government and of State-aided private associations. It may be sufficient to state here in general that, though most of the schools are public, such associations accomplish very considerable work in the field of primary and secondary education. Several missionary societies in particular have played a great part in this domain. Generous grants-in-aid are awarded where the standard of instruction is equivalent to that given in Government schools.*

1. System of Vernacular Education

The present organization of vernacular education cannot be looked upon as more than a modest beginning, especially in regard to the quality of the instruction. When in the early part of this century the Government set itself the task of founding in a much larger way elementary schools for the population, the type of school then existing appeared to be too expensive for wide extension. A complete equipment with that sort of school would have cost at least as much as the whole amount of the Budget of those days.

* Private schools subsidized on this basis are included in the figures given below as to the number of schools and pupils.

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Hence the creation of a new institute as a basis of the whole pyramid: the village school, the modest building of which, as a rule, is a charge upon the villagers, the working expenses being entirely or for the greater part paid by the Government.

This school has only three classes, and its curriculum is limited to the three R's (ciphering not further than 1,000). As the school hours are divided in such a way that the first half of the day is assigned to the first class and the second half to the second and the third together, one schoolmaster—sometimes aided by an assistant—can do the whole teaching. The training of these teachers is adequate to their simple task. Their work is regularly controlled by very competent surveyors.

The present number of village schools is 17,158.

As mentioned before, the village school forms the basis of the organization. Alongside it, and in part above it, the former primary school has been maintained as a "standard school," and even considerably improved. It has 5, sometimes 6, classes and it is staffed by far more competent teachers, for the greater part graduates of normal schools (boarding establishments).

The present number of these standard schools is 3,252.

It is of the utmost importance—for the future still more than for the present—that a close connection has been established between the village and the standard school, so that ex-pupils of the former, who want more instruction, can pass to the latter. This connection is especially emphasized by the existence of standard schools without the first 3 grades, which serve only as continuation schools for the village schools.

It may be expected that, with increasing prosperity of the population, the number of standard schools in proportion to the number of village schools will rise, until finally the two types will have grown together into a normal primary school of 6 classes. Undoubtedly this process will take much time, but there is no other possible way, within the bounds of the country's financial capacity, of arriving at a normal educational organization.

The present number of pupils of elementary vernacular schools is 1,784,000.

In studying these figures one should bear in mind that the organization is still in an early stage of growth, and that in several parts of the country much propaganda is needed to get pupils into the village schools.

In an increasing measure the schools are attended by girls. This fact is the more memorable as an inquiry set up in the beginning of our century concluded that Indonesian society in general was firmly opposed to school education for girls. These views, however, appear to have changed in a decade, with the

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result that the Government was able to promote the foundation of separate girls' schools in addition to mixed schools, and to take up, on a rather large scale, the training of Indonesian women teachers at boarding normal schools.

As objections to co-education, where they exist, do not arise in regard to children under the age of 10, the girls' schools are organized as continuation schools. The educational code aims especially at the preparation of girls for their future task as mistress of the house, and pays much attention to domestic subjects, hygiene, etc. In a number of these schools Dutch is taught as an extra subject, which is a matter of interest for Western-trained Indonesian young men who want to marry girls whose intellectual standard is not too far beneath theirs.

The social benefit of education of Indonesian girls can scarcely be overrated, as it will surely prove to be an efficacious means of consolidating family life, and will lead to a better home education of the children and, indirectly, to the reinforcement of the very weak economic condition of Indonesian society.

From the foregoing it will be seen that, especially as regards the efficiency of elementary vernacular instruction, rather much remains to be done in the future. Owing to the economic and financial situation, at the start no higher object could be proposed than reduction of illiteracy. Now this object in itself is of high value, if it were only because illiteracy forms an obstacle to the full effect of measures for the people's welfare. Besides, it is a matter of social value that young people should during some years have to adapt themselves to a good school discipline.

However, much remains to be done in future if the schools are to meet all the demands that must be made upon them as institutions of social education. The achievement of this improvement depends largely upon thorough preparation of the teachers for their task, which unfortunately is an expensive undertaking.

Moreover, an extension of simple agricultural and technical instruction is badly needed. After many failures the right ways have been found, but the number of schools is still relatively small. Meanwhile ex-pupils of the standard schools find still other opportunities for vocational training at several schools and courses for the training of standard and village school-teachers, mariners, vaccinators, nurses, hospital and laboratory attendants, employees of the public health service, midwives, etc.

Whatever the system of vernacular education may still lack, at any rate its organization does not suffer from internal defects which might stand in the way of measures to remedy its defects. The system is sufficiently supple, as it lends itself to expansion as well as to deepening, both of which, gradually executed, may be expected not to exceed the limits of the Budget, at least in

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normal times and at a normal increase of the country's prosperity. The existing organization needs no essential change to bear in the future more and better fruits.

The work of popular education is supported by an organization for providing popular reading matter. Properly speaking, this is no doubt a matter for private enterprise. But, failing that, the Government itself has assumed this task also, since only half the work is done unless the population learning to read can find proper reading matter—more, anyhow, than the vernacular papers, the contents of which do very little more good than evil.

These activities are concentrated in an office at Batavia, which has at its disposal a large staff of experts and its own printing press. Its first task consists in the provision and extension of libraries, which, at present numbering 3,000 odd, are mostly attached to vernacular standard schools,* their administration being committed to the charge of the headmaster. Besides children's books, these libraries contain the most various reading matter for adults who seek development, diversion, or enlightenment on practical matters. Their increasing success, notwithstanding the still relatively small number of literates, is apparent from the average figures for books lent, which since 1912 have risen from 60 to upwards of a 1,000 per library per annum.

The office is moreover entrusted with the editing and sale of vernacular books, original as well as translated from Western languages, and it even publishes illustrated weekly and monthly papers, almanacs, etc. The costs are almost covered by the receipts.

2. System of Western Education

Unlike the system of vernacular education, which can only grow to a complete and normal school system in the course of time, the institutions for Western education already form a whole, answering to high claims. Quantitatively these institutions shrink into insignificance beside the vernacular schools, but their gradually increasing number is sufficient not only to provide for the country's needs in the way of Western-trained workers, but to meet the demand for instruction of both European society and of the higher classes and much of the middle classes of both the Indonesian and Chinese communities.

One of the main features of Western instruction in the Netherlands East Indies, so far as it is entirely or partly chargeable to public revenues, is that it is up to the level of similar instruction in Holland. This equality was conceded in the past to the Dutch

* Dutch libraries are attached to the Western primary schools for Indonesians.

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colonizers, who are less in the habit of sending their children home for their education than are other Europeans in the Far East. And as Indo-Europeans rank equally with the Dutch, Europeans, who number about 240,000, find for their offspring a rather complete equipment of primary, secondary, and vocational schools, and a few colleges, all of them equivalent to the analogous Dutch institutions.

To these schools Indonesian and Chinese children have always been and still are admitted, but they are not very suitable for them, as the teaching methods are not adapted to meet their particular difficulties in acquiring Western education.

Therefore another course had to be adopted when, some twenty years ago, it proved necessary to enlarge considerably the opportunity which the Indonesian and Chinese upper and middle classes thus far had for Western education of their young people. Alongside the existing primary and secondary instruction, designed more particularly for European children, a parallel system was constructed, which, shaped to the particular needs of Oriental children, leads to the same goal: the university.

Partly because in the educational code for Indonesian pupils their own languages have a place, these, according to their knowledge of Dutch, take from 13 to 15 years to reach the university, that is from 1 to 3 years more than Dutch students. This is only seemingly a disadvantage, since Oriental pupils, taught in the past on purely Western lines, have frequently missed their removes or have failed altogether.

Primary Education.—Besides 296 European primary schools (39,454 European, 4,615 Indonesian, and 2,643 Chinese pupils) there exist at present 294 Western primary schools for Indonesians (67,848 pupils) and 109 for Chinese (17,402 pupils), with Dutch as the medium of instruction. All these schools have 7 grades, those for Indonesians, moreover, including a preparatory class for children with no knowledge of Dutch. The European schools are staffed exclusively by Europeans; the other schools have mixed staffs, composed for the most part of thoroughly trained Indonesian and Chinese teachers.

At this point some particulars as to the bridge between the vernacular and the Western educational systems, mentioned in the introduction, may be given. In 1921 a 5 grades Western primary school was set up for talented pupils who had attended a vernacular standard school during 3 years. The new institution, called "schakelschool" (literally translated: link-school), proved a success, and 57 of these schools have since been established (5,334 pupils). Terminating in the same point as the 8 grades Western primary schools for Indonesians, they score over the latter in two respects. Firstly, they give a chance to gifted

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children from the lower classes to go forward, even to enter a university later on. Secondly, from a pedagogical point of view, it may be regarded as an advantage that the children till their ninth year remain entirely in their own sphere and have not to learn a foreign language at too early an age.

Secondary Education.—These considerations, mainly of a pedagogical nature, which necessitate a threefold system of primary education, according to the principal racial groups, do not count in the sphere of secondary education. Consequently pupils are admitted to secondary schools without racial discrimination.

Nevertheless in practice few Indonesian and Chinese youths (241 and 354 out of a total of 5,044) attend the 8 secondary schools (5 grades) and 2 lycea (6 grades), which are entirely modelled on Dutch patterns. They prefer, as do many Europeans, the "Algemeene Middelbare School," a new kind of secondary school, dating from 1919 and, though equivalent to the ordinary secondary schools, better adapted to their specific wants. This institution consists of a 3 grades uniform sub-structure, with a preparatory class for pupils whose knowledge of Dutch needs a finishing touch (65 schools with 3,556 European, 7,328 Indonesian, and 1,670 Chinese pupils), and a 3 grades super-structure, divided into 3 sections, where science, Western classics, and Oriental literature form the principal items of the curriculum (11 schools with 188 Europeans, 854 Indonesian, and 295 Chinese pupils).

The leaving certificates of these schools have been officially recognized as equivalent to the corresponding Dutch certificates giving admission to university examination.

The aforesaid primary and secondary schools at different points link up with institutions of professional training in various directions, such as agriculture, horticulture, forestry, mining, medicine, pharmacy, veterinary medicine, teaching, Civil Service, administration, trade, navigation, army, police.

Higher Education was introduced in the Netherlands East Indies in 1920 with the opening of a technical college at Bandoeng. In 1924 a law and in 1927 a medical college were established at Batavia; these took the place of middle schools preparing for those professions.

Although the standard of these "middle schools" was not inferior to that of many "universities" and "colleges" in the Far East, they have never been labelled with such epithets, as it has always been a principle of educational policy in the Netherlands East Indies to keep institutions for higher education on a level with university teaching in Holland.

The impossibility of attaining this end before 1920 was not

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caused by difficulties concerning the establishment in itself of some colleges of the requisite quality, but by lack of a sufficient number of students *fully* prepared for college training. Many ex-pupils of the secondary schools existing before 1919, mostly Europeans, inasmuch as they wanted higher education, preferred to attend universities in Holland. Only the new type of secondary school, founded in that year, furnished a wide enough basis for higher education in the Netherlands East Indies.

The benefits of a high standard of university teaching are obvious. Nevertheless it seems worth while to mention two of them as being of special importance for a country like the Netherlands East Indies. The first is connected with the fact that the country as yet cannot employ—or rather cannot afford to employ—many university-bred workers, wherefore neither public nor private interests are furthered by an abundant production of graduates. There is no better and more natural way of restriction than to insist on a high level of instruction and adequate response. Society has more use for a restricted number of fully competent workers than for dozens of unemployed graduates whose certificates are of dubious value. The second point is that Indonesian young men need not go to Europe but can find the highest educational opportunities in their own country, and can be trained there for the same posts as are occupied by imported university-trained workers. The significance of this benefit will especially appeal to those who realize the mental disturbance it is to many Oriental young men when they are transplanted, at too early an age and with insufficiently developed discernment, to the entirely unfamiliar atmosphere of urban life in Europe.

The technical, law, and medical colleges are at present attended respectively by 74, 74, and 44 European; 46, 128, and 134 Indonesian; and 8, 34, and 76 Chinese students.

Note

I was asked to forward to the Editor the manuscript of the foregoing article, which Dr. Creutzberg wrote for the Asiatic Review. This gave me the opportunity to draw the reader's attention to the fact that the described educational system proves to be a maturely considered organization, based as it is upon the needs of each of the many different social and racial groups that form together the conglomeration of the Colony's population. In very simple but none the less efficient village schools it creates an instrument to fight illiteracy among the children of the native labourers, and at the same time it opens up the way to the doors of the university for any pupil that either by reason of the social position of his elders or of his personal talents needs or deserves

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higher education. It is not blind to the pedagogical advantages of instructing young boys and girls in the vernacular, whereas it brings the pupils of all races together in the same school as soon as they are fit to follow the same curriculum.

As his successor at the head of the N.I. Educational Department, I think I am entitled—and by the courtesy of the Editor I am enabled—to complete the rough sketch in this article by stating that the merit of creating this system as a whole is Dr. Creutzberg's. Though he never was the man to say so himself, I feel it to be a tribute to his memory to mention it here.

J. F. W. VAN DER MEULEN.

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A NEW ASPECT OF MANCHOUKUO

By Mr. Kanzo Shiozaki

Japan's position in Manchuria has undergone a fundamental change since the Manchurian incident of 1931. Before the incident, Japan's cardinal policy in that region was in the main to preserve her legitimate rights and interests acquired after the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, and to maintain tranquillity and order, so that foreigners might pursue their legitimate occupations peacefully in that region. In fact, since the Russo-Japanese War, Manchuria has often been the scene of international animosities, and in recent times the militarists formerly in power were only too eager to undermine Japan's vital interests in Manchuria. The Manchurian incident, in our view, resulted from an act of self-defence to which Japan was obliged to resort to protect her rights and her nationals, whose existence was threatened by the old Chinese régime.

The new State of Manchuria, or Manchoukuo, was established by the populace in that region, who took advantage of the outbreak of the incident of 1931. It appears that the outside world conceived of the new State as having been founded through the activities of the Japanese military officials, and not as having been created by an independence movement originating with the people of Manchuria themselves. The independence movement was no less than the expression of the instinct for social survival of the Manchurian people. That the people of Manchuria have the instinct of survival can be explained by the fact that Manchuria has historically always constituted an entirely separate political unit from China, distinctive in sentiment and tradition, and also by the fact that the people endured with fortitude the poverty and distress to which they had been reduced by the tyranny and extortion of the Changs.

To those who know the pre-incident state of things in Manchuria, it is inconceivable that such a big movement as the independence of Manchoukuo could have been brought about merely by means of intrigues or the instigation of foreigners. And now, whatever the motives and manner of its creation, Manchoukuo is a *fait accompli*. The relevant question which confronts us is not how the new State came into being, but what bearing it will have in the future upon the peace of the Far East.

Manchoukuo, after the declaration of her independence, naturally and reasonably desired the assistance of Japan, particularly in

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view of the attitude of her southern neighbour, who endeavoured to hamper the peaceful development of the new State. The policy of the Government of Manchoukuo meets the wishes of Japan, as it respects Japan's legitimate rights and interests in the new State. Japan, on her part, rightly conceived that her interests would be secured only by encouraging the sound development of the new State. Upon this conviction Japan acted, and, in the face of strong opposition from her neighbours and the League of Nations, she recognized the new State of Manchoukuo.

In so doing, Japan conceived that she was taking the only possible course to ensure the security of her rights and to preserve peace in the Far East. The League of Nations, from which Japan was obliged to withdraw on account of the fundamental difference of views, saw in the separation of Manchuria from China a permanent cause of friction between Japan and China and of turmoil in the Far East. But Japan considered that no security or tranquillity could be attained in the Far East except through the independence of Manchoukuo. It should be remembered that the Imperial Prescript promulgated on the occasion of Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations proclaimed that: "Now Manchoukuo having of late been founded, Our Empire deems it essential to respect the independence of the new State and to encourage its healthy development, in order that the sources of evil in the Far East may be eradicated and an enduring peace thereby established." To secure the development of Manchoukuo is the responsibility incumbent upon Japan, not only for the peace of Manchoukuo and of the world, but for her conscience itself.

The majority of the people of Manchuria belong to the Han race, which has traditionally cherished the political ideals of the "Kingly Way." They were forced to revolt against the despotism —the antithesis of the "Kingly Way"—of the former Chinese military régime under which they had suffered in misery for many years. They started to bring about their long-cherished political ideal, which seeks the peace and prosperity of the people as a whole. Japan, having recognized the new State, exerted her utmost efforts to assist in the speedy realization of the ideal of the Manchurians—the fundamental principles of the new State. By helping the sound development of the ideal of the "Kingly Way," Japan is convinced that she is serving to sustain civilization and contributing to the peace of the Far East.

The State contemplated by the "Kingly Way" is one of moral government. It holds spiritual happiness as of no less importance than material prosperity. It desires to establish a land of peace for each and all, irrespective of colour, race, nationality, or class. Manchoukuo is confident that she is able to serve the cause of mankind by contributing to the world a new statecraft of moral

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government which is different from any form of government existing hitherto, whether capitalistic or communistic, autocratic or democratic.

The sound and peaceful growth of Manchoukuo, as we believe, is a foundation upon which the friendly relations between Japan, Manchoukuo, and China will be regulated. The unnaturally strained atmosphere which has covered the Far East for so long will be cleared. If, however, the Government of the "Kingly Way" is not firmly established, it is to be feared that China will continue her resistance to Japan, and no peace can be expected between China and Manchoukuo. Japan will then be compelled to take political or economic measures, with a consequent protracted strain on international relations and no prospect of the blessings of peace.

Manchoukuo is now striving to realize the ideal of the "Kingly Way" through material reform within her realm. Although the new State is but an infant of less than two years, this short period has nevertheless witnessed a marvellous development in many aspects, political, military, and economic.

First of all, a word on the peace and order in the State. Since the Jehol pacification expedition of last spring, the anti-Manchoukuo banditry, believed to be supported by the former Chang régime, has almost disappeared. Bandits, who formerly numbered about two hundred thousand, have recently been reduced to fifty or sixty thousand. Month by month the general situation within the borders of the new State has improved.

Equally significant is the problem of the public finance of the new State. In 1930 the total revenue of the Government under the Chang régime amounted to 121,590,000 yuan, the total expenditure 142,605,000 yuan, showing a deficit of 21,015,000 yuan. Of the expenditure, 80 per cent.—that is, 114,721,000 yuan—was allotted to military expenses. In order to make up the deficit, taxes were arbitrarily increased. In 1924, for instance, the bean tax was raised suddenly to 70 per cent., and what was termed production tax was doubled.

The Manchoukuo Government have started financial reforms by depriving the provincial authorities of their financial control and centralizing the financial system; a single unified Budget for both central and local governments was inaugurated on a sound basis. Cumbersome minor taxes were abolished and others were reduced. By the improvement of tax-collecting methods, farming-out, squeeze, and all their accompanying evils, were once and for all eradicated.

Thus the first Budget of the new Manchoukuo Government for 1932-33, amounting to M¥* 113,308,000, effected a decrease of

* Manchoukuo Yen, worth about 1s. 1d.

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M¥ 29,297,000 in expenditure and proportionately decreased the burden of taxation. Compared with the colossal military outlay of 114,721,000 yuan of the Chang régime, the same item in the Manchoukuo Budget for 1932-33 was only M¥ 33,000,000, a decrease of no less than M¥ 81,721,000. From 80 per cent. of the total expenditure it was reduced to 30 per cent.

The actual result of the auditing of the first fiscal year at the end of July, 1933, showed that actual revenue exceeded the estimate by M¥ 24,506,000, a fact attributed to the reorganized and well-regulated system of tax collection coupled with the restoration of internal peace and order. On the other hand, expenditure exceeded the budgeted amount by M¥ 6,500,000, so that a net surplus of M¥ 18,000,000 resulted.

The second Budget for this fiscal year (1933-34) was put at M¥ 149,169,000 for both revenue and expenditure, an increase of M¥ 35,861,000 as against the amount for the last Budget—an increase amply justified by the result of the audit for the last fiscal year and significant of the progress in general.

In adopting the new Budget, the floating of loans for the purpose of making up a revenue was specially precluded. The loan for the construction of the national capital at Hsinking to the sum of M¥ 7,000,000, which was listed in the new Budget, was already voted in the last fiscal year, but its floating was spread over to this year. An increase in revenue was expected on the ground that the restoration of peace and order, the stabilization of paper notes, and the regulation of the tax-collecting systems would entail an increase in the amount of Customs duties, internal taxes, and the proceeds of governmental monopolies and other State industries.

In fixing expenditure, the maintenance of peace and order was made the first consideration. The regular payment of the police force is to be assured throughout the country. Special expenses for the maintenance of peace and order and punitive expeditions during the summer months have been provided for. Items have been included for the construction of arterial roads to facilitate the development of industries. In order to help the reorganization of local administration and finance, the necessary grants in aid have been established. Expenses for improving the administration of justice, for raising the standard of judges and other judicial officers, have been found. Funds amounting to M¥ 7,000,000 have also been provided in the Budget for redemption of capital and interests of old foreign loans secured on customs duties and the salt gabelle. Thus we have witnessed in the new Budget the itemization of departmental expenditure and organized control of local finance, which as a whole may reasonably be construed as showing an advance in the Manchoukuo budgetary procedure.

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It may be interesting to refer to the attitude of the Manchoukuo Government with respect to foreign debts. Soon after the establishment of the new Government, the Manchoukuo authorities, in consultation with the foreign Consuls interested, appointed a Commission for the Liquidation of Claims, with a view to settling the claims of foreigners, including Japanese, British, American, German, French, etc. Foreign claims were divided into two categories. In regard to the claims where contracts had been made after 1930 and wherein goods had been duly delivered, payment was made in cash to the creditors' interests of the sum of M¥ 2,417,125.47, which amount was shared respectively by the creditor nations as follows:

Creditors.	*Amount Paid.* M¥
Japan	889,114.74
Great Britain	188,937.32
Germany	305,154.82
U.S.A.	28,457.26
Manchoukuo and China	1,002,890.12
Denmark	2,091.56
Others	479.65
Total	M¥ 2,417,125.47

With regard to the other category—namely, the claims for contracts made prior to 1929 inclusive, and contracts wherein goods had not been delivered—it was decided that the approximate total amount of M¥ 4,000,000 would be adjusted this year by 3 per cent. bonds redeemable in twenty years.

The Manchoukuo Government, adhering to the spirit of her declared foreign policy, has gone so far as to pay the railway loan made by the British and Chinese Corporation concerning the double tracking of the Peking-Mukden Railway. It is noteworthy that this loan has been paid in full for the entire amount, comprising not only the liability of the Mukden-Shanhaikwan line, but that of the Peiping-Shanhaikwan section outside the borders of Manchoukuo. The Manchoukuo authorities now make monthly payments regularly on the remaining British loan on the same railway. The Manchoukuo Government has also redeemed the claim of the Netherlands Harbour Construction Works, which had received a contract from the former Chang régime for the construction of the port of Hulutao. These few examples of international good faith on the part of the infant State are in vivid contrast to the attitude of China in regard to foreign loans.

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The remarkable amelioration in the public finances of Manchoukuo mentioned above might have been difficult had it not been accompanied and assisted by the change in the banking organizations. In June, 1932, the Central Bank of Manchoukuo was established, amalgamating the four old note-issuing banks of the Chang régime. The amalgamation has done away with the Manchurian markets being flooded with paper money, to the detriment of the commercial and general community. The fifteen different kinds of paper money hitherto in circulation were replaced by the new national currency, and the rates of exchange of the old currencies were officially fixed. The value of the new currency having shown no wide fluctuation since its appearance, this stability has assured its smooth circulation, and all prices are now for the first time quoted in one uniform currency.

Other benefits accompanying the unification and stabilization of the currency are many and varied. The revenue of the Government, which under the old régime was uncertain and undefined, is now secure and dependable. Business circles have been relieved of the ever-present uneasiness resulting from violent fluctuations, and fresh stimulus has been given to industrial activities. The bank now finds itself in a position to make substantial advances to trade and industry.

Preliminaries such as the unification of the monetary system, stabilization of currency, and reorganization of branch banks having been practically completed, the Central Bank is at present giving its attention to banking operations proper, especially financial assistance to industries, lubricating domestic and foreign exchange, lowering the interest rates, advancing funds for Manchurian products and for farming for next spring.

Under the radically improved organization of both public finance and banking, the future economic and industrial outlook of Manchoukuo is bright. Yet the Government of Manchoukuo, not content with the natural process of development, proposes to assume the leadership of the economic and industrial life of the nation. This attitude is rather unusual in a Government. Although they do not profess any doctrine such as Fascism or Communism, they have their own ideas on economic questions. In the "Economic Construction Plan" promulgated in March of this year the Government expressed the view that uncontrolled capitalism might be harmful; that it was necessary to apply a certain amount of national control and to utilize the fruits of capital so that the economic life of the great mass of citizens might be elevated and rendered secure, the standard of existence raised, the country's power augmented, and world economy and culture thereby enriched.

In order to attain this objective, the Manchoukuo Government

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consider it essential to see that the interests of the people as a whole shall be made the keynote, and efforts will be made to prevent the monopoly of any exclusive class of people in the exploitation of natural resources and the development of industries. National control will be imposed on important economic activities for the purpose of developing all natural resources most effectively and co-ordinating various branches of industry.

In practice, the foregoing principles will be put into effect by conducting under official management those enterprises which have an important bearing upon national defence or public utility and benefit. Others may be left to private management, but a certain amount of adjustment necessary to promote general welfare will be resorted to in the sphere of both production and consumption.

In pursuing the new economic programme, the Manchoukuo Government adhere to the principle of the Open Door and equal opportunity. In this spirit they invite capital investments from all parts of the world, while appropriate and effective use will be made of the technical skill and experience and other fruits of the civilization of the advanced nations. On account of this attitude of Manchoukuo in welcoming foreign capital, it is reported that French and other financiers have already invested capital in that State for joint enterprise. There is, however, no gainsaying that foreign traders in Manchoukuo are feeling some inconvenience in carrying out their business on account of the fact that the new State has not been recognized by their respective Governments.

So much for the progress of the infant State—a start along the "Kingly Way." There is no doubt that Manchoukuo has made commendable progress in spite of the unsympathetic attitude of the Powers other than Japan. Manchoukuo, however, is too busily engaged in building up a model State to covet the favour of outside Powers and to solicit early recognition. Her present zeal is no mere show, but reality; no bid for recognition by the Powers, but the building up, preservation, and improvement of model statecraft. She believes that her achievement cannot fail to be a good example to her neighbour, China, that it will constitute a corner-stone of peace and order in Continental Asia, and will contribute to the progress of mankind. Japan, in pursuance of the Protocol of September 15, 1932, will continue to encourage the progress of the new State so long as Manchoukuo maintains the present peaceful policy. Even her neighbour, China, has recently been revising her attitude in view of the changing state of things by veering towards a more conciliatory policy, although the internal political situation does not allow the Nanking authorities to give *de jure* recognition to Manchoukuo. The future of the new State is full of promise. She will take her

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place in the comity of nations as a unique State founded on the ideal of the "Kingly Way," and will prove a peaceful abode for all. Manchoukuo is a State of destiny. Though despised today in her infancy, she will tomorrow win the friendship and respect of her compeers.

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LABOUR LEGISLATION IN INDO-CHINA

By Jean Goudal

(Official in the Section of Native Labour in the International Labour Office. Member of the Académie Diplomatique Internationale)

In a short study which appeared five years ago in the Asiatic Review, there were laid down the main features of the history of labour legislation in Indo-China. The chief point about this article was that it showed the important progress that had been made by the adoption of the order of October 25, 1927. Since that time innovations have been introduced: two important classes of workers have had for the first time their status legally settled —viz., compulsory labour and free labour. Only contract labour had up till quite lately occupied the attention of the legislator. These new improvements are sufficiently important to justify their description in full. I propose in the first place to show the present position with regard to labour legislation in Indo-China, limiting myself to the essential texts, as the regulations are very complicated. In the second section I will try to make an objective study of the legislation and to propose what reforms remain to be made in order that the legislation might be perfectly adapted to the needs of the Annamite workers, both agricultural and industrial.

I. Present Position of Legislation

(A) *Forced Labour*

It is known that forced or compulsory labour has been the subject of an International Convention, which was adopted in 1930 by the International Labour Conference. In view of the fact that certain of its dispositions show that the convention was not in harmony with the present situation of several of these colonies or even modified national sovereignty, the French Government refused to adhere to it. Nevertheless, it agreed to regulate for the whole of the French overseas possessions the work imposed on the natives in the public interest. This was the object of the decree of August 21, 1930, of which Article 6 stipulated that the Governor-General and Governors of the different colonies should within the next six months submit to the approval of the Minister draft orders regulating in their respective colonies the conditions of imposing forced labour. In order to conform with this stipula-

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tion the Governor-General of Indo-China promulgated with the Minister of the Colonies two laws dated February 5 and 6, 1932: one dealing with forced labour and the other with the obligatory transport of officials and goods of the administration. Henceforth forced labour could only be employed in the public interest and in exceptional cases by order of the Governor-General or the officials of the local administration. The employment of forced labour is dependent on the importance of the work upon which it is proposed to employ them, and the interest which they present for the native population as a whole, and finally on the absence of any voluntary labour. Very definite prescriptions for the recruiting of these workers are laid down, the amount of the work they are to do, and salaries and hygienic conditions. The maximum length of obligatory work for each individual is sixty days for every two months, including the day spent in travelling, in work on the roads, or carrying work. As for the forced transport of officials, this is only authorized in case of necessity when all other methods of transport are absent; it is also subject to rigorous regulations. A new order of May 11, 1933, lays down the local limitations for the prohibition of obligatory work by fixing the areas in Indo-China in which all recourse to this form of labour is henceforth forbidden. These areas include the whole of Cochin China and Cambodia and important parts of Tonkin and Annam. In the remainder of the territory forced labour can only be employed under conditions of strict limitations and are of short duration, the maximum annual number of days for each worker being fixed at thirty for Tonkin, sixty in Annam, and sixty in Laos. The same order envisages the eventual abolition of forced labour in other areas of Indo-China. Thus within quite a short period the total abolition of this form of work in the great Asiatic colony of France can be foreseen.

(B) *Contract Labour*

The second category of labour which is found in Indo-China is that which is carried out as a contract between the employer and the employee or national worker. This form of work has had the advantage so far of the most complete legislation. It may be observed that it is voluntary at any rate in theory, the native having the choice either of a simple engagement, which can be contracted verbally, and is dependent on the civil law or of a contract governed by the special contract regulations. The latter presents the following characteristics: in most of the clauses of the contract or of the stipulations of the civil law the parties are subjected to a very complete set of specific regulations, the objects of which are to punish any failure on either side to carry out their

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undertakings. In practice the employers of Indo-China or Southern Annam, who bring the coolies of Tonkin to work on their plantations, will only accept the contract which is in accordance with the regulations and which gives them the guarantees and the reliability of the work, without which they would not consider that their expenses for the recruitment and transport of the workers would be justified. The essential text dealing with long-term contracts is to be found in the order of October 25, 1927, and is contained in 101 articles. The maximum length of the engagement is fixed at three years, and the working day is ten hours. A weekly rest is obligatory; salaries must be paid at least once a month. Another order of October 25, 1927, has introduced for the benefit of the native workers a system by which 5 per cent. of their salaries is set aside, together with an equal amount paid by the employer, to institute a deferred pay fund. The worker can add any amount that he wishes to this fund; the payment takes the form of stamps affixed to the employment book of the worker. The worker cannot touch his savings until the end of his contract except in special cases (marriage expenses and funerals of relatives in direct line).

The length of the contractual engagements is fixed at three years, and can only be renewed three months prior to the date of expiry. During the continuance of the contract it can be cancelled in various ways—either by mutual consent, by request of the employer (for physical incapacity, absence for more than one month, bad conduct, ill-will or lack of discipline), or at the wish of the employee after eighteen months' service at three months' notice, and on condition of the return of the pecuniary advances as well as the cost of recruiting and transport. In view of the lack of foresight of the coolies, this last clause rarely takes effect in these cases of cancellation except the last. The cost of the return journey is borne by the employer.

The legislation for contract labour includes penalties in the following forms: (1) A fine of one to five francs and imprisonment for one to five days, or one of these two penalties, for absence without leave of more than twenty-four hours or unjustified absence from work. (2) Illegal absence of more than two days involves the crime of abandonment of work, which is punished by a fine of 16 to 250 francs and imprisonment of from six days to three months, or one of these two penalties.

With a view to organizing a permanent control in the areas where contract labour is most frequent and the difficulties mostly occur, the administration has introduced into Cochin China, by an order of January 5, 1928, a corps of inspectors of work whose duty it is to assure the carrying out of these contracts, to watch over the proper keeping of the accounts of the deferred pay

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funds, and to make reports of cases when contracts are broken. They may inspect anything that appears to them necessary after having previously informed the employer. Arrangements have been made for eleven posts of inspectors in Indo-China and four in Cambodia. A decree of January 30, 1929, has invested these officials with the minor powers of jurisdiction in repressing certain breaches of the regulations (refusal without valid excuse to obey an order, failure without valid excuse to carry out an allotted task, refusal or failure to report at the hospital, absence without permission of more than twenty-four hours).

The order of October 25, 1927, although it allowed in Articles 2 to 19 for certain indispensable guarantees in the matter of recruitment, did not have reference to the methods of recruitment. Nevertheless, it is under this heading that the gravest abuses have occurred and have caused the intervention of the Government. It is known, for instance, that during the first rubber boom in 1927 and the continued rush of European colonists across the Terres Rouges of Eastern Indo-China, which had previously been deserted, there had been recruitment on a large scale, both in Tonkin and Annam, of coolies who were intended for Cochin China. In order to organize and control this recruitment several systems were possible in theory. In the first place, the Government could themselves assume responsibility by setting up administrative labour bureaus. This solution, which might have placed the administrative authorities, all-powerful in the Far East, at the service of private interests, was rejected. Another solution would have consisted in forming the planters into an association, a method employed in the Dutch East Indies. It would have created an organization for the purpose of recruiting the necessary labour; but in spite of their small numbers the planters could not agree among themselves. There remained the solution which consisted in confining the recruitment to private emigration agencies. This was the method which from the beginning was employed in Indo-China and which still holds the field. To create the profession of a recruiter of labour was to run the risk of certain abuses, and these were so great at one time some years ago that the administration was forced to intervene. At the end of 1928 a violent campaign was launched against recruitment; the methods of the recruiters, who only too often exploited the ignorance and credulity of the coolies, gave grounds for this campaign, which culminated on February 9, 1929, in the assassination at Hanoi of M. Bazin, the Director of the chief labour recruiting office, which was the most important of the private emigration agencies. An order of the Governor-General, dated July 16, 1930, laid down the conditions for the exercise of the profession of recruiters of labour. The administration had been forced to intervene, but did not wish

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to do so more than was necessary; it therefore limited itself to the employees of the emigration agencies—that is, those whose duty it is to recruit labour and who are known as "racoleurs." The heads of the emigration agencies must furnish to the administration a list of all their agents and dismiss immediately those whom the administration describe as undesirable on grounds of lack of guarantee for their moral character through their antecedents, exactions, embezzlement, etc. The administration need not give reasons for his request for dismissal. An emigration agent has to obey at the simple invitation of the administration.

Since 1928 the number of workers recruited by the planters of Indo-China has continually decreased.* The cause lies in the world economic crisis, and especially the catastrophic fall in the price of rubber, which has stopped any development in the plantations of Southern Indo-China. Operations are now confined to the working of the old plantations and the preservation of new ones. Moreover, labour was needed chiefly for clearing and extensions. Hence it is easy at the present time to satisfy all demands for labour.

(C) *Free Labour*

One had to wait until January 13, 1933, to see the beginning of the regulation of free labour. This category includes about 180,000 workers, whilst the contract group has never passed the 40,000 mark.† It is true that certain clauses in the regulations for contract labour were declared to be applicable to free labour; as, for instance, certain articles of the order of October 25, 1927, which have to do with the protection of the health of the workers; but that dealt rather with the sanitary precautions than with the actual regulation of work. For the first time the decree of January 19, 1933, has attempted to deal with the question of the status of the free national worker. This is, however, only a beginning, for the legislator considers that it is best to proceed in stages, and has limited his prescriptions to the main forms of industrial and commercial activity without dealing with agriculture. On the other hand, he has paid attention to the protection of children, adolescents, and motherhood, and has postponed for future consideration the regulation of the length of work of adults.

The main stipulations of this decree of January 19, 1933, are as follows:

The minimum age for the admission of children to work is

* The number in 1928 was 18,000. It has fallen rapidly to 7,500 in 1929. In 1930 11,000 coolies were recruited, but 8,000 were repatriated to Tonkin; during the first half of 1932 11,000 coolies were repatriated to Tonkin, and they did not have to take up any work.

† Actually 37,000 up to January, 1933.

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fixed at twelve years, and a medical examination can be insisted upon by the inspector of labour in the case of children and adolescents, whose ages lie between twelve and eighteen, to decide whether or not the work is too heavy for them. The day's work is fixed in the case of boys of less than fifteen and girls of less than eighteen at a maximum of ten hours interrupted by one hour's rest. These classes of children and adolescents cannot be employed for night work. The night's rest must consist of eleven consecutive hours at least. The suspension of work by women during eight consecutive weeks prior to and following childbirth cannot constitute a reason for the breaking of a contract. During the year following childbirth women are allowed a rest of twenty minutes in the morning and twenty minutes in the afternoon to attend to their children, and the decree also deals with hygiene and the safety of the workers, and provides for the stipulations of the Governor-General under this heading. Lastly, provision is made for the posting of the main regulations in each workshop and also the clauses dealing with inspection and penalties.

To give a complete picture, at any rate in outline, of the actual state of the labour legislation in Indo-China, mention should be made of the clauses dealing with the employment of Javanese immigrant labour, Chinese immigration, and the emigration of workers outside the territories of Indo-China, the regulations regarding employment books, the progressive development of the inspection services, and particularly the recent important regulations regarding the settlement of disputes. These latter deal either with individual cases (for the settlement of which conciliation boards were set up by the decree of April 29, 1930) or with collective differences (in which case the decree of 1932—April 2—has laid down in principle that obligatory conciliation must be tried and sets forth the procedure for arbitration).

II. Comments and Conclusions

Let us now try to take an objective view of these regulations, which have been set out in an imposing number of laws and instructions. On three points at least the administration work has led to remarkable success. In the first place, the old abuses which were facilitated by the methods of recruiting seem to have practically disappeared. It is true that this success, as I have said before, is due more to the crisis than to the reforms. The second great victory is the introduction of the deferred pay fund, which was little appreciated by the coolies at first, who viewed it as a reduction in salary without any compensating benefit. They changed their minds, however, after January 1, 1933, when the first payments were made to repatriated workers, and they found

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on their arrival home an appreciable sum awaiting them which enabled them to buy a plot of land. There is no doubt that it is thanks to the deferred pay fund that large numbers of contract workers have recently been able to return and be absorbed in the local life of their homes without any difficulty. The third point in favour of the administration is the remarkable improvement in the sanitary conditions on the plantations of Cochin China and Cambodia. This continually expanding improvement is due to the joint action of the inspectors of labour, the local services of assistance and of public hygiene, and the Pasteur Institute. To this may be added the improvement in the methods of cultivation employed by the planters. The latter began to see that humanitarian considerations accorded with their own interests in spite of the pecuniary sacrifices which for the time were asked of them. The percentage of deaths on the plantations of Southern Indo-China, which was 5·4 per cent. in 1927, was reduced to 2·83 per cent. in 1929, to 2·09 per cent. in 1931, and 0·95 per cent. for the first half of 1932. Nevertheless, to get a true idea of the improvements in recent years, account must be taken of the fact that there have been no extensions of plantations. Moreover, mortality takes place chiefly among newly recruited coolies who find it difficult to get acclimatized. Another source of death is the work of cutting trees and clearing the forests. Are we then to consider that the administration has come to the end of its task of regulating labour conditions? It will suffice to enumerate briefly some of the essential measures of progress which remain to be carried out, and it will be realized that there is still a vast amount of work to be done. The present legislation is more a system of regulations to deal with certain set circumstances and to abolish certain litigious situations than a methodically planned code. The system remains incomplete from two points of view: firstly, the class of worker it covers; and, secondly, in the actual stipulations of the laws. In the matter of contract labour the regulations cover fairly completely the whole of the personnel. It is chiefly for voluntary labour that so much remains to be done. The decree of January, 1933, was designed chiefly, and rightly so, to deal with children, adolescents, and women. The condition of the adult male worker still awaits improvement. On the other hand, we have noticed that the decree leaves all agricultural workers outside its jurisdiction.

Now there are on the plantations quite a number of workers called voluntary, and who are for the most part contract workers whom the employers have re-engaged without a contract with the object of escaping certain stipulations of the contract laws, which they consider to be too onerous. These workers are thus deprived of certain valuable guarantees. In fact, these re-

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engagements are often made at a reduced salary and the regulations regarding hygiene are relaxed. Thus some planters have been able to suppress the distribution of quinine under the pretext that the coolies are engaged without contracts. This is a danger which deserves the notice of the Government, especially such measures as the reduction of salaries and rations, which sometimes occurred and which led to bloodshed. Another serious gap in the present legislation is the fact that it generally leaves outside its scope labour contracts which have been made by native employers. The European employers have already protested, it seems rightly, against this gap which imposes on their native competitors far lighter duties. The present state of legislation is not only incomplete in the matter of the class of worker it is designed to cover, but also in its provisions. There are many points which would be the better for being confirmed and made more precise. The new regulations for recruitment allow the administration to get rid of the dishonest "racoleurs," but that does not mean that the abuses connected with the professional recruiter have disappeared overnight. They will only cease when emigration has become voluntary as the result of a development which I shall describe later. In the meantime it is necessary to verify very closely the extent to which recruitment is really voluntary. For this purpose it is important to make certain that the actual practice of advancing money on salaries does not become in effect compulsory. It is necessary to exercise severe control over the identity of recruits. It is especially advisable not to recruit those whose physical condition falls below a certain standard.

These various improvements, which still have to be made, will doubtless require the perfecting of the methods of the inspection of labour. In this matter I will confine myself to mentioning the usefulness of two reforms: in the first place, there is the creation of a local inspectorate in Laos—a province which, until now, had been largely agricultural, but where the mining of tin, which has been recently discovered, will bring with it a certain amount of industrialization when the world crisis has abated. In the second place, there should be a change in the status of officials in the inspectorate of labour. They have until now been recruited from the political cadres. It would be better if they were not taken from that class, as that would assure the officials being more independent. Later, when the financial situation allows, it would be best to organize a special corps for this purpose. A number of these improvements will be accomplished, as it were, automatically, as the present régime of contract labour in Indo-China gives way to the régime of common law and of voluntary labour. This is the essential improvement that has to be realized: it includes all the others. There is no doubt that the régime

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of contract labour has great advantages: it imposes on the employers legal obligations vis-à-vis the work-people, chiefly in sanitary matters, and makes provision for control. It arms the Government with effective weapons, both in regard to the native worker and the employer. Unfortunately, on the debit side there must be registered a definite limitation in the liberty of the native. The employer makes good his argument that he cannot cover the heavy expenses represented by social measures except at the price of retaining the worker for a number of years. This is an explanation of the great length of time in the contracts, a system of advanced payments which is often applied unduly, the coercive measures in the matter of regulating work, penal sanctions, etc. The essential problem of contract labour consists in maintaining as many of the advantages of the system as possible whilst relaxing the severity of the disciplinary measures, and to approach as near as possible to the ideal of voluntary labour without giving up the benefits of control.

This task of conciliation is not the Utopia which it would appear to be at first sight. In fact, there are definite chances of its becoming a reality if one takes account of all the considerations. In the first place, the employers are now convinced that medical protection is a paying proposition. It has been established that an undertaking of 100 men in the malarial zone has its effectives reduced in less than two months from 20 to 25 per cent., and that the number of workers who continue to report for duty is reduced by another 25 per cent., so that the exploitation of a plantation in the country prone to this illness necessitates a constant addition of about 40 per cent. in recruitment to fill the gaps. Secondly, as conditions improve on the plantations, the workers are less and less liable to desert, and become voluntary workers. On the part of the Government one may notice a very clear desire to consider the system of contractual recruiting as being only of a transitory character and that the "wish for progress as well as the interest of the colony must lead as quickly as possible to the adoption of systems of engagement which approach the ideal of voluntary labour and favour the development of a movement for spontaneous emigration."* The Government looks forward to the completion of the trans-Indo-China railway as a means of profoundly altering the present state of affairs. It will in future be possible to transport quickly and at small expense the natives from the overcrowded areas of the north who desire to emigrate to the south.

Although the economic crisis has in itself solved the question of recruitment, it would be a great mistake to consider this a permanent solution. As prices rise and bring with them the ex-

* From the account of the Inspector-General of Labour, 1929-1930.

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tension of plantations, the problem will reappear. If the Government does not wish to be caught unawares, it will use this respite to formulate a plan for reorganizing recruiting.* The danger is that this economic depression gives to European employers certain arguments for reducing the social protection which they owe to the native workers (such as reduction of salaries, diminution of sanitary protection, etc.), and here we have the eternal dilemma of social policy; at a time of prosperity it is difficult to apply, because the development of business tends to outdistance the passing of laws and the work of protecting labour is lost in the desire to reap the benefits of economic booms. At a time of depression it is even more difficult to realize, as the state of business is used as an argument for doing away with the greater part of the social charges. It falls to the lot of a Government that shows foresight to judge the truth of the arguments and to hold the scales evenly. It must insist on the adoption of this principle, of which the humane argument is applicable especially to colonial enterprise, as social protection must not be considered by the planters as a charge dependent on the margin of profit, but as an inescapable duty which must enter into the primary calculations of every business undertaking and remain independent of economic fluctuations.

(*Translated.*)

* It may be noted that the International Labour Organization have decided to include on the Agenda of its Conference of 1935 the question of recruitment of native labour, and it will give the Colonial Governments an excellent opportunity to pursue in common this task of organization.

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RECENT DEVELOPMENT IN HYDERABAD*

By M. C. B. Sayer
(Of *The Financial Times*)

The element of romance is never absent from commerce. In recent years enough has been written of the glamour of the Indian States to provide reading for a generation, and their constitutional future has been discussed *ad nauseam*. It is only on its economic side that Indian India has been neglected, probably because its commercial potentialities have been rashly assumed to be either negligible or hopelessly prosaic. When we reflect on the vast dimensions of their internal trade, the marvellous growth of their manufacturing industries, and, above all, the wealth and variety of their natural resources, the larger Indian States are seen to be alive with great possibilities which spell romance in itself.

Time and again the text for Nationalist sermons on the superiority of Indian to British rule has been woven round the prosperity of Hyderabad, territorially as well as in point of wealth and population the premier Indian State. Even if the stay-at-home Englishman is at last beginning to appreciate the importance of our Indian Empire, he is still far from realizing its size. Is not the average man too apt to think of the Indian province in terms of the English county and of the Indian State as if it were an old German principality? His Exalted Highness the Nizam rules over 12,500,000 subjects, distributed over an area of 82,700 square miles. The United Kingdom can muster more than three times as many inhabitants, but as regards territory is not very much ahead of Hyderabad. Yet Hyderabad is considerably larger than England and Wales, only a little smaller than England, Wales, and Scotland combined, and more than a third the size of France. The province of Berar, which, while remaining under the administration of the Central Provinces, is none the less part of the Nizam's Dominions, alone is larger than Denmark or Switzerland. Its population at the last census numbered nearly 3,500,000.

At the desolate town of Golconda, famous for its diamonds, some of the old men point to where the pagoda trees stood.

* Report on the Administration of the Department of Statistics, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government, for the year 1341 Fasli (October 7, 1931, to October 5, 1932, A.D.), Part I.; Part II. (Agricultural, Industrial, and Trade Statistics). Bulletin No. 1, 1342 Fasli (1932-33), Trade Returns, H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions, 1290-1339 Fasli (1880-81 to 1929-30). Compiled by the Statistical Department, Hyderabad State. Price OS. Rs. 2.

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The golden shower ceased when Berar, the cotton granary of the Dominions, was permanently leased to the British Government. Now that an honourable settlement has been reached of a controversy that for more than three-quarters of a century has impaired the harmony of the relations between the British Government and the premier Indian State the roots of the golden tree may again send up its shoots. To the credit of the present Ruler and his predecessors it must be said that they have never allowed their sense of grievance to stand in the way of the services to the British Crown of its "Faithful Ally" in time of war or other emergency.

Just as the Nizam and his Government have been loyal in their friendship to Great Britain ever since the two parties entered into their first treaty together in 1759—that eventful year which marked the turning-point in the fortunes of the British Empire—they have seldom failed to rise to their responsibilities towards their own people. The praise so lavishly bestowed on the State of Hyderabad by its many friends in this country and in British India has been well earned.

The traditional conservatism of the Indian States, as the Hyderabad delegation at the three sessions of the Round-Table Conference and at the Joint Select Committee has shown, means neither obstruction nor reaction, but progress based on a just appreciation of realities. "The policy of the Nizam," in the words of Sir Akbar Hydari, its able and far-sighted leader, "has always aimed at the maintenance of stability—not the stability of inaction or reaction, but the adaptation of policy to changing political conditions, so as to ensure continuous progress in economic as in other directions." In fact, in all things making for the advancement of the material and moral well-being of its peoples this model and progressive State is keeping pace with the forward movement in British India. There is no intention of implying by this that Hyderabad is slavishly imitating Western methods.

That in itself, it may be fairly claimed, is a notable achievement, and there is no lack of evidence in its justification in the administration report of the Department of Statistics for 1341 Fasli (October 7, 1931, to October 5, 1932). The activities of the department, which was set up some fourteen years ago, are comprehensive and include many functions which in other countries are usually assigned to separate agencies. As their prototypes elsewhere speedily discovered, those in charge of the department have found that the collection, arrangement, and publication of a dozen or more weekly and periodical Blue books and reports covering nearly every aspect of agricultural, trade, and industrial conditions is only part of their work. The additions to the list of publications made during the period under review show, in the words of the compiler, that "the boundaries of the statistical researches of the

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department are continually being widened." Those who have been called upon to perform similar duties in British India will sympathize with the Director of Statistics, who is also Census Commissioner, when he observes that the nature and scope of all the inquiries for statistical information received from other State departments and official and private agencies, including the Survey of India, "have been so varied that it is impossible to record them all in this brief report."

In many cases, notably the Review of the Trade of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions for 1340 Fasli (1930-31)—the first attempt of its kind—the results are admittedly incomplete. Their belated appearance and the absence of comparative figures of necessity detract greatly from the practical utility of the trade returns, but even within their unavoidable limitations—inevitable in the circumstances—which are freely recognized by the compilers, these statistical records are distinctly useful alike to both merchant and student. The mode of presentation follows generally the lines of the annual Review of the Trade of India, although on a much less ambitious scale, and the returns should become of greater value in each succeeding year as the proficiency and accuracy of the staff employed in their collection and tabulation improves. The Statistical Department's achievement becomes the more creditable when it is realized that the sanctioned strength of the staff at the Director's disposal has apparently not been increased since the inception of the office.

In his Budget Note for 1343 Fasli (the year ended October 5 last), Sir Akbar Hydari rightly attributes the remarkable strength and stability of Hyderabad's finances partly to "the steady rather than spectacular growth of expenditure," especially of a recurring nature. "Step by step as funds become available activities begun at first on a small scale have only been expanded if justified in the light of experience, and as funds become available." We are all familiar in Indian finance with the eternal warfare waged between the advocates of capital expenditure from current revenue and those who would resort to loans for meeting commitments, at any rate on account of "nation building" activities. Admittedly, of course, it is essential to consider actual resources in projecting large schemes of expenditure and unwise to incur heavy liabilities which may involve comparatively light charges on those who incur them but lay a heavy recurring burden on posterity. Yet, even so, up-to-date and fully equipped Statistical Departments should be the corner-stone of that organized co-ordinated effort which is essential to the economic development of every modern State.

Statistical research today would be of little practical use if it recorded merely what has been. To be of any value it must also serve the vital and constructive purpose of planning what shall be.

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It is the duty of a competent statistical bureau to assist directly in the day-to-day problems of administration as well as to provide their theoretical background. One of the most significant of recent developments in the science of government is the extent to which statistical organization has been increased as a guide to national policy. In the new era which is now opening in India there can be little doubt that the State or provincial administration which studies the drift of events as it is revealed by the statistical analysis will be infinitely better equipped to take advantage of its opportunities than another which trusts only to the methods of empiricism. In a paper read before the Royal Statistical Society in 1920 a Commonwealth Statistician of Australia said: "A Department whose duty it is to keep the Government, publicists, and the economists and the nation generally informed as to the movement of every important activity in it, and of population facts, is of obvious value if intelligent direction is to be given to national affairs, or an intelligent study of them is to be made possible." Events have moved rapidly since then. Statistical bureaux are now a regular feature of the administrative machinery of the self-governing Dominions, but to a large extent their activities are unco-ordinated and often without appropriate direction. A welcome and important exception, so far as British India is concerned, is perhaps to be found in the more specialized sphere of commercial intelligence, although the service provided, while well adapted to the special conditions of India, is by no means either as comprehensive or detailed as many authorities consider desirable.

For more than half a century the Government of India has issued an annual survey of the course of trade, and more particularly of oversea commerce. In recent years at least there has been receptivity of ideas and suggestions from competent critics on the information to be given and its presentation. It would be difficult to find a more thorough and painstaking compilation of facts and inferences than is today provided by Dr. D. B. Meek, Director-General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, in his annual *Review of the Trade of India*, now in its fifty-ninth year. Business men, officials, and economic students, on the other hand, still complain of the practical inconvenience which they experience in their respective spheres of work as a result of the inadequacy, or inaccuracy, of the information at present available.

Recording, without comment, the general tenor of the opinions expressed during the course of his consultations with regard to the creation of a new economic organization in India, Sir Arthur Salter observed:

"It is stated in particular that the 'internal trade' statistics, suppressed on the recommendation of Lord Inchcape's Commission, are very much needed; that indices of wholesale and retail

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prices, and of wage levels, are at present almost entirely lacking except in a few areas; that the information published is often in too crude a form, unanalyzed and unaccompanied by explanation; that the classification adopted—*e.g.*, for imports statistics—is not sufficiently explicit and detailed; that it is often much out of date; that the methods of sale and distribution make it difficult to secure published information without long delay; that in all these respects India compares unfavourably with many other countries; and that great as are the difficulties in view of the special conditions of India considerable improvement could be effected without disproportionate expense."

The writer attempts no judgment on these criticisms, some of which are no longer applicable, and others—notably the alleged importance of the figures of "internal trade"—of doubtful validity, at any rate in the only form in which they could be presented with any degree of expedition. His own experience at Bombay, where the Chamber of Commerce derives a large proportion of its revenues from the compilation and publication of a wide range of daily, weekly, and periodical statistical returns dealing with the trade and shipping of the port—entrusted elsewhere entirely to official agencies—was that the wishes of the commercial community are not a wholly reliable guide in such matters. It was not until, for reasons of economy or otherwise, the drastic revision or discontinuance of particular features was decided upon that the real value of the returns to subscribers became manifest, in spite of the repeated efforts made to ascertain their views beforehand.

There is no need to enter in detail upon the statistical field, but it is perhaps pertinent to repeat the warning of a well-known economist that it is always desirable, if possible, to be sure of the calibre and position of the persons who originally filled up the forms, even if it involves a certain amount of additional expenditure. Sir Josiah Stamp recalls how after prodigies of work upon some financial tables of a hundred years ago, accepting them at face value, he discovered, when examining the original "blanks," that one of the classes had been treated as a "residuum" after all the others out of a given total had been specifically dealt with and so included every omission and error, and that it was in consequence out of all relation to its real total. In other instances the figures habitually did not "add," the classes not having been checked to cast up to the totals. Nearly every student of research in statistical economics—and, indeed, in many other matters—can quote examples of such "terminological inexactitudes" or defective classification retarding progress and getting in the way of later scholars.

The principal industry of Hyderabad, as of India generally, is

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agriculture, so that the well-being of the agricultural community, numbering nearly 60 per cent. of the population of the State, must always be the Government's first care. Hence the hundreds of miles of railways and great irrigation works which have shown how fundamentally unsound is the old assumption that the agricultural feature of a country is mainly dependent on the amount of virgin soil it has available. At the same time, capital expenditure of recent years has been practically limited to projects estimated to be capable of producing a revenue sufficient to cover interest and redemption charges. Even in the case of protective works against famine the Government has been actuated as much by utilitarian considerations as philanthropic motives. In the democratic countries of the West expenditure on public works, on the other hand, is more often than not governed by the exigencies of party politics. Ministers not infrequently sanction the construction of railways which cannot possibly pay, at any rate for a long time, in order to secure the support of the electorate in the districts to be served by the line. While the improvement of agriculture in all its branches is receiving a great deal of attention, both as part of a permanent programme and in the way of emergency relief to meet the present depression, the Government will have nothing to do with the policy of doles to the cultivator. The whole transaction from first to last is on a commercial basis. The only possible criticism of such rigid adherence to the canons of sound finance is that it tends to a slow rate of progress. How little validity that argument possesses in the case of Hyderabad is evident from the Blue books.

The industrial field affords perhaps the most striking example of the economic growth which has brought Hyderabad into the forefront of Asiatic States. The chief manufacturing industry is naturally based upon the staple money crop—cotton. As the longest staple indigenous growth in India, Hyderabad cotton is assuming increasing importance in connection with the movement for the extended use of suitable Indian cottons by Lancashire. While about one-third of the cloth worn in the Dominions is produced on hand-looms, there are five modern mills equipped with 104,184 spindles and 1,627 looms and giving employment to 5,142 hands. There are also about 295 ginning and pressing factories in the cotton tracts and a number of tanneries, flour mills, and tobacco factories, the total number of "large industrial establishments" of all kinds in the State at the end of 1932 being 383. The growth of the cotton industry furnishes an example of the rapid development of an old indigenous craft by the employment of modern methods of production, but the Shahabad Cement Works, which supplies the whole of Southern India, is of comparatively recent origin. Hyderabad is rich in

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minerals, chief among which may be mentioned the extensive coal measures of Warangal and the gold mines of Lingsugur. Although by no means enjoying a monopoly, the Singareni coal mines have an annual output of over half a million tons and are estimated to provide for the needs of the country for centuries.

As articles comprised in the customs tariff were alone registered hitherto, the compilers of the first official trade returns had a difficult task, especially in respect of duty-free goods, the value of which cannot be considered reliable at present. Even with their limitations, such comparative figures as are available make instructive reading. Customs receipts have risen from Rs. 54½ lakhs in 1900-01—nearly half of which were derived from imports—to Rs. 1¾ crores in 1139 Fasli (1929-30), of which Rs. 1 crore came from exports. Although the recorded value of the latter, owing to the fall in prices, fell from an average of nearly 21 crores in the two preceding years to 13½ crores in 1340 Fasli (1930-31)—the value of raw cotton was more than halved—the turnover has practically been doubled during the past twenty years. Imports, from an average of 18½ crores over the earlier period, dropped by roughly 30 per cent. in 1930-31, but even at 13 crores were nearly double the 1910-11 total.

Whether Hyderabad is destined in time to take her place among the smaller manufacturing centres of the world remains to be seen, but the steady rise in the output of manufactured goods is significant. When one considers the State's geographical position, her wealth of natural resources, not excepting perhaps the most important of them all—coal—and, last but not least, the almost inexhaustible supply of relatively cheap labour furnished by her population of over 12 millions, it is obvious that the future will not find her as content as in the past practically to limit her exports to food and raw materials. But long before she is able to compete successfully with the more industrially advanced units of the new Indian Federation we may expect to see the premier Indian State well on the way towards the realization of the British Indian politicians' dream of a self-supporting India.

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MYSORE: THE PROBLEMS OF A PROGRESSIVE INDIAN STATE

By Kenneth Williams

The problems confronting those interested in the progress and education of an Indian State are stupendous, and in the case of the State of Mysore these differ considerably from those of other parts of India.

Mysore is extremely fortunate in its administrators, and it is thus well equipped to handle the problems with which it has to deal. The State became known during the reign of the late Maharajah, Sri Chamarajendra Wadiyar Bahadur, as the "model State." His heir, the present Maharajah, has carried on this proud designation, and both in moral and material development Mysore holds a unique position amongst the States today.

His Highness Maharajah Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur is, like his father, a good judge of men, and has been fortunate in his Ministers, and chief among these is his Dewan, Sir Mirza Ismail. Sir Mirza Ismail is an enthusiast, and has made it his aim to put the State in the forefront. His untiring work has already borne fruit, and it is largely through his foresight and keen brain that Mysore stands where she does today.

One of the greatest difficulties with which the Administration have to deal is that the amenities of Mysore at present exceed the capabilities of its people to use and appreciate them. Take for example the widespread development of electric power. Electric power became a vital factor in the industrial outlook of Mysore in 1903 under Sir K. Sesadri Iyer. Successive Dewans merely concerned themselves with seeing that the outlay expended was repaid, and that it maintained itself out of its earnings. Sir M. Viveswaraya again took up this important question and founded the Kannambadi Reservoir. But, more important perhaps than this concrete example of his work, he began educating the people of Mysore to value and make use of this great asset in their every-day lives.

With the coming of Sir Mirza Ismail this education rapidly spread, and he made it his particular business to extend it in the rural districts of the State. Out of this sprang his scheme for the colonization of the unoccupied banks of the Irwin Canal: a scheme which has enormous possibilities, and which would make Mysore the wealthiest and most progressive country in India.

At the moment, although the electric power is available in

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most obscure parts of the State, at a rate which compares favourably with rates elsewhere in India, and in fact the world, its people have not yet reached that stage of education which enables them to make full use of it, but there is little doubt that in the very near future, with the spread of education, this understanding will grow and Mysore will again set an example to Indian India.

The State of Mysore is rich in its natural resources, containing no fewer than thirty minerals, of which gold, silver, and iron form the most important. Mining for gold is confined to the Kolar Gold Fields, and the output of the mines shows a steady and continued increase.

The question of the iron industry occupies close attention. The raw material is there for the asking. The charcoal necessary for the smelting can be obtained from the surrounding forests. The iron works are in excellent working order; the problem is to make them pay their way. The economic depression has, of course, considerably affected progress; foreign competition is strong. It is only by persuading the Government of India to impose sufficient tariff protection, and the unfailing support of Sir Mirza Ismail that the time will come, we hope not very far ahead, when the Mysore Iron Works will cease to work at a loss and become one of the most paying industries of the State.

Mention has already been made of Sir Mirza Ismail's scheme for the development of the rural districts of the State, and it is in this connection that his visit to Krishnarajapet in October, 1933, and his speech on village patriotism at Kannada, should be referred to. He praised the village on its possession of a temple built through the generosity and patriotism of a local resident. He added, however, that it now rested with the villagers to make themselves responsible for its upkeep. Mysore was rich in public-spirited people willing to spend their wealth in the service of their less fortunate brothers. What she now needed was for the educated men to come forward and make widespread education popular, and then the problem of village uplift would be brought to a much closer solution.

To revert to the cities, and Bangalore in particular: the problem is naturally one of congestion. Mr. Krishna Rao has drawn up several schemes for rehousing, but in every case these are held up for lack of funds. The first step toward remedying this evil is co-operation. The co-operative societies have ample scope in this field. Millowners can assist in looking after the housing of their own work-people, and philanthropic citizens can come forward with offers to help.

Education is, of course, the most important factor in the progress of the State. Without education the reforms themselves are virtually useless. Any financial outlay in this direction is money

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well spent. The people in the cities and the rural districts alike must be given a chance to learn how to take advantage of the modernization of the State. It is in the minds of those who have not learnt to think for themselves that the seed of discontent finds fertile soil. It is not only the young that need education, but the adult also. The cinema and the radio are powerful weapons, judiciously used, for public instruction. These can be supplemented by some system of adult education so that those who have a say in the government of their country may be taught to understand the issues with which those who have the handling of the reforms are faced.

A great step forward has been made towards religious toleration. People of all denominations have been sympathetically treated, and the Catholics of Mysore have every reason to be grateful to the Government for their help in the building of the Church of St. Philomena, and to His Highness the Maharajah for consenting to lay the foundation stone last October. Anglican churches both at Bangalore and at Mysore have received help and encouragement; the former when Sir Mirza Ismail laid the foundation stone of St. Luke's Church at Bangalore, and the latter when the Viceroy, during his recent visit, unveiled a stained-glass window at St. Bartholomew's Church, the cost of which had been borne by H.H. The Maharajah.

Mention must also be made of the development of co-operative banking in Mysore. It is on the working classes of any country that the stability of that country rests, and Mysore has made great advance in this direction.

It is very necessary for the poor man to have facilities to save money and to afford cheap and easy credit. This has always been a matter for reform in India, and it is hoped that with the spread of the co-operative banking system, and the practical results of education amongst the masses, the working man will in future be able to entrust his savings to the care of someone capable of handling them, and in time his mistrust of parting with money into safe custody will be overcome. Mysore is certainly to be congratulated on its progress in this direction.

Agriculture plays a prominent part in the life of the people of Mysore, the State being largely dependent upon it. It is gratifying to note, therefore, that in November last the Deputy Director of Agriculture delivered a lecture on Co-operation and the Marketing of Agricultural Produce, advocating co-operative societies to aid this important section of the people of the State.

Another enterprising trade move on the part of Mysore is in connection with the exportation of sandalwood oil to Japan under the auspices of the British Embassy. The Trade Commissioner to London visited Tokyo and established there a Trade Bureau.

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Demands for this rare oil for use in the manufacture of perfumes, soaps and medicines has rapidly grown since the Japanese market was first tested some years ago. The sandalwood growing region of Mysore is unique and covers a large area, and there is every chance that, with careful and judicious handling, the State may derive a still more substantial income from this commodity in the future.

The state of Sericulture is causing Mysore anxiety at the moment. The present economic depression, and the abnormal import of foreign silk, have resulted in a further sharp drop in prices. The industry provides employment for over two lakhs of people, and the Government is anxiously awaiting the results of the Government of India's decision on a report submitted to them on this subject.

Reform on a large scale is always a slow business and advisedly so. A country cannot step from the past into the future in one stride. The intervening period is invariably difficult. But with its wise Ruler, its excellent Ministers, and its outstanding natural resources, the State of Mysore is well on the road to a great future.

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LITERARY SECTION

LEADING ARTICLE

GUIDE TO AJANTA FRESCOES

By John Caldwell-Johnston
(Author of *The Book of the Beloved*)

The occasion for this article is an inconspicuous, unpretentious, uncostly, but valuable *Guide to Ajanta Frescoes*, issued by Mr. G. Yazdani. It is published by the Archæological Department of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad, and is now in its third edition. The English price is 3s.

It is a commonplace of Eastern travel that the Orient is strewn with ruinous monuments of the past, that whereas much merit is to be gained from building temples to the gods, no merit whatever springs from maintaining, or from repairing and restoring, those same temples once they have fallen into decay. Substantially, this fault, if it be a fault, or this idiosyncrasy, this psychological idiom, holds sway from Mogador to Yokohama, and from Tashkent to Saigon and Borobodur, with, perhaps, the sole and interesting exception of certain Shinto temples of Japan, built of wood, which are ritually pulled down and rebuilt every so many years.

In the West it is possible that our tendency to-day is to conserve too much. Our view of the world is perhaps too much like those modern photographs of the skies, taken through giant telescopes, wherein the grand, primeval outlines of the immemorial constellations have been obliterated by swarming millions of indistinguishable stars.

However this may be, much praise is due to His Exalted Highness's Government for the very costly protection which they have extended to the Buddhist Caves of Ajanta, the condition of which, through twelve hundred years of neglect, had become deplorable. Moreover, the guide-book which they have caused to be written is an excellent guide-book, giving the visitor just exactly what he needs for due appreciation of the wonders of these caves.

Monks of all nations and all ages have been proverbially adept in the choice of situations for their dwelling places. The *bhikkus* of Ajanta were plainly no traitors to their caste.

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Situated in a fold of the Vindhya hills and facing south over a wild, mountainous stream, the caves sweep round in a full half-circle, the luminous sickle curve of Lord Chandra, the Moon, a sweep so complete that from the verandah of No. XXIX. one may gaze full into the black entrance of No. I. cave, five hundred yards or so down the ravine. Buddhist caves as a rule stand high on the scarps of hills and command wide views, but the caves of Ajanta are hemmed in in a lonely glen, with no vista but the rocky slope and the brawling stream. Above the caves the valley terminates abruptly in a waterfall of seven steps or leaps, the lowest a matter of 70 feet high.

The caves have most unromantically been numbered, as it might be houses in the Bayswater Road, commencing from the east or outer end, and terminating at the foot of the waterfall up the ravine. The enumeration takes no account of age or purpose of the caves. It exists wholly for convenience of description. The oldest caves are those in the middle—*i.e.*, numbers VIII. to XIII.—from which group they radiate right and left, to No. I. on the east and No. XXIX. at the head of the ravine.

Of the origin and history of the caves nothing whatever is known, but there can be no doubt that they were described, although not actually visited, by the famous Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, who travelled extensively in India during the first half of the seventh century. Hiuen writes:

"On the eastern frontier of the kingdom there is a mountain range with summits rising one above the other. . . . Formerly a monastery was built there in a sombre valley. Its elevated structures and hollowed-out halls occupied the wide openings in the cliffs and clung to the peaks. Its pavilions and two-storied towers were crowded against the caverns and looked down over the ravine.

"This monastery was built by the Lo-Han O-tche-lo (the Arhat Achara)."

Hiuen Tsang then goes on to furnish a number of interesting details respecting the caves, many of which can still be identified. He concludes:

"Outside the gates of the monastery, to the left and to the right, may be seen an elephant of stone. I have heard the people of the country say that from time to time these elephants send forth terrible cries, so that the earth trembles and shakes. Formerly Jina Bodhisattva often stayed in this monastery."

The elephants and the gate exist at Ajanta to this day, but there is no living record of the elephants' terrible cries. Jina Bodhisattva is also no more, and the caves themselves, these many centuries, have been but the haunting place of wild forest creatures, of the cobra, the wild bee, and the bat.

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Caves were in India the earliest form of architecture in stone. They are frequently referred to in legend, and they appear in many surviving inscriptions of Asoka, the great Buddhist emperor of the third century B.C. During the following five or six centuries they are constantly mentioned as objects of pious adoration. From the first the caves have served a double purpose, as *vihâras*, or residences, that is, monasteries, and *chaityas*, or shrines, that is, places of worship. Exclusively Buddhist at first, the *vihâra-chaitya* convention was accepted both by Hindus and Jains, and the practice has been carried to Afghanistan, Central Asia, China, and Tibet, where the caves are to be found at times still occupied, even to this day.

Buddhist caves were usually cut into the sides of cliffs where rock of suitable character presented itself. Thus the Ajanta caves follow a vein of amygdaloid trap, adapting themselves to its undulations and snuggling, as it were, into its recesses, where the builders (or excavators) might expand their work into mighty halls.

Another peculiarity of the Ajanta caves is that, although hewn from stone, they follow closely the conventions of wooden architecture. Just as the earliest Egyptian temple column was the palm tree, whose idiosyncrasies were never wholly eliminated through millennia of work in stone, so the early Ajanta caves were plainly copied from wooden structures, being even equipped with wooden roof-beams for which no conceivable architectural justification could exist. In later examples the roof-beams are no longer of wood, but are actually cut out of the living rock.

The art of painting in India is far older than the art of architecture in stone. Stone was freely used from the earliest times, but only for footings or foundations. The superstructures, even for the most important buildings, such as palaces and temples, appear to have been wholly of wood. But such books as the *Mâhâbhârata* and *Râmayana* contain many references to painting—painting on cloth, painting on boards, painting on walls. The most frequently described are painted chambers, that is, rooms frescoed throughout. Drawing, especially drawing of portraits, seems to have been quite a normal accomplishment of educated persons, whether men or women.

On the other hand, it is stated that the adornment of religious houses (*vihâras*) with paintings of human forms was expressly forbidden by Gautama himself, who also forbade the frequenting of the palaces and painted halls of kings, or the wearing of dress with painted figures. In the *vihâras* the utmost he would allow was the representation of garlands, creepers, conventional ornament, and symbolical figures. But these early Puritanical restrictions were quickly relaxed, and within a relatively short period

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from Gautama's transmigration the most elaborate convention appears to have grown up:—

"On the outside door of the *vihâra* must be figured a *Yaksha* holding a club in his hand; in the vestibule, a great Miracle, namely, the five categories of beings in the cycle of rebirth; in the courtyard, the *Jâtakas* (life stories of Gautama prior to his Buddha incarnation); in the houses (cells) of the Brethren, monks and learned persons arranging the codex of the Law. On the kitchen must be painted a *Yaksha* holding food in his hand; on the water-house, *Nâgas* (serpent-fairies) with various ornamented vases in their hands . . ." etc., etc. (See Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, p. 46.)

It is in the light of this convention that the frescoes in the Ajanta caves must be viewed. Buddhism, in its essence a Puritan or Protestant religion, a protest against or a purification of the prevalent Brahmanism of its time, is duly and, as it were, inevitably overcome by its more romantic and colourful environment. Gautama forbids representation of the human form. His followers, in the caves of Ajanta and elsewhere, cover many acres of wall-space with the joy of the flesh, the delight of the eye, and the pride of life. And to-day in the turning of the wheel these same prideful and joyful and lusty presentments hang in tatters and shreds, crumbling to dust in a dank and bat-tainted darkness.

Of the painters and sculptors who thus broke Buddha's law, of the artists who first hewed these caves into their imposing and not seldom beautiful proportions, nothing whatever is known. Even the dates are uncertain within a margin of several hundred years. Moreover, the very application of colour work to these rock sanctuaries is in itself surprising, seeing that most of the paintings must, apart from artificial illumination (and, surely, our modern methods of flood lighting can have had no counterpart in ancient India!), have been from the beginning invested in such a dim, religious light as to be almost, and, in many cases, totally invisible. In addition, the methods employed by the artists themselves, those great ones who covered scores upon scores of square yards of plaster with the most intricate detail, displaying the boldness, the self-assurance, the unerring accuracy, both in line and colour, of our own Italian primitives—the methods employed remain a mystery to this day. Some have even assumed that the frescoes were first painted to scale upon some wall in broad daylight and subsequently reproduced, by what means is unknown, in the dark recesses of the caves. I think that any craftsman actually practised in gesso-work or fresco will agree that such an explanation is as miraculous as the phenomenon which it sets forth to explain. There are many fields in which the operations of the ancients are a sealed book to us. This is

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one of them. We definitely do not know by what miracle these Ajanta paintings came to birth, or by what further miracle many of them were actually made visible to the monks and others of the period who frequented the caves. A similar, or even greater, perplexity confronts us when we envisage the far older cave-paintings of the Madeleine, seeing that these to our knowledge were executed in total darkness, and in total darkness were presumably viewed by their Stone Age amateurs. How, then, were the forms and colours of these wall paintings perceived?

Mr. Laurence Binyon has pointed out that the frescoes of Ajanta have for Asia and the history of Asian art the same outstanding significance that the frescoes of Assisi, Siena, and Florence have for Europe and the history of European art.

Professor Lorenzo Cecconi writes: "I make bold to compare the caves of Ajanta with the Sistine chapel. Signorelli, Botticelli, Ghirlandaio, Perugino, Rosselli combined their art to render themselves worthy of one another in creating the great Roman work that Sixtus IV. had been minded to begin and Michael Angelo afterwards completed. In Ajanta the ablest artists of the Indian school spared themselves no efforts to render this marvellous group of caves the *monumentum princeps* of India."

Indeed, it has always seemed to the writer of this article that the closest tie of kinship lay between the Ajanta pictures and that miraculous rainbow belt of colour which Pope Sixtus, whether by good fortune or by sheer genius, or by some alchemic mingling of the two, flung round the middle region of that exceedingly severe, rectangular apartment in the Vatican, out of which was created the Sistine chapel.

The lesson of these Sistine pictures, if they have one, is that the world is fair and full of fair things, be the same fair fields and woods and seas, or be they fair men and fair women. There is also that Other World which in many secret and supersensible ways infuses, permeates, and interpenetrates the things which we, both the artists and the onlookers, are able with our physical senses both to apprehend and to enjoy. Thus the mysticism of Ajanta and of the pre-Angelic Sistine chapel is mingled fairly and plumply with a most adorable paganism, the paganism of the *amoretti* of Pompeii, of Aucassin and Nicolette, or of the fairy scenes in our own "Midsummer Night's Dream."

Thus Captain Solomon, in his *Charm of Indian Art*, writes:

"The Ajanta masters use Woman as their best decorative asset with brilliant zest and extraordinary knowledge. . . . They use women like flowers: garlands of girls surround their Rajas and their Princes, embellish their palaces, dominate their street scenes, crowd the windows of their cities, and are often painted . . . for the sheer joy of painting them, and with no perceivable literary

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or religious intention. . . . As Apsarases or radiant Peris, they float across the porches; as Sirens they lure the sailor to his doom; but chiefly they shine for us as mortals, and as mortals these artists depicted them best and most often. . . . The Ajanta artists could adopt conventions for their Buddhas, and had their sacred symbols, and their orthodox attitudes: but their women were always unconventional. They did not pose women. . . . They were content to learn from their gestures, to portray their natures. . . . I can think of no parallel to this frank and chivalrous Woman-worship of Ajanta. Nowhere else, perhaps, has Woman received such perfect and understanding homage. . . . In spite of her obvious reality, one feels at Ajanta that Woman is treated not as one individual, but as a principle. . . . Hence, with all her gaiety, her charm, her *insouciance*, she never loses her dignity, and nowhere is she belittled or besmirched."

As has previously been suggested, it is perhaps fortunate that so little is known of the actual history of Ajanta. Almost as little seems to be known regarding the actual history of Indian Buddhism. It is not even known why or in what circumstances Buddhism completely died out in the country of its birth. India, which is so tolerant of sects, cults, beliefs, heresies, religions—call them what you will—India, which has provided a religious code, a way of life, even for the agnostic and the atheist—*nâstika dharma*—thus overtly recognizing that the godless must nevertheless live from *some* centre, obey *some* principle, fulfil *some* purpose in the scheme of things—this same India has so wholly and totally rejected and ejected Buddhism, that for seven centuries or so this great religion has entirely ceased from within her midst.

Ajanta, however, belongs to the heyday of the cult. Sufficiently far removed from the puritanism and protestantism of its origin, sufficiently ordered and organized to be impressive both in doctrine and in ritual, without as yet having crystallized into the hieraticism, the Byzantinism (if one may so say) which so characterizes it in the realms of its transplantation, in Burma, in China, in Tibet, Ajanta Buddhism flows free, like a dancing stream, still fresh from its vapoury sports amid the clouds, still cold from its contact with the snowfields of the mountain heights, still dizzy with its precipitous, panoramic vision of the world and all the glory thereof, spread out like a map, many thousands of feet beneath, still hastening onward to a destiny which mighty mountain voices have predicted, a destiny glorious, preordained, foretold and fixed, wherein the stream shall become a great river, bearing great ships upon its bosom and giving life to world-famous cities—and so at last to be lost in the waveless sea of Divine Being!

Some inward prescience of this cannot fail to interpenetrate

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the consciousness of the sympathetic onlooker when he stands in those shadowy, bat-haunted halls, the *chaityas* and *vihâras* of Ajanta. In them, as, I suppose, in all supreme works of art, there is contained, in brief, the entire drama of the human race, that strange, ape-like aggregrate of rational, irrational entities, furless, clawless, full of animal passions, bestial, godlike, devilish, cruel, merciful, divine. Ajanta holds them all. And, dominating the phantasmagoria, the blissful dream, the dire nightmare, the hope and the despair, is one Figure, Gautama Siddarttha Sâkyamuni, the Man, who from a grovelling Beast—as witness these *Jâtaka*s, these stories of many myriad of the Master's lives—has made himself into a God, nay, more than a God, for the Gods and their heavens are not immune from the law of rebirth, the Gods and their heavens wax and wane, the Gods and their heavens come and go, but Buddha, the Knower, remains. That is the lesson of this amazing masterpiece, which is Ajanta.

The painting in the caves has a strictly religious significance, but it must not be supposed that the pictorial decoration of each cave was planned at the outset; although there are many examples of great compositions and series of consecutive scenes which must have constituted a single design. Under some of the figures and scenes we find, indeed, painted inscriptions which show that they were the gift of some pious donor. As in the case of our Christian churches, the decoration was, therefore, a work of time. In several caves pictures have been painted one over another. But, so far as the paintings are concerned, it must be remembered that fresco is, or can be, an exceedingly swift pictorial process, and that it is possible to cover large wall spaces in a relatively short space of time, so that, in regard to painting, we need not allow any excessive period for one given cave. In fact, the writing of the inscriptions in each cave is usually quite of the same period.

As regards the subjects, we must begin by distinguishing between ornament, figure design or portraiture, and narrative. To receive these paintings the walls, which had purposely been left rough, were rendered with a thin layer of plaster, into the composition of which entered such diverse elements as brick dust, cow dung, coconut fibre, and pounded rice husks. This plaster was carefully smoothed over and covered with a white coating made of shell lime, on which the designs were carried out in bold outlines of vivid ochre or orange, modified or enhanced with black or brown as the painting proceeded.

The general effect of the paintings is, apart from the brown flesh tones, decidedly suggestive of early Tuscan or Umbrian work, although a few of the later ones seem to bear witness to some Chinese influence. But, in general, it can be said that the

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artists were primarily and decisively Indian. The style is original and strong, with a mingling of naturalism and convention that is sometimes disconcerting when it is not properly understood. The artists had a complete command of posture. Their seated and floating poses are particularly of great interest. Their knowledge of the types and positions, gestures and beauties of hands is amazing. The drawing of foliage and flowers is very beautiful. It is interesting to know that all the plants which are represented in the frescoes are to be found growing in the Ajanta ravine today. Some of the schemes of colour composition are most remarkable, and there is very great, indeed, almost exuberant, variety. In fact, as Lady Herringham says, "There is no other really fine portrayal of a dark race by themselves."

The decorations include, beside patterns and scrolls and figures of animals, flowers, plants, and trees, also various fabulous creatures, monsters, and mythological beings, such as *Kinnaras*, represented as horse-headed men, Nâgas, or snake-fairies, generally human in form but overshadowed by one or by many hooded cobras, *Garudas*, eagle-shaped or vulture-shaped figures, *Yakshas*, spirits of the air, *Gandharvas* and *Apsarases*, minstrels and nymphs of Indra's heaven. The personal figures comprise the *Lokapâlas*, or guardians of the world-quarters, the various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, the former distinguished from ordinary monks by their *ushnîsha*, or bump of wisdom, an enlarged protuberance at the top of the head, the forehead mark, and the pendulous elephant ears; the latter being robed and crowned and jewelled like earthly kings. The Buddhas themselves appear in various postures, generally seated, as prescribed ritually in the *Pâli* scripts, to indicate a teaching, protective, preaching, or testifying purpose.

The scenes themselves depict first of all the traditional events in Sâkyamuni's life, the miraculous birth, the contest of the bow, the fourfold revelation of old age, sickness, death, and finally of the all-conquering ascetic life, the meditation beneath the *jambu*-trees, the final flight from home, the good horse *Kanthaka*, the shearing of the hair, the meeting with the Five Companions (the five senses), the desertion of the Five, the final struggle with Mâra, the Tempter, God of love and of death, the Illumination, the sacramental ministration of Sujâta, the first turning of the wheel, or preaching, in the deer-park at Benares, the preaching to the Gods in Indra's heaven; and, finally, the *Paranirvâna*, of Buddha's own transit Across the Stream.

These are, as it were, the sacramental stages in this mighty Life, but besides there are innumerable scenes of lesser import, such as miracles performed in various famous cities, the visits of kings or of rival religious teachers, and the quelling of monsters,

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such as the famous elephant whom Devadatta, Buddha's hostile cousin, sent to kill him.

Next, there is the vast field of the *Jâtakas*. The *Jâtakas* are, or purport to be, tales related by Gautama himself to his disciples, in which some story or other is related of the Master's experiences in a former life. Of the *Jâtakas* there are, in all, many thousands, mostly in Sanskrit or Pâli, but also in many other languages. How far they represent any actual survival of the Master's own method, no man may say, but, just as anecdotes of high, and of probable, and also of more than doubtful authenticity will attach themselves to some historical personality, so has this vast accumulation of myths, legends, fables, parables, and what-not gathered round the shining presence of Gautama Buddha. It is the Legenda Aurea, the Golden Legend, of Buddhism. Out of these *Jâtaka*-tales, innumerable Ajanta pictures have been made.

Finally, there is the comparatively small group of historical or quasi-historical events, such as the visit of Asoka to the Bodhi-tree at Bodhi-Gaya, or the invasion of Ceylon by Vijaya. The latter event has formed the subject of one of the most complete of the individual Ajanta masterpieces which time has left us.

From what has been said, it will be seen that the Ajanta caves hold a unique place among the religious and also among the artistic treasures of the world. A real debt of gratitude is due to His Exalted Highness the present Nizam and his Government for their enlightened policy towards and benevolent protectorship of these historic monuments. Like Gautama Buddha, Mahommed also forbade representations of the human form. Like Gautama Buddha, Mahommed also has been disobeyed, at any rate by some among his followers. There is much to be urged on both sides of the argument. The carpet of Bokhara, with its ninety-nine names of Allah woven so carefully into the brown and gold pattern of its warp and woof, the carven footprints of the beloved Master, which is all that the devout Cingalese Buddhist sculptor allows himself to show, the infinite suggestiveness of the Tâj Mahâl, the glory and the peace of the Mosque of Omar—truly, blessed be Allah in the infinite diversity of His creatures.

Om! Shanti! Peace!

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

INDIA IN 1931-32

(Calcutta : Government of India, Central Publication Branch, Re. 1.)

(*Reviewed by* PROFESSOR H. G. RAWLINSON.)

The Annual Report, issued by the Bureau of Public Information, Government of India, suffers to a certain extent from the decision appreciably to restrict its size at a time when India was going through what will perhaps one day be regarded as the most eventful crisis in her long history. But it is a model of compression, and the Director of Public Information has marshalled the bewildering array of facts and figures with extraordinary skill.

The period under review opened with the arrival of Lord Willingdon as Viceroy on April 18. Seldom has a new Viceroy been called upon to grapple with a more difficult situation. His predecessor, with admirable tact and patience, had brought about a "pact" with Mr. Gandhi, and had extracted from him a promise to attend the forthcoming Round-Table Conference. Optimists hoped that this might mark the end of the Civil Disobedience Movement, but they were destined to be disillusioned. Lord Irwin's consent to an interview with the Congress leader was hailed as a victory for the latter, and there can be no doubt that the more active spirits regarded the pact as an armed truce, a period in which to prepare for an intensive renewal of the struggle. Mr. Gandhi's attitude in London was more than usually intransigent, and in India the Congress leaders were endeavouring, by a policy of pinpricks, to provoke a rupture and at the same time to throw the onus upon Government. In defiance of the spirit of the pact, Congress agents were moving freely about Gujarat and the United Provinces, advising the peasants to withhold the payment of land revenue. In the North-West Frontier Province, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, with his army of Red Shirts, was marching about the country in military formation, holding regular parades and manœuvres, and inviting the trans-border tribes to come in. In Kashmir on the one hand and Burma on the other, rebellions of a serious kind had broken out. Meanwhile, in Bengal the atrocious murder campaign defied all attempts to suppress it, and Congress, while nominally deprecating violence, extolled as martyrs the miscreants who paid the penalty for their crimes upon the scaffold. Lord Willingdon's Government, which had borne these endeavours to bring about a crisis with exemplary restraint, was at last forced to act in self-defence. Mr. Gandhi, who affected an air of pained surprise at what had happened on his return, was refused an interview, and shortly afterwards he and other Congress leaders were arrested. Government's campaign against the Civil Disobedience Movement quickly effected a change in the situation, except in Bengal. India as a whole was tired of the boycott and general disorganization of

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trade and daily life, and was relieved to see it stopped; this feeling was intensified by the disgraceful rioting in Bombay in May-June, 1932, in which 211 were killed and 2,600 injured. In September, Mr. Gandhi's dramatic "fast unto death" was averted by a decision on the part of Government to modify the communal decision.

It is a relief to turn from this rather sordid tale to an account of the progress made by Government in various directions during the period under review. Undeterred by disturbances which might well have absorbed their entire energies, they have pressed on with the Reforms. The Third Round-Table Conference opened on November 17, and despite the absence of Congress, made an excellent beginning. The scheme for the Indianization of the Army continued to make good progress, and the Indian Military Academy at Dehra Dun was opened in October, 1932; meanwhile, twenty Indian candidates passed into Sandhurst, six into Woolwich, and six into Cranwell. Progress in the formation of an Indian Air Force and the Royal Indian Marine goes on steadily. No less than 1,250 boys presented themselves for admission to the Indian Mercantile Marine Training Ship *Dufferin*. Civil aviation is becoming more popular every day, and Government, realizing its great importance in speeding up internal communications, has liberally subsidized flying clubs. With this has come a marked advance in wireless telegraphy, the installation of direction-finding apparatus, and the transmission of weather reports.

To the innumerable other difficulties with which the Government of India was faced must be added the Financial Crisis. Financially the year 1931-32 was even worse than the preceding one, and when, in September, 1932, the British Government announced its decision to abandon the gold standard, special measures to avert a panic were adopted. Thanks to a good monsoon and the skill with which Sir George Schuster faced the situation, India rode the storm with success. In spite of the enormous fall in the value of trade, her favourable trade balance was 71 crores, compared with 43 crores of the preceding year. In order to balance the Budget drastic economies were effected. The Army expenditure, always a target for criticism, was reduced by $5\frac{1}{4}$ crores. Government officials submitted to cuts in their salaries varying from 20 to 10 per cent. But in spite of these economies it has been necessary to effect some reductions in the amount of money spent upon education, agriculture, and other nation-building activities. The Ottawa Trade Agreement triumphantly survived the campaign of misrepresentation directed against it, and was carried in the Assembly by 77 votes to 25. One of the events of 1932 was the opening of the Lloyd Barrage across the Indus, a stupendous undertaking which will irrigate something like five million acres of land, now mostly desert. This should in future enormously increase India's financial prosperity, besides insuring her against the famines which have in the past made such inroads upon her finances. Irrigation is now controlled by a Central Bureau.

The Government of India has kept a watchful eye during the period under review upon the interests of Indians abroad, both in South Africa and Kenya. As regards industry, the most important event was the publication of the Report of the Labour Commission, which drew attention to the

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deplorable housing conditions prevailing in industrial centres. Some of the proposals made in the Report were embodied in a Bill introduced into the Assembly in 1932.

It is impossible, within the limits of the space available, to do more than call attention to a few of the salient features of this admirable summary of the multifarious activities of the Government of India, and the enormous amount of constructive work carried through in the face of almost unexampled difficulties, political and financial.

THE SHIPS THAT MADE INDIA BRITISH

THE OLD EAST INDIAMEN. By E. Keble Chatterton. (*Rich and Cowan, Ltd.*) 15s. net.

(*Reviewed by* JOHN DE LA VALETTE.)

So long as Englishmen retain their love of the sea—and when they lose it they will have lost their Empire—there will always be a large section of the reading public to welcome every book and tale that makes ships stand out as the animated creatures they are—creatures with impulses of their own, which the men of this country understand, like they understand horses and dogs. That is why ships are personified and have names. Motor-cars have no names, except the few in which men swerve around death for the mere fun of doing it.

Among the writers who have best understood what ships mean, and known how to convey this to their readers, Mr. Keble Chatterton holds high place. To him the hulls and rigging of ships are as full of life and as crusted with lore as the men who sailed in them. With the experience of one used to handling small craft—the snuggest way of finding out about the sea—he has lived over again the life of great ships that have been. Through eyes which have seen ships behave in a seaway, with a heart that has known how men react to this, he has visualized the famous voyages of the past. With understanding he has evoked the men who manned these ships; who made these incredibly difficult voyages; men "very far from perfect in respect of many virtues," but who were "the very opposite of cowards"; men who knew how to bear all kinds of pain with courage and resignation and "how to die as bravely as they had fought and striven"; who kicked not against adversity, but did their best "and according to their own rough morality left the rest to God." It takes a man from the sea to realize what it means to encounter such a "very sore storme" that "it shooke all the iron worke of her (*i.e.*, the *Red Dragon's*) rother," until "the next day in their moving the rother brake cleane from the sterne of our shippe and presently sunke." All of which did not prevent Captain James Lancaster from completing his epoch-making journey and receiving a knighthood for it, as other captains of famous merchantmen have won well-merited knighthoods in our latest war.

The present issue of *The Old East Indiamen* is the second edition of this

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well-known work. Among the new material which it contains are a couple of interesting photographs of pictures of ships scratched into a rock wall near Zanzibar, a remnant of the practice, in the days when postal communication did not exist, for ships to leave letters behind in rock clefts ashore, for some other vessel to pick up and carry to their destination—God willing.

There is no space here to refer to the many interesting details of the ancient East Indiamen with which the book abounds, such as the explanation of the curious fact that "between the years 1748 and 1772 all the Company's ships were of one size—499 tons." Why they should all mysteriously be exactly one ton less in burthen than 500 tons was "quite simple," according to a contemporary skipper named Hutchinson who had been a privateer. All the craft chartered by the Honorable Company which measured "500 tons or over" were compelled to carry a chaplain. The ton lopped of the measurement saved the owners the extra expense of carrying a minister of God, which amply compensated them for the loss of any charter-money that might have been forgone.

Let it not be assumed from this that the Honorable Company were unmindful of the spiritual welfare of themselves or their men, for they had, with the sanction of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, laid down a very dignified and beautiful prayer which was to be read in all their ships for "the English Company Trading to the East Indies," and "more especially for those who are separated from all the world, and have (their) sole dependance upon Thee here in the great waters . . . to Whose Power and Mercy (they) humbly fly for Refuge and Protection from all Dangers of this long and Perilous voyage." No doubt these prayers were also duly read in those ships which waited in much-frequented straits to relieve with equal impartiality Portuguese or Spanish, French, Dutch, or Arab traders of their cargoes! Such, after all, was the custom of those stirring times when friends were few and others needs were foes.

Among nautical matters of interest are the excellent pictures of that curious East Indiaman the *Essex* in which Lady Urmston came home in 1816. This vessel carried no less than sixty-three sails on her three masts, as well as between, forward, and aft of them, and she had surprisingly broad stunsails. Strange to say, she is not recorded as having made any extraordinarily swift passages. So perhaps even she followed the normal practice of the Honorable Company's ships to "make snug" for the night by shortening sail.

All those who peruse this fascinating storehouse of quaint facts will agree with the author that the men who sailed and fought these ships with such unfailing skill and courage were deserving indeed "of our great respect and admiration for their pluck, their endurance and their enterprise: for without them India would have been the possession of some other European nation." And that would, after all, have suited Indians as little as Englishmen, for in such case there would now not even have been a "White Paper" to argue about.

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India Analysed. Vol. I. International. Edited by Freda M. Houlston and B. P. L. Bedi. (*Gollancz.*) 5s. net.

(*Reviewed by* L. F. Rushbrook Williams.)

This collection of five studies is dedicated to the Oxford University Gandhi group: and is intended by the editors to arouse "both Indians and Englishmen to the gravity of the issues which are embittering the relationship of two great peoples." But performance so far outruns promise that there are only a very few passages in the volume which will be read with irritation even by those whose political predilections do not coincide with the attitude so clearly set forth in the editors' Preface.

The introductory study by Professor Zimmern, entitled "India and the World Situation," is a slight but suggestive elaboration of the well-known theme that the separation of India from the British Commonwealth would almost necessarily so affect the world outlook of the latter as to make it no longer a bridge between East and West, but a White Empire run by Whites for Whites—with disastrous consequences to the future peace of the world. Next comes Professor Manning, whose painstaking account of the work done by India at Geneva is enlightened and enlivened by a pleasant humour—which Dr. Sundaram, in a solid but ponderous disquisition on "India and the International Labour Organization," might well emulate. Professor Berriedale Keith, dealing with "India in the Empire," treats the thorny question of the attitude of the Dominions towards Indian immigrants with a conspicuous impartiality which does not conceal its gravity. But by far the most original and brilliant paper in the volume comes from the pen of Mr. C. Wilfred Jenks, an official in the legal section of the International Labour Office. Treating of the "International Aspects of the Indian Constitution," he enters a forceful plea for the adoption of the best Geneva precedents in such matters as the renunciation of war as an instrument of public policy. But the author's idealism is tempered with an appreciation of actualities: and his suggestions as to the manner in which the difficulties arising from the peculiar position of the Indian States may be faced and overcome are by far the most thought-provoking, as well as by far the most statesmanlike, of any hitherto put forward. Many of his ideas will be found suitable for an application far wider than the immediate difficulty they have been devised to meet. For example, his suggestion that in the new Constitution international engagements should be given definite municipal effect leads him to a reflection of great value regarding the powers of the Governor-General. He remarks that to govern India under the new Constitution will be no easy task: great tact and forbearance will be necessary on either side if the existence of reserved subjects is not to result in deadlocks. It is, therefore, imperative, he thinks, to take out of the sphere of possible conflict between the Governor-General and the Legislature all questions which can be disposed of through the application by the courts of constitutional provisions. This well deserves to be adopted as a maxim by the draughtsmen of the new Constitution.

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INDIA: WHAT NOW? By N. Gangulee. (*George Allen and Unwin.*) 7s. 6d. net.

THE NEW INDIAN CONSTITUTION: A CRITICISM. By A. Krishnaswami. (*Williams and Norgate.*) 10s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

Dr. Gangulee gives as the subtitle of his book "A Study of the Realities of the Indian Problem": and he poses to his readers the following problem. What, if all the wishes of the propertied classes in India are conceded: what, if they are able to seize the supreme control over the machinery of the State: what, even if they succeed in gaining what is known as Dominion Status—what then?

His main thesis is that no political constitution can by itself achieve a miracle: and he discerns in the proposals now under consideration by His Majesty's Government certain features antagonistic to what he believes to be India's prime need—planned social and economic reconstruction. Unless this prime need can be satisfied, he fears catastrophe of a magnitude which will involve general chaos: and he does not believe that anything less than what he calls a dynamic executive power can cope with the situation.

From this point of view, he finds the White Paper scheme far from satisfactory. What is the good, he says, of trying to import a British system of parliamentary government, cumbrous and slow-moving at best, and basing it upon a franchise which is wholly divorced from the realities of the Indian social system? What is the good of an elaborate federal structure at the top, when it is the bottom of the body-politic which needs the most urgent attention? And why, when India requires strong leadership, a planned policy, and central control, should we go out of our way to decentralize (in the wrong directions) and thus stimulate the forces of provincial separatism? Above all, why, when the financial position of India will make economic reconstruction, even under the most favourable conditions, a matter of real sacrifice, should we buttress the position of the "haves" against the "have-nots" by constitutional proposals which will hand over progress, bound and fettered, to the most conservative and orthodox elements in Indian society?

These are very pertinent queries, and they require a good deal of answering. From Dr. Gangulee's point of view, the kind of constitutional reforms which all of us are now discussing are just about as adequate to deal with the realities of the Indian situation as Mrs. Partington's mop was to stem the advancing tide. On the broad question of the relative importance to the Indian masses of political reform and of economic reconstruction, few readers of this book will be bold enough to challenge Dr. Gangulee's finding. Where some critics will differ from him is in his pessimistic view of what is likely to be accomplished by those elements of Indian society who will henceforth enjoy political power. To me, at least, he seems to make out a very strong case indeed. I hope he is mistaken, but I am by no means sure.

To Dr. Gangulee's penetrating and incisive study, Mr. Krishnaswami's book offers a complete contrast. It is a serviceable, and in its way shrewd, exposition of the problems which confronted the Round-Table Conferences,

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and of the methods adopted for dealing with them. In a clear atmosphere of academic detachment, the author considers at length the various details of the new Constitution: the allocation of functions: the federal legislature: the position of the States: the provinces and second chambers: reservations, federal finance: the position of the Minorities: the judiciary: the Services: the question of fundamental rights. It is all quite well done: and none of it gets us much further. Yet, strangely enough, it may well be that this somewhat Olympian exercise, which deals with matters so infinitely more comfortable than the grim facts of Dr. Gangulee, provides the answer to "India: What now?" Dr. Gangulee knows, it seems, the elder statesmen, including the not-so-elderly—and does not think much of them. But does he know those who will shortly take their places? In one passage in this otherwise academic treatise, Mr. Krishnaswami suffers nature to break in. "If one understands the spirit of the generation" (*his own*) "aright, one may venture to predict that the youth of India is against all privilege and every kind of monopoly, that it is not obsessed by ideas of caste or race, and that a single purpose runs through them all of making India great nationally and internationally." Dare we hope that the next generation of Indian public men, finding that no more worlds exist for them to conquer in the political sphere, will turn their energies to the great task which awaits them in the social and economic regeneration of their country? But will the rising tide of disintegration halt until they are ready to build their dam? That is the problem which will present itself to all thoughtful readers of Dr. Gangulee's book.

Bombay and the Sidhis. By D. L. Banarji. (*Macmillan, for University of Bombay.*) Rs. 15.

Among the Muhammadans of the small State of Janjira, about 26 miles south of Bombay, is a small group of Sidhis, numbering not more than a few hundreds, descendants of the *Habshis* or Abyssinian pirate chiefs who came to India to trade. They were unsuccessful, and enlisted in the military service of the Bahamini kings of the Deccan; and today Sidhis serve in the Hyderabad State forces.

The Sidhis landed at Mazagaon in 1680, where they sold their captives as slaves and displayed on poles the heads of the Mahrattas they had captured in a raid on Kanheri. Much of the fascinating history of Bombay is still imperfectly understood. The Sidhis played an important part in the history in the later half of the seventeenth century, and were the only people who ever threatened Bombay city seriously. For successfully attacking the invaders, the East India Company made Rustom Dorabji, a Parsee youth of twenty, Patel of Bombay.

Mr. Banarji has written a scholarly thesis on a subject of unusual interest. It is an original contribution, based mainly on unpublished documents in the Bombay Record Office. The appendix contains 1,334 of them. The book throws new and unsuspected sidelights on the early transactions of the East India Company in Bombay.

Arthur Duncan.

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RECONSTRUCTION AND EDUCATION IN RURAL INDIA. By Prem Chand Lal. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 10s. net.

Village life and advancement have once again become the keynote of welfare in India, and Mr. Brayne's work and books are proof that the British authorities are alive to the importance of this question. The author of the present volume has based it on the movement initiated by the Institute of Rural Reconstruction at Santiniketan in Bengal, founded by Rabindranath Tagore. The value of village welfare has become the watchword of the Indian population, and therefore we may expect before many years have passed a real improvement in the life and status of the villager. The programme of the Institute's aims is all that can be desired, and it is really designed to be a first step towards an elementary preparation for detailed study. The author has in a most excellent way described the origin of the Institute and the duties which have to be performed in the different departments. It is gratifying to learn that much good work has already been performed.

THE INDIAN TANGLE. By Sir Albion Banerji. (*Hutchinson.*)
(*Reviewed by* STANLEY RICE.)

Most writers, especially those on Eastern affairs, are confronted with the difficulty of choosing for which audience of three they shall write. If they assume knowledge in the instructed, they are apt to become unintelligible to the man in the street; if they write in "words of one letter," they drift into platitudes; and even what may be new to the informed is common property in the country of origin. Sir Albion, who, as an Indian of distinction, is entitled to claim our attention, seems to have attempted a compromise. A good deal of the book contains matter which is or should be well known to the moderately informed; some of it assumes a detailed knowledge of the White Paper; while the appeal to settle communal differences appears to be addressed to Indians.

The result is to leave the average reader rather bewildered. What exactly is the policy which Sir Albion advocates? He has been good enough to summarize in the chapter called "The Outlook." The three essentials are: (1) a political truce with Great Britain, (2) an economic treaty with the British Empire, and (3) an effort to minimize the effects of communalism. The first of these is desired by all Englishmen and all sensible Indians; the second can presumably be arranged by the Indian Government; and the third is by universal consent a matter for Indians themselves.

Sir Albion wants a referendum to Princes and peoples. Apart from obvious objections to such a course, is it not rather late in the day to put this forward as a serious suggestion? Incidentally, when Sir Albion says categorically that "there will be no responsibility in the centre without Federation," it is not clear whether he is stating a fact or venturing on a prophecy. The position is that if the conditions for Federation are not fulfilled, the whole question of central responsibility will be reconsidered.

But this kind of criticism may be to do the author an injustice. In a short

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Foreword Lord Winterton speaks of arguments which cancel each other out. In that sense the book is provocative of thought, for it shows how each successive problem seems to impinge with almost fatal effect upon the scheme of the White Paper or any similar scheme, and yet how inevitable such scheme is. It leaves the reader with a sense of doubt and even of disappointment, but with the conviction that the White Paper does, in fact, point the only reasonable way out of what Sir Albion has chosen to call the Indian tangle.

FAR EAST

China Today: Economic. By J. R. Condliffe. (*P. S. King and Son.*) 7s. 6d. net.

Since the recent economic chaos the world is once more looking to China and studying the part that that country will play in the betterment of conditions. Professor Condliffe has compiled a most useful book for which he has consulted the books of modern research workers. The writer deals with the chief factors and begins with an essay on the population; he reviews the agricultural resources and the rural improvement. The growth of towns and urban industry is the subject of the next problem. The difficulties in coming to a proper estimate of progress lie in the lack of accurate statistics, yet the author has noticed a marked desire of the Central Government to provide not only for village industry, but also for a steady rise in the condition of town workers. In others Professor Condliffe examines public finance, banking reform, and foreign trade. In conclusion, he lays stress on the fact that the civil war must cease before sound civil government can bring that satisfaction to a frugal and hard-working people of which they are in such dire need. A number of tables and some very clear maps accompany the volume.

Economic Rivalries in China. By Groves Clark. (*Oxford University Press: H. Milford.*) 11s. 6d. net.

Mr. Clark's book has much in common with Mr. C. F. Remer's larger volume recently published. Mr. Clark divides his into two halves, one into rivalries within China, wherein are discussed Agriculture, Transportation, Financing, and Industry, and these are accompanied by neat tables and charts. The other half has as its subject the foreign trade in its dual form: Export and Import. Here, again, the tables make China's position very clear. For instance, it is shown that the export of silk—chiefly to America—has greatly diminished for want of sufficient care, and that tea has also fallen in volume, as the Russian market is now closed and as the trade of India and Japan have largely supplanted China's former outlets. In conclusion, the author dwells upon China's tariff autonomy, which aims at the protection of China's manufactures against foreign goods. Altogether it is a careful study worthy of careful examination by economists and business people.

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ORIENTALIA

HARUN AL RASHID. By H. StJ. B. Philby. (*Peter Davies, Ltd.*) 5s. net.

Harun Al Rashid, Calif of Baghdad, has become part of our intellectual heritage. He stands for all that was splendid in the Empire of the great Abbasid dynasty. But he was a grim monarch, and shows up better in fable than in history.

It has never been clear why Harun became legendary. Even Mr. Philby does not explain that, although, of course, he treats his subject in a competent and learned manner.

THE ORIENTAL CARAVAN. Edited by Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah. (*Denis Archer.*) 8s. 6d. net.

This book claims to be "a revelation of the Soul and Mind of Asia." It is a collection of the wisdom of India, China, Japan, Persia, Turkey, Arabia, Palestine, and Egypt.

Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah has given us a pleasing anthology, selected with discrimination and tastefully produced.

THE PRIVATE RECORD OF AN INDIAN GOVERNOR-GENERALSHIP: THE CORRESPONDENCE OF SIR JOHN SHORE WITH HENRY DUNDAS, 1793-1798. Edited with Introduction and Notes by H. Furber. (*Oxford University Press.*) 7s. 6d. net.

The period of British-Indian policy when Sir John Shore was Governor-General will for ever be considered remarkable. No military ability and no political connections assisted him in obtaining this important post. He brought, however, with him the experience of years of devoted work in India. In the correspondence before us, which is published for the first time, Sir John Shore stands out as a noble character, insisting on treaties being kept, and with a mind which was straightforward and refined. His opponent, Lord Hobart, was a man of somewhat different stamp, and when both were recalled to England Lord Cornwallis became his successor. Henry Dundas was in practice the Secretary for India, and there is no doubt that he must have been impressed by Shore's character. These letters form a human document, and will, perhaps, contribute to bringing his honourable name before the present and future generations.

INTRODUCTION TO THE SOCIOLOGY OF ISLAM. By R. Levy. Vol. II. (*Williams and Norgate.*) 21s. net.

The first volume of this pioneer work was issued in 1931, and Mr. Levy has now completed his study in the same efficient manner. This volume deals with the religious conception of Islam, the moral sentiments, usage,

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custom and secular law, government of the Caliphate, military organization, and science. Bibliographies have again been appended to each chapter, thereby enhancing the value of the work to serious students.

Peaks and Plains of Central Asia. By R. A. F. Schomberg. With maps and coloured illustrations. (*Martin Hopkinson.*) 15s. net.

Colonel Schomberg has undertaken on horseback two journeys through Chinese Central Asia, one in 1927-29 and the other in 1930-31. One must congratulate him on having turned away from the world's troubles for a time in order to enjoy once more God's wonderful nature in wide open spaces and high mountains, living in the midst of a primitive people. To anyone wishing to dwell in dreamland Colonel Schomberg's book must come as a great boon. What a joy it must have been to the traveller not to see any factories and motor-cars, or picture houses and libraries where people could wile their time away. Just living for once, feeling free, with no taxes to pay! And who would not have wished to be his companion? The description of the journey is lively and human. Throughout the volume accounts of the people, their mode of living, their occupations, vary with a description of the landscape. The hospitality and friendliness, a proof of Eastern good manners, there extended to him, and the author's knowledge of languages must have made the journeys a true pleasure. The coloured illustrations are perfect little masterpieces: they are by Captain G. Sherriff.

Son of Heaven: A Bibliography of Li Shih-Min, Founder of The T'ang Dynasty. By C. P. Fitzgerald. With maps and plates. (*Cambridge University Press.*) 12s. 6d. net.

The work before us is a careful monograph dealing with the great period of China's culture. Most readers of Chinese literature will always remember the delightful book *Poésies de l'Époque des Thang*, by Herveyde de St. Denys (1861), which for the first time introduced them to the delicate charm of Chinese poetry and acquainted Europe with the greatness of Chinese culture. Tai Tsung, whose original name was Li Shih-Min, was the first T'ang emperor, and it is to his influence that the rise of Chinese art and culture is due. In fact, the T'ang period is equivalent to that country's greatness. When a young man of eighteen years of age is able to overthrow the ruling powers of a great country he must prove to be one of exceptional character. Mr. Fitzgerald writes disparagingly of the military violence used in the consolidation of his throne, and he argues that in politics hypocrisy is inevitable. Many critics will differ from him and ascribe to him democratic views. In spite of this the great man has proved to be an outstanding figure in Asiatic history. The author's book is compiled chiefly from Chinese sources, and as we are only at the beginning of Chinese study we need not

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be surprised that this particular field of enquiry has not been dealt with before. The whole work reveals intensive study; it includes a genealogical table and a list of names, all testimonies of conscientious research.

BUDDHA'S TEACHINGS: BEING THE SUTTA NIPATA OR DISCOURSE COLLECTION. Edited in the original Pali text with an English version facing it by Lord Chalmers. (*Harvard University Press.*) 23s. net.

The Harvard Oriental Series, of which the present work forms volume 37, contains some of the finest books written in Sanskrit, or translations from the Sanskrit and Pali. Lord Chalmers's contribution is one of which the author and the University can be justly proud. It is true that the text was published for the first time by a Danish scholar, Professor V. Fausboll, and that an English rendering was done as early as 1874 by M. Coomaraswamy, the father of Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. The present edition has the advantage of having a correct Pali version on one side and the English translation on the opposite page in metrical form. It has thus become a new work to which readers of English will more readily refer. The scholarly introduction of twenty-two pages deals with the subject itself: the history of the Buddhist canon, the linguistic side of Sutta Nipata, and a comparison between Buddhism and Christianity. The important indexes, Pali and English, are most accurately done.

GENERAL

SOVIET ECONOMIC POLICY IN THE EAST. By Violet Conolly. (*Oxford University Press.*) 6s. 6d. net.

Miss Conolly deals in a very competent manner with a somewhat special subject. Soviet trade is a State monopoly, but certain countries in the area encircling the Soviet Union from the Black Sea to Siberia are allowed to trade on more elastic terms. It is with this policy, which prevails in Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, Outer Mongolia, Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan, and Tana Tava between Outer Mongolia and Siberia, that the book deals. The Soviet's economic relations with these countries is carefully explained.

On the whole, Russia's efforts to secure the economic market for Soviet textiles has been successful to a large extent. In the case of India and China, Japan is the successful competitor; but in Persia the Soviet has captured the best part of British trade, and the exports to Turkey are increasing. In both these countries trade is carried on under definite agreements. Afghanistan, however, has so far refused to enter into a commercial treaty.

This is a well-documented book of great value, compiled from commercial treaties, tariff regulations, customs and transit conventions, year books and newspapers. There is an exhaustive and useful bibliography.

A. D.

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INTERNATIONAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE

RECORD OF THE 22ND SESSION HELD IN LISBON. Price, Belgas 20.
THE CRISIS AND THE COLONIES. Price, Belgas 20.
YEAR BOOK OF COMPARED COLONIAL DOCUMENTATION.

(*Reviewed by* PROFESSOR JOHN COATMAN.)

THE unique value of the publications of the I.C.I. is still insufficiently understood in England. However, owing to the continually growing interest in the economic and administrative conditions and policies in colonial countries, the place occupied in the building up of such studies by the I.C.I. is gradually becoming more appreciated, not only by students, but by public men also. The publications listed above are a most noteworthy addition to the valuable publications already issued by the Institute. For example, nowhere else will we find within the covers of one volume a complete survey of the ways in which the great world economic crisis has affected the whole colonial domain of every colonizing power. Yet in the volume *The Crisis and the Colonies* we not only have such a complete survey, but also a survey carried out by acknowledged authorities who were speaking at first-hand of the areas with which they deal. The origins, events, and sequelæ of the crisis in the colonial countries are traced and also the steps taken to cope with the untoward circumstances by the Governments concerned. The student who studies this record with the necessary care will quickly find his thoughts branching out into the wider sphere of general international political and economic relations. For he will realize that the events detailed in this volume have now profound repercussions on the welfare and policies of the metropolitan countries and are destined to have even more powerful influences on them in the future. The student of colonial administration, the anthropologist, the economist, the politician, and the business man are all deeply concerned with the subject-matter of this book, and should, at any rate, acquaint themselves with what it has got to teach them.

The Year Book of Compared Colonial Documentation is a collection of the most important legislative Acts and public pronouncements relating to the Belgian, Dutch, Italian, and Portuguese colonies during 1932. Here will be found not only statutory enactments and regulations, but also Budget speeches and various other pronouncements, including, last but not least, the statistics of the trade of the various colonies. The value of this collection is, of course, for the professed student or for those who have business relations with those foreign colonies, but certainly the collection is complete and of high value.

The Record of the 22nd Meeting held at Lisbon contains reports of the discussions which took place at the meeting between the experts of all the countries represented on the subject of the economic crisis in the colonies, colonial currency systems, and legal relations between natives and non-natives in colonial countries. It contains much which is not in the first volume mentioned in this review, and should not be missed by those who

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want to get as complete a knowledge as possible of conditions and the trend of events in colonial policy generally.

These volumes are obtainable from the Établissements Généraux d'Imprimerie, 14, Rue d'Or, Brussels; or at the International Colonial Institute, 72A, Boulevard de Waterloo, Brussels.

WHITAKER'S ALMANACK FOR 1934.

The development of some of the sections in "Whitaker" reflects the growth of democracy and the devolution of government in the period that has elapsed since 1868. Government and Legal Offices filled 17 pages in 1869 and 100 in 1934, while the Dominions require treble the space they formerly occupied. India is represented in 37 pages against 7. Interest in domestic affairs is shown by the extension of the list of Societies and Institutions from 3 to 32 pages, and of Life Assurance from 2 to 14.

Increases have taken place in various parts of the present volume in order to include Agricultural Bureaux, the Import Duties Advisory Committee, the Imperial Communications Advisory Committee, and the London Passenger Transport Board, while additional space has been allotted to statistics of trade and finance and air transport. The postal information has also been remodelled, and parcel, telephone and telegraph rates are now shown in tabular form with the approximate time occupied in transit by sea or air.

FICTION AND POETRY

SO A POOR GHOST. By Edward Thompson. (*Macmillan.*) 7s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

The scene of Mr. Thompson's latest novel is laid in a Maratha State of Central India: and no reader who has ever known and loved that strange land, individual in its charm, would willingly miss one single passage of the many which describe so hauntingly the stage across which his characters move. Mr. Thompson has his own place in the literature of India: he has interpreted the mind of the Nationalist intellectual in a fashion which will outlive the strains and stresses of which that mind is a product. But he has also interpreted India herself: and his conception of the manner in which the gods of that country sport with us mortal puppets derives directly from the Greek dramatists. This latest book will enhance his reputation, although his picture of an Indian State is etched with the lightness of comparative unfamiliarity. Written as it is with wit and incisiveness, the story itself is a slender thing. And deliberately so. For is Philip Rattray in truth the master of his own fate, and the destroyer of his own fortune, or is he the plaything of mysterious forces which exact from him the atonement due for an almost forgotten offence against the *numen* of the countryside? There

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is a subtleness in this book which provokes thought: and, like a still stream, it has depths which may remain hidden from those who look only at the surface. But all who know the India of today will enjoy it, if only for the ease with which they will discern their friends—and enemies—limned with Mr. Thompson's delightful humour: and for the sympathy with which the post-war generation, and the survivors of more ancient days, so different in standards and outlook, are alike depicted.

Traveller's Pack. By Elinor Mordaunt. (*Secker.*)

Mrs. Mordaunt's collection of short stories is well named, for the scenes in which her seventeen tales are cast range from rural Cambodia to dockside London, and across the ocean to the United States. All are clever; most have just that faintly ironic touch which marks so much of the work of this author: only here and there, as in "The Woman whom Nobody Loved," is there a concession to what is sometimes still called sentimentality, which may offend the very young. All travellers will find plenty of variety in this Pack, which is well worth its place even in the most congested cabin-trunk.

Dark Road: A Romance. By Norah Burke. (*Stanley Paul.*) 7s. 6d. net.

The main ingredients of Miss Burke's story are not unfamiliar—the worshipping younger brother: the worshipped elder brother. But instead of the idol revealing feet of clay, it is the worshipper who "slips up" and forfeits (temporarily at least) his right of access to the shrine. Her recipe is to make England the scene of the lapse, and India of the expiation. She seasons the tale with Indian forest life and adds a touch of rioting by way of *sauce piquant.* The result is unexpectedly palatable: for she has the knack of story-telling.

Chansons d'Amour et Autres. By Eugénie Ravet. (Paris: *Librairie F. Piton.*) 7 frs. 50.

(*Reviewed by* John Caldwell-Johnston.)

Among the many changes which mark our Age of Change there is none, perhaps, more striking to the impartial onlooker, to the intelligent foreigner, if one may so say, than the vast and ever-widening gulf which separates the verse of Corneille, of Racine, of Lamartine, from the French verse of to-day. To the ear which has been educated, or (being foreign, and perhaps English to boot) has painstakingly and painfully educated itself, to savour the lovely, long-drawn sonority, the dignity, the inevitableness and self-completeness of the Alexandrine couplet, how impossibly *farouche*, how barbarous, barbarian, and barbaric are these modern cadences. It is another realm, another sphere, another tongue. As Walt Whitman said of his own work, its "barbaric yawp resounds over the roofs of the world." Nevertheless,

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Whitman at times and, as it were, artlessly and by accident, the artlessness of the wild bird, wrote poetry. And these modernizing Frenchmen also, at times recognizably to the foreign ear, do likewise.

As thus:

N'entends-tu pas le vent
galoper follement sur les nuées voilées?
n'entends-tu pas le vent?

N'entends-tu pas les rêves
s'enlacer dans la nuit étoilée de mystère?
n'entends-tu pas les rêves?

N'entends-tu pas l'aurore
sourire aux parfums du jardin qui s'éveille?
n'entends-tu pas l'aurore?

. . . Je n'entends ni le vent,
ni les rêves, ni l'aube, mais le bruit de ton ombre
sur les marches du temple.

One of the most striking things about modern French verse is its intense, because implicit and innate, orientalism—not *chinoiserie*, far from it!—but,

le bruit de ton ombre
sur les marches du temple.

There is nothing, so far as I know, to parallel this intense, innate orientalism in contemporary English—or must one now say, British?—verse.

Mademoiselle Eugénie Ravet is of the most modern French school, and her book is worth reading, if only for its workmanlike sincerity and its love of truth. Many of the poems are trivial, but some, as the one above quoted, from their very banality touch suddenly and unawares upon the supernatural and the supreme.

CITY LUNCHEON

The Royal Empire Society will have as its chief guest at a luncheon on Tuesday, January 23, Sir William Clare Lees, Head of the Textile Delegation to India, who will speak about the discussions which took place recently in India between the members of that Delegation and the Indian and Japanese industrialists regarding the importation of cotton and artificial silk goods into India from the United Kingdom, and the position which has resulted therefrom. The luncheon will be held at the Cannon Street Hotel at one o'clock.

Members of the East India Association who may wish to be present are invited to make early application for tickets, price 5s. 6d. each, to Mr. George Pilcher, Secretary of the Royal Empire Society, Northumberland Avenue, W.C. 2.

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PROGRESS IN THE INDIAN STATES

By John de La Valette

Cochin State: Education and Prosperity

The demise, in March, 1932, of His Highness Maharaja Sri Sir Rama Varma, G.C.I.E., the previous Ruler of Cochin State, closed a reign which throughout the seventeen years of its duration had been "marked by financial prosperity and general progress." In accordance with the *marumakkathayam* rule of succession and inheritance, which is based on the principle of matriarchate, His late Highness was succeeded by his eldest nephew on the senior distaff side, who bears the same name as his predecessor— and as his Heir Presumptive. Popular addresses on the ascent of rulers need not always be taken too literally, but there is a convincing ring in the note struck by "the people of Cochin" in the welcome extended to their new Prince, when they referred to His Highness's "gentle and pious disposition, his purity, simplicity and sincerity."

It is, therefore, with added interest that one scrutinizes the reports and other official papers, recently received in London, which give an indication of the start of the new reign and a measure of the achievements of the previous one.*

If an increase of population, coupled with generally satisfactory health conditions, are an indication of prosperity and good government, Cochin would appear to have experienced both during the decade from 1921 to 1931. The population increased in that period by some 226,000 to 1,205,016, an increase of 23·1 per cent., as compared with a growth of only 6·6 per cent. during the previous decade. No doubt the constant care devoted to the prevention and spreading of disease, the improvement in water supply and sanitation in towns and rural districts, and the rise in the number of hospitals from thirty at the beginning to fifty at the end of that decade, all had their share in producing this result.

Concurrently with these improvements, the means by which the people earn their livelihood were systematically developed. As 80 per cent. of the population live in rural districts, agriculture is a most important factor in the State's economy. During the ten

* *Census of India*, 1931, vol. xxi. (*Cochin*, parts i. and ii.); *Administration Report of Cochin for the Year* 1107 *M.E.* (August 17, 1931, to August 15, 1932); *Budget Estimate for the Year* 1109 *M.E.* (1933-34) *Final Edition*; all printed at the Cochin Government Press at Ernakulam in 1933.

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years under review, uncultivated wastes, disafforested areas and land reclaimed from the backwaters were brought into cultivation. Irrigation schemes added to their productivity, the total of irrigated fields rising from one-third to over two-thirds of the whole cultivated area. Nor were commercial and industrial interests neglected; the State's contribution to the work on the new Cochin harbour and its effective expenditure on railways, canals and roads, being of material assistance to trade.

These varied efforts towards improving the welfare of the people are being continued with equal energy in the new reign. The equipment of the laboratory at the Central Farm was completed, and the demonstration and research work there, and at the cocoanut station, were vigorously pursued. Useful, too, are the demonstrations given on private lands in selected parts of each *taluk*. These deal with paddy, sugar-cane and cocoanut, and enable practical agriculturalists—a body notoriously averse to innovation—to observe the results in practice of the improvements recommended. For the growing generation opportunities for training are provided at the agricultural school attached to the Central Farm and at three horticultural schools.

The valuable forest reserves of the State, which include teak, rosewood, ebony, blackwood and other fine timber, cover some 580 square miles, or more than one-third of its whole area. Their working appears to be economically efficient, since an annual outlay of between two and two and a quarter lakhs of rupees brings in between three and a quarter and three and one-half lakhs of revenue. Nor is this the only field in which the Government of Cochin gives proof of its commercial abilities. Among the items of revenue in the current Budget appears a sum of over fourteen lakhs "Profits from Capital Outlay," while an analysis of railway expenditure shows that in recent years the net return on the capital expended for that purpose fluctuated between 8 per cent. and $6\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. per annum, figures calculated to make British railway shareholders green with envy. Another item of useful expenditure is represented by public works aggregating some fifteen lakhs of rupees. That they are of public utility is shown by the fact that they include, in addition to roads and bridges, such items as improvements to canals and irrigation systems, three new blocks for the Maharaja's College at Ernakulam, a number of other school buildings, the bacteriological laboratory at the General Hospital in the capital, and various works connected with the electric plants and waterworks run by the Government.

But perhaps the most interesting aspect of life in Cochin State is disclosed by the figures concerning education. The latest census returns from all parts of India show that literacy in Cochin is pro-

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portionately higher than in any other part of the India Peninsula. Taking the number of literates per thousand inhabitants (aged five years and over) the figure for Cochin is 337, with Travancore second at 288. Baroda State comes third with 209. Then there is a big gap until we get to the Bengal, Bombay and Madras Presidencies, with 110, 108 and 108 respectively. In the matter of feminine literacy the figures are even more telling: Cochin and Travancore reach averages of 220 and 168 per thousand respectively. Next comes Baroda with 79, whilst the three presidencies named only stand at 32, 32 and 30 respectively.

This high degree of literacy, and especially the share which the female part of the population has in it, is closely linked on the one hand with the tradition of spreading learning as widely as possible, which has long existed in these southern States, and on the other with the matriarchal system which, obviously, tends to place women on a higher and more important level than is always the case in other parts of India. It finds expression, too, in the general principle of the equality of the sexes in the political field. Until a couple of years ago the Indian States of Travancore, Cochin and Rajkot were (and I believe they still are) the only places in India where the sex disqualification had been completely removed from the Statute Book. These States have granted women the right to stand for election to the Legislative Council, as well as to vote for it on the same terms as men. In recent years Travancore even appointed a woman as State Darbar Physician and Member of the Darbar for Health. In Cochin State Mrs. Madhavi Amma was nominated a member of the first Legislative Council, and in Rajkot two women were elected to the new Representative Council.

That a high degree of literacy presupposes education on a broad basis is self-evident. The total number of Government and private schools in Cochin State in 1932 was 655, and they were attended by 143,831 pupils. Of these schools 108 were girls' schools, with an aggregate of 56,763 pupils. Included in this number were one girls' college and twelve high schools for girls, in addition to which the Maharaja's College and the St. Teresa College provide arts courses for girls.

Other matters of importance in the South India States relate to caste and the depressed classes. In the Cochin Census report and the latest Administration Report valuable light is thrown on the present aspect of these problems and on the tendencies affecting their development. Of caste it is said that "in the face of modern economic and intellectual influences . . . one would naturally expect a weakening of caste feeling and a loosening of caste bonds." But what is found in reality "is that the modern forces alluded to have not yet led to any weakening, much less to

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the disappearance, of the caste feeling." The fact is significant that out of 780,484 Hindus only fifteen persons refused to return their caste in the course of the recent Census. At the same time it is pointed out that "modern influences have wrought a remarkable change in the attitude towards most caste rules and restrictions." If the day of inter-caste marriages has not yet arrived, the restrictions regarding "commensality, pollution and other matters are more dead than alive." At social gatherings and parties, for instance, "members of both sexes of the highest and lowest castes and of different religions sit at the same table and partake of refreshments," and "nobody thinks of the penalties that obtained of old for such violations of caste rules."

The action taken by the Cochin Government for the "uplift" of the depressed classes, whilst obviously based upon their separate needs and conditions, is not so organized as to segregate them into an isolated community, but rather to enable them to take their place among the other classes and castes. Thus there are no separate schools for children of the depressed classes, the close upon ten thousand pupils drawn from these classes being suitably distributed over the ordinary schools. Nevertheless in other respects these classes are recognized as requiring special treatment, and there is, consequently, a "Protector of the Depressed Classes," the present holder of the office having been specially prepared for it by training in Calicut under the District Education Officer for Malabar.

It may here be interesting to add that, in response to the call of Swami Vivekenanda, an experiment has been started by the Ramakrishna Mission which aims at the regeneration of the depressed classes by means of an *Ashram*, founded in the neighbourhood of the town of Trichur. Its curriculum and "scheme of uplift" are stated to be inspired by "the valuable experiences of the American Negro pioneer, Booker T. Washington," the founder of the Tuskegee Institute. The movement in Cochin only started in 1927, and it is, therefore, too early as yet to ask for the results.

Many similarly telling particulars could be culled from the above-mentioned and other reports about Cochin State published from time to time. But perhaps the foregoing will suffice to show that the new Ruler has auspiciously followed the lead of his predecessor in promoting the welfare of all classes of his subjects.

Rewa State: Reforms

Among the many picturesque Indian personalities with whom Round-Table and other Conferences have made Londoners familiar, not the least attractive are the lithe figure and grave

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features of the young Ruler of Rewa. Deputed to represent a section of his brother Princes, Maharaja Sir Gulab Singh Bahadur, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., followed, both at the Round-Table Conference and in the Chamber of Princes, a conservative and cautious, yet always a constructive and steadying policy, allying a due regard for past experience and established traditions with a genuine desire for progress. To the sincerity of the latter his conduct of the internal affairs of his State bears ample testimony, as may be seen from administrative and other reports which have recently become available in this country.

Rewa is the largest State in the Central Indian Agency and is situated in its eastern part. With its thirteen thousand square miles it exceeds Belgium and approaches Holland in size—a striking indication of the enormous extent of the Indian Peninsula. Within this area live less than a million and a half people, and there is, consequently, scope for expansion, if the natural resources of the State are developed. To these matters the Maharaja of Rewa, ably assisted by a State Council, over which he personally presides, is devoting increasing attention. Of the several minerals found in the State coal and lime are being extensively worked by private enterprise, but there is further opportunity for the profitable exploitation of corrundum, mica, felspar and bauxite; white ochres, fireclay and iron are also available. To what extent the great waterfalls in the Bihar and Toris rivers can be profitably used for electrification remains to be seen, but it is a possibility which will become of practical value, as soon as the industrial development of the State, now being officially encouraged, is achieved.

In order to establish closer co-operation between the State Council and the people generally, a Raj Parishad with advisory powers was established in 1932. Its nominated members comprise officials and non-officials in about equal numbers, and have been drawn from all sections of the population. Among the subjects in regard to which this body has recommended enactments figure child marriage, compulsory vaccination, amelioration of the conditions of agricultural labourers, rural hygiene and similar matters.

In addition, special committees have been appointed to recommend specific measures with reference to some of the great problems which face the State. Thus the position of the *pawaidars*, who hold about two-thirds of the land on all kinds of different terms, is being investigated with a view to establishing greater uniformity. The possibility of granting a measure of local self-government is another question which has been entrusted to a committee. A third committee is charged with the task of suggesting improvements in the means of communication with a

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view to opening up the interior for commercial purposes. Yet another committee is studying the problem of alleviating the burden of debt for agricultural labourers. As measures in this direction are bound to have a direct effect on agriculture, which is the chief industry of the State, the recommendations of this committee are eagerly awaited.

In common with the world outside, Rewa State has suffered from the low prices of agricultural produce. To mitigate the resulting hardship of the people, liberal remissions of rent have been granted to tenants, and the export duties on grain and other products have been substantially reduced. The young Prince of Rewa is looking confidently into the future, convinced that great possibilities are open to his State and its people. But he realizes that, if they are to take full advantage of these chances, they will require better education. Notwithstanding the financial stringency, a new post, that of Director of Education, has therefore been created and competently filled. Meanwhile, pending the working out of further plans, all requisite support is being given to the numerous vernacular schools and to the existing two schools in which English is taught up to high-school standard, and which are affiliated to Allahabad University.

In all these administrative matters, the Maharaja takes a keen personal interest, and his progress in achieving his lofty aims will be watched with sympathy.

Bhavnagar: Relief of Agricultural Indebtedness*

Droughts and price slumps bring misery to the Indian peasant only intermittently; the money-lender is always with him, or at least he was, for in Bhavnagar they have changed all that. And the way in which they have changed it is as ingenious as it is comprehensive and far-sighted, the latter characteristic being only what one would expect in action with which Sir Prabhashankar Pattani, the President of the Bhavnagar State Council, is associated. The problem of relieving the indebtedness of the Indian *ryot* has been qualified by the Indian Central Banking Committee as being one "of supreme importance from the point of view of the economic prosperity of the country, as well as for the purpose of stemming the growth of discontent among a large section of the population." The Royal Commission on Agriculture has pointed out that the worst policy towards debt was to ignore it and do nothing. A certain amount has in fact been

* Based on particulars taken from *Report of the Khedut Debt Inquiry Committee, Bhavnagar State* (Bhavnagar, 1931); *Some Papers relating to the Agriculturists' Debt Redemption Scheme, etc.* (Bhavnagar, 1933), and subsequent information up to August, 1933.

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done, largely along lines indicated by the Central Banking Committee, in the Central Provinces, the Punjab and in Bihar and Orissa. But nowhere in India, perhaps, has the problem been tackled so deliberately and has so comprehensive a remedy been applied as in the Kathiawar State of Bhavnagar.

There the problem has received systematic attention ever since the appointment in December, 1925, of a committee to enquire into agricultural indebtedness. This body accomplished its task conscientiously; it made an exhaustive investigation and presented an excellent report in April, 1931, the recommendations of which were supported by evidence and facts. The measures taken on the strength of it proceeded from the consideration that the evil of indebtedness was only a symptom, the causes of which lay deeper. Their removal presented a complex problem which could not be solved piecemeal, but only by comprehensive action. Thus no improvement in the condition of the *ryot* was possible, unless he could be made to start with a clean slate. But it was of little avail to rid him of debt, if he was to slip back into indebtedness almost immediately. And he would, it was felt, be almost bound to get into debt afresh, unless village life as a whole could be placed on a sounder basis.

Finally, though the bad money-lender was branded as an evil to be eradicated, the need of the peasant to have recourse at certain times to some money-lender from whom he could borrow on reasonable terms for productive purposes was admitted as an economic necessity. In fact one finds a curious thought running through much that was written and said at the time on this aspect of the subject. It was, perhaps, most intriguingly expressed, when Dewan Bahadur Trivedi stated the aim of the contemplated measures to be the removal of the existing conditions in order "to restore the pristine purity of the relations" between the *ryots* and the *sowcars*. Apparently, when the world was young, money-lenders were pure in Bhavnagar, which appears in practice to have meant that they never charged more than 12 per cent. per annum on the original sum advanced, and did not add premiums and commissions which doubled and trebled in a very short space of time the original sum loaned.

The measures eventually enacted by the Bhavnagar State Council consisted first of an Agriculturists' Relief Act, which followed the principles of that in force for the Dekhan, with such modifications as local conditions rendered necessary. This Act could "at best only render negative help," but it did prevent extortion where loans had been made. Upon this followed a Debt Redemption Scheme, calculated to "wipe off at one stroke all the outstanding debts of the *khedut* and enable him to write on a clean slate again." This scheme was based on the—no doubt fully

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justified—assumption that the highly indebted peasant was virtually bankrupt, "and if he was made legally insolvent as he really was, it was practically certain that the money-lender would get little or no dividend" from his estate. If, therefore, the State were to undertake to advance a reasonable sum to the indebted peasant, with which to pay off the creditor in full, "the money-lenders would in their own interest" accept the offer and thereby "help themselves and the State in economically rehabilitating the *khedut* class."

The basis on which the sum due to the money-lender was compounded was that he should receive his loan capital back in full with interest at the rate of 12 per cent. per annum. Interest on the amount advanced by the State was to be paid by the peasant by way of an addition to his land revenue and, being based on 4 per cent. per annum, it meant only a very slight extra burden. After some preliminary reluctance on the part of the *sowcars* the scheme was accepted. By March, 1933, *khedut*s paying one-half of the State's total land revenue had been cleared of debt. By August last their number covered three-fourths of the total. A very few months more will suffice to liquidate in equally satisfactory manner the remainder of the agricultural debts. This is a truly remarkable achievement which speaks well for the administrative skill of the Bhavnagar Government.

It has involved investigating the whole history of debts incurred in small amounts, but aggregating sixty lakhs of rupees, and necessitated a total payment by the State, so far, of some fifteen lakhs. To this should be added some nineteen to twenty lakhs which the State has written off in respect of arrears of land revenue due to it. This settlement, therefore, not only clears three-fourths of the peasantry of all debt whatsoever, but it also reduces their annual liability for payment of interest by some four and one-half lakhs of rupees, as the actual rate of interest payable by the peasants frequently rose to and even exceeded 25 per cent. per annum. In the matter of land revenue the human understanding of Sir Prabhashankar Pattani once more displayed itself. He had found that "over 50 per cent. of the farmers of (his) State had been very honest, and had no arrears of land revenue, nor had they blindly incurred private debt." So to benefit also these deserving individuals who had no outstanding debts to compound and no arrears of revenue to remit, "any suspension of revenue ordered during the current lean year" was to be wiped out "as a reward for fair dealing." There is a kind of justice which democracies are barred from exercising. It is well that there should still be States in India to demonstrate the good points in forms of government in which merited discrimination can still be applied.

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Having rid the peasant of his present debts, and protected him against extortion in respect of his future ones, it still remained to raise the village as a community to a higher level. For this purpose the Gramya Panchayat measure was passed, the object of which was "nothing less than the rehabilitation of the whole village life itself" on a basis of local autonomy. Under it each village which applied for the right may henceforth, *inter alia*, "determine its own method and procedure of revenue collection." It may punish defaulters to the extent of forfeiture of land and the auctioning of vacant holdings. It is also empowered to build up a reserve from the surplus proceeds of lands so sold which is to accrue to the benefit of the *panchayat*. Where the reserves are large enough, they can be used for financing the agricultural needs of the *kheduts*. There are other provisions which, taken in their entirety, justify the claim that the *panchayat* measure is both "educative and ameliorative."

But if it has proved possible to make a peasant get on good terms with a money-lender, it seems much harder to make him trust his neighbour. And so, apparently, the progress made with these grants of village autonomy has been slow.

Even so the comprehensive nature of these agricultural reforms in Bhavnagar is bound to have a salutary effect on the population of the State. It will also stand as a useful object-lesson to be studied by other States and in those parts of British India where similar evils are experienced, but where a remedy on so broad a basis has never yet been tried.

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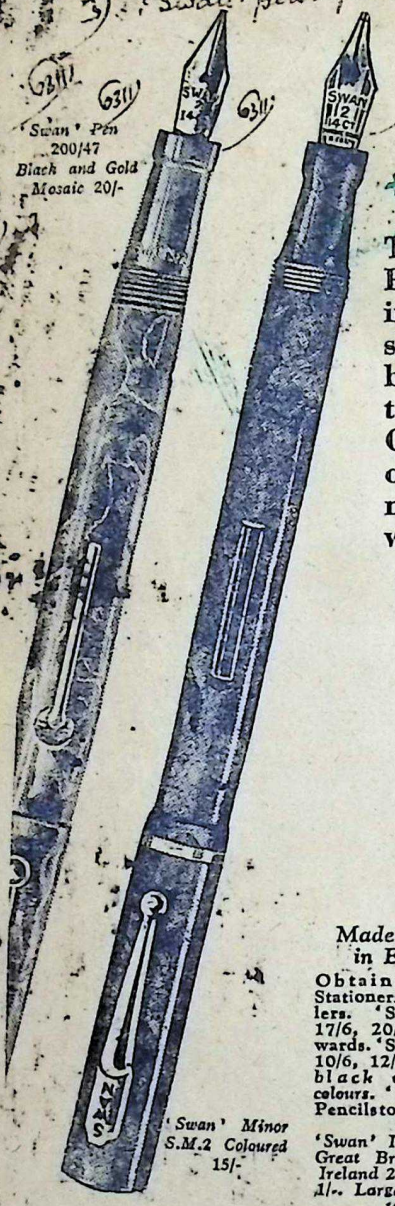

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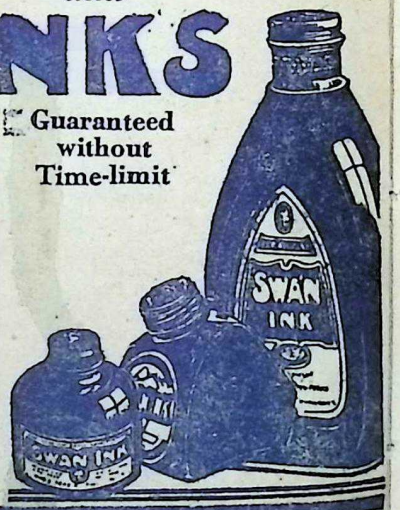

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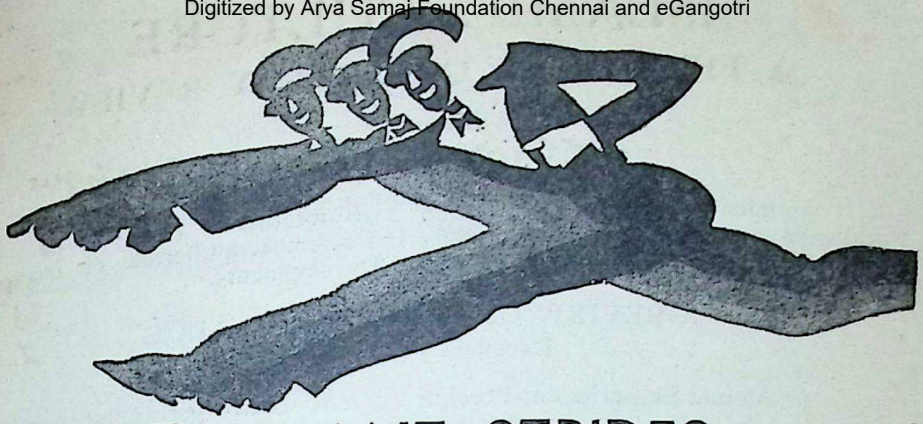

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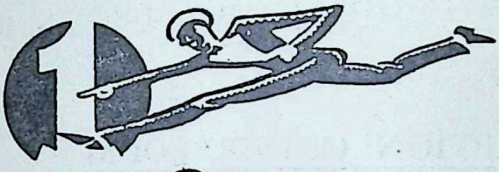

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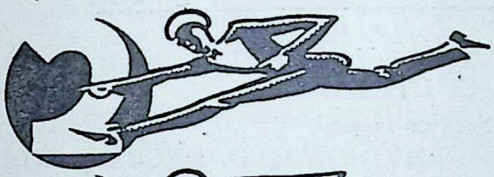

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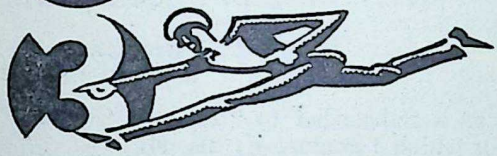

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THE SEPARATION OF BURMA

By Sir Charles Innes, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

It is the experience of everyone, I suppose, that trivial scenes, for no apparent reason, occasionally impress themselves indelibly on the memory. In the beginning of 1919, I was travelling from Tuticorin to Madras. My train drew up at a wayside station, somewhere south of Madura, alongside of another train composed almost entirely of third-class carriages packed with Tamils. The other train moved slowly out of the station. The passengers crowded to the windows to gaze at my train, and ever since I have been haunted by the memory of the dull, dejected look in those hundreds of pairs of staring eyes.

Again in January, 1928, I was making my first tour as Governor of Burma and was visiting the districts in the Irawaddy delta. I was nearing my destination, and my steamer had slowed down. All around were racing boats which had come out to escort me, and among them was a bigger boat on which a pwé was being performed. On the bank not far away a group of Burmese peasant women were sitting. Suddenly one of them, an elderly, fat, shapeless woman, rose up and, amid the delighted laughter of her companions, gave an impromptu and grotesque imitation of the dancing of the slim little lady in the pwé. It was one of the most spontaneous exhibitions of light-hearted gaiety I have ever seen, and I realised at once what a different country I was in.

No one can come from India to Burma without feeling—except possibly in Rangoon itself—that he is in a very different atmosphere and among a very different people. When I was Governor of Burma, I entertained many distinguished visitors from India, and their reactions were always the same. One of the most distinguished summed up his impressions when I bade good-bye to

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him on his departure. He said, "I am sure that separation is the right thing. It sticks out a mile."

The Two Burmas

The facts that Burma is quite a different country from India and that the Burmans are quite a different people are, of course, elementary, but it is necessary to stress them for they lie at the very root of the case for separation. But with an audience of this kind I need not spend very much time on them. There are one or two points, however, which I must make. It is necessary to bear in mind that there are, so to speak, two Burmas, political Burma and the rest of Burma. By political Burma I mean that part of Burma to which the present Reform Scheme has been applied, and which is becoming politically conscious. I might almost call it Burman Burma, for in this part of Burma the population is predominantly Burman. If we exclude the Arakkan and Tenasserim districts, it consists of the interior part of Burma stretching southward from Katha and widening out in the south into the Irawaddy delta. It is mostly plain, and on three sides of it there is wild, hilly country inhabited by non-Burman peoples—Chins and Nagas on the west and north-west, Kachins on the north and north-east, and Shans and Karens on the east. Thus though on the west Burma abuts on India, it is in fact cut off from India by a wide belt of hilly, jungly country sparsely inhabited by wild tribes and lying on either side of the frontier. There is no communication by road or rail between India and Burma. In the future air travel may make a difference, but at present for all practical purposes the only way to travel from India to Burma is by sea. The ordinary route is from Calcutta to Rangoon, a distance of 700 miles, approximately the same distance as from Southampton to Lisbon.

Burma and India

It is no doubt the result of this natural barrier between the two countries that the Burmans are so different from the peoples of India. It is true that the Buddhist religion originally came from

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India, and that centuries ago Burman culture was much influenced by India. Nevertheless, the Burmans are no more Indians than you or I are Slavs or Spaniards. They come from a different stock, they speak a different language, their habits and customs and outlook are different. There is no caste, a fundamental difference, and the position and status of women are much higher in Burma than in India. Opinions may differ whether there is such a thing as an Indian nation, but this much is certain, that the Burmans are no part of that nation.

Moreover, and this is another important fact, there is a certain antipathy between Burmans and Indians. The Burmans look down on the Indians. The usual Burman name for Indian—Kalá—has a connotation of contempt. I do not defend this feeling in the least. On the contrary, I think it quite unjustified, but there can be no doubt that it exists. It has its origin probably in the fact that in Rangoon and in Lower Burma generally most of the hard manual and menial work is left—or used to be left—to the thousands of Indian coolies who, attracted by relatively high rates of wages, pour over every year into Burma for work. Since immigration into the United States has been restricted, Rangoon has become the greatest passenger port in the world. Roughly three hundred thousand Indians arrive every year, and almost as many depart. In these hard times, sheer necessity is driving the Burman to work which he hitherto has been content to leave to the Indians, and he resents the fact that it is largely an Indian monopoly. Thus his former rather good-humoured contempt for the Indian has been apt, on more than one occasion recently, to blaze up into active hatred. The fierce anti-Indian riots in Rangoon in May, 1930, are a case in point, and in 1931 my task of suppressing the Burma rebellion was gravely complicated by sporadic attacks on Indian lives and property all through the delta.

Then and Now

So far I have made three points, first that Burma is geographically no part of India, secondly that the Burmans are not Indians, and thirdly that, however unjustifiably, they tend to dislike and despise the Indians. Yet by what has been described as a historical

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accident, Burma is just a province of British India. Whether on a long view the incorporation of Burma in India was a good thing or a bad thing for Burma is a controversial question on which much could be said on either side. Fortunately, however, it is now a question of merely academic interest, and I do not propose to embark on it. India was our base in all the three Burmese wars, and as we took over first the Arakkan and Tenasserim districts, then the rest of Lower Burma, and finally Upper Burma, it was the obvious convenient course to administer them from India, and so long as the British Government in India was an autocratic Government, the arrangement was defensible. Moreover, generally speaking, the Burmans acquiesced in the arrangement. It is true that not only the Burmans but also the British officials complained of the rather step-motherly attitude of the Government of India in the matter of finance, and it was admitted by the Meston Committee that Burma was the most undeveloped province of British India. It was probably mainly for this reason that the demand for separation was made from time to time, but it was never seriously pressed.

Inevitably, however, the announcement of 1917 and the Government of India Act of 1919 disturbed this equanimity. The announcement made it plain that eventually a fundamental change would come over the Government of India, and that the time would come when the autocratic British Government would be replaced by a Government responsible to an Indian Legislature, and the Act of 1919 was the first instalment of this reform. The question of separation was at once reopened. The Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill referred to the possibility of separation, and the question was raised in the Council of State almost as soon as that body came into existence. The spokesman of the Government of India admitted that there was a case, but suggested that the matter was one which should be raised in the reformed Legislature in Burma. The reforms were introduced into Burma in 1923, and not long afterwards a resolution was passed in the Legislative Council which was in effect, if not in terms, a resolution in favour of separation, every Burman in the House except one voting for it. In the election

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of 1928 the principal Burman party in the Legislative Council adopted separation as the main plank in its platform.

The Choice for Parliament

But I have not time to go further into history, and I pass on at once to the choice which lies before Parliament. I use the word Parliament advisedly. Burma had the opportunity of making the choice herself. She has thrown away that opportunity, and now the choice has to be made for her. Parliament has to decide whether Burma should remain a province of India, and should be incorporated in the Indian Federation, or whether she should be separated from India and set on her own political course apart from India.

Certain stubborn facts at once suggest themselves. I have mentioned two of them already—namely, that Burma is geographically a separate country from India, and that the Burmans are not Indians. A third is that of distance. The Indian Legislature sits at Delhi and Simla. Delhi is roughly 1,700 miles from Rangoon; Simla, of course, is even further. Governing Burma from Delhi and Simla is like governing the United Kingdom from Berlin. Finally, there is the matter of population. The population of Burma is just under 15 millions, that of India proper is 336 millions. The strength proposed for the Federal Assembly is 375. One hundred and twenty-five of these will be representatives of the Indian States, which, of course, have hardly any connection with Burma. Two hundred and fifty members will represent British India. It is proposed to allocate representation among the provinces mainly on a population basis, and on this basis Burma would only get 14 or 15 seats. Clearly 14 or 15 Burman members in an Assembly of 375 would count for very little. They would have no chance of making the Burman point of view effective, or of influencing perceptibly Federal policy.

The Test of Common Interest

These facts, however, are not in themselves decisive. Burma is a comparatively small country wedged in between two much bigger ones. Everyone hopes that Federal India will become

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increasingly great, powerful, and prosperous, and it might be thought that Burma might well be content to remain a part of India, in order that she may continue to enjoy its protection and share in its prosperity. It is necessary, therefore, to go deeper. The Indian Federation will clearly be a federation of unusual kind, but for the sake of simplicity I propose to assume that it will be a federation of the normal type—that is, a federation resulting from a pact entered into by a number of autonomous political units each agreeing to surrender to the new central organism created by their pact an identical range of powers, jurisdiction, and resources. The surrender involves a common sacrifice on the part of the component units, but the sacrifice is agreed to in the common interest of all, and no one will dispute the proposition that no federation can be a lasting success unless it is bound together by close ties of common interest.

The proposed Indian Federation may not be of the normal type, but ties of common interest do exist. Some of them are the result of close geographical connection. Indian State territory and British Indian territory are inextricably mixed, and this fact in itself makes for unity. It is in the common interest of all that the Indian Railways, the Indian Postal and Telegraph system, and the Indian currency should be efficiently managed. The Government of India's tariff policy affects Indian States just as much as the British Provinces since they all have the same sea board, and the former ought to have some say in shaping that policy. A common régime is required for ports in Indian States and for ports in British India. The defence of India is a common national problem for all parts of the sub-continent. Many other ties of similar nature could be mentioned, but probably the strongest tie of all is the sentimental tie of growing national feeling. This feeling, I believe, provides the strongest incentive to federation. Every educated Indian, whether the subject of the King-Emperor or of an Indian Prince, is keenly desirous that India should be united, as far as may be, into one great self-governing country.

But apply this test—the test of common interest—to Burma, and at once it fails. The sentimental tie is lacking. The Burman

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may sympathize with Indian national aspirations, but he does not share them. He has his own aspirations, and he is not going permanently to subordinate them to those of India. Moreover, the Burman rarely visits India. He is out of touch with Indian sentiment, and most of the problems which agitate educated India leave him cold. I was for six and a half years a member of the Legislative Assembly, and from my experience I should say that the questions which after that of constitutional reform most interest the Assembly are (1) the Hindu-Muslim trouble; (2) the position of Indians overseas; (3) social questions such as the age of consent, the *devadasi* problem, and the problem of the Depressed Classes; and (4) Indianization. The first three have no interest at all for the Burman, and as regards the fourth, what he wants is not Indianization but Burmanization.

In material matters the position is the same, and here the geographical factor is important. Take four typical federal functions—railways, external affairs, external defence, and tariff policy—and ask yourselves whether there is any reason why Burma should surrender the revenues from customs duties, income-tax, and the excise on salt in order that these functions may be exercised for her by a distant Government which *ex-hypothesi* will eventually be Indian. There is no connection between the Burma railways and the Indian railway system. The former is, and is likely long to remain, an independent system. The Indian Foreign Office is mainly preoccupied with the Persian Gulf, Persia, and Afghanistan. None of these countries interest Burma, and India is equally uninterested in Burma's land frontier problems. Indeed, as the Foreign Secretary once said to me, Foreign Office questions rarely arise in Burma.

The external defence of India is quite a different problem from that of Burma. For India the problem is that of the defence of the North-West Frontier. As the Simon Commission put it, Burma is interested in that problem just as much as, but no more than, Ceylon. Burma is fortunate in the fact that owing to the nature of the country the defence of her land frontier is not a very formidable problem. There are no roads, and an invasion in force by a modern army would not be possible without long pre-

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paration. The most Burma has had to fear in the last 100 years has been an occasional petty raid, and the Burma Military Police is quite competent to deal with such raids, and indeed the Government of India keep a minimum garrison in Burma, and entrust the day-to-day work of guarding the frontier to the Burma Military Police.

Tariffs

When we come to tariff policy, the failure of the test becomes even more apparent. Not only is there no community of interest between India and Burma, but there is an actual clash of interest. India has embarked on a policy of discriminating protection. She is not in the least likely to go back on that policy. On the contrary, she will almost certainly extend and develop it. She has already imposed heavy protective duties on iron and steel, textiles, and other articles. Burma has no industries of this kind to protect. She has to pay the duties without getting any benefit from them. On the contrary, they are injurious to her. Her interests lie wholly in the direction of free trade, and she requires customs duties solely for revenue purposes. Her prosperity depends almost entirely on her rice crop. Her interest is to sell her primary products, especially her rice, in the world's markets at the best possible price, and in return to obtain as cheaply as possible her requirements of manufactured articles. In other words, her interests are fundamentally at variance with those of India, but so long as she is part of India, inevitably they have to give way to the larger interests of India.

It is, of course, a weakness of federations that the interests of the part do not always coincide with those of the whole, and that when this conflict occurs, fissiparous tendencies are apt to occur. There is a recent example in Australia. West Australia, which is an agricultural country, has been so disastrously affected by the Federal policy of protecting Australian industries, that she actually voted last year for secession from the Union. There would be the same kind of friction between Burma and India if Burma were included in the Federation, but it would be worse. The people of West Australia are Australians, members of the Australian

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nation. The Burmans are not Indians. They are not, and do not wish to be, part of the Indian nation.

The Other Side of the Picture

It might be thought that this is a one-sided presentation of the case. All I can say is that it is the way the case works out. I do not think that anything I have said can be seriously challenged. But naturally one cannot separate two countries, which have been so long and so closely connected as India and Burma, without there being some disadvantages. One of the advantages of the present régime is that Burma has the Indian market open to her rice, her oil, her teak, and her silver. It is true that in some respects the advantage has already gone. The excise duty on Burman petrol and silver is already equal to the customs duty on imports from foreign countries, and the gap between the import duty on foreign kerosene and the excise duty has recently been narrowed and is now perilously small. Still I do not deny that one of the disadvantages of separation is that in the normal course goods interchanged between the two countries will be liable to the ordinary customs duties, and I have always hoped that this disadvantage would be materially lessened by a specially favourable trade agreement. Another disadvantage is that Burma will no longer have the benefit of India's credit, and that she will probably have to pay more for such money as she requires to raise in the open market.

Another objection which is sometimes taken is that Burma cannot afford separation. The contrary view is equally strongly held—namely, that Burma can no longer afford the Indian connection. It is an undoubted fact that the prevailing depression which has affected Burma more severely perhaps than any other country in the world has made separation a much less attractive financial proposition than it seemed five years ago. Also much depends on what share of India's unproductive debt and pensionary charges will be passed on to Burma. It is probably fair to say, however, that separation will effect an immediate improvement in the financial position of Burma, and that the improvement will become progressively greater as trade gets better.

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Burma will at least get control of the three expanding heads of revenue—customs, income-tax, and salt—which are at present reserved to the Central Government.

Burman Opinion

In my view, however, considerations of comparative advantage and disadvantage, important as they are in themselves, are merely secondary considerations. They do not go to the root of the problem. There are others of a more fundamental nature. Geographically Burma is a separate country from India, and whatever criterion you apply, whether that of history or race or language or customs, the Burmans are not Indians. It is now proposed gradually to introduce self-government institutions into India. Clearly, therefore, the incorporation of Burma in India can no longer be justified on the grounds of administrative convenience. Clearly Burma cannot be included in the Indian Federation except at her own express wish. The objection will at once be taken that it is precisely here that the difficulty lies, for it is impossible for the ordinary intelligent person to make out from the events of the last fifteen months exactly what Burma does wish. Certainly this period has been filled with rather incoherent clamour, but it is not difficult to explain how the present confused political situation has arisen in Burma. Almost every educated Burman is in favour of separation, and regards it as inevitable. The only difference of opinion is whether there should be immediate separation or whether it should be postponed to a later date.

There is no dispute about this statement of the case. It was admitted to be correct in the first formal protest made against the recommendation of the Simon Commission that Burma should be separated from India forthwith. That recommendation at first was universally acclaimed in Burma. It was not till six months later, when the First Round-Table Conference had already recorded a provisional decision in favour of separation, that the protest was received. It took the form of a document circulated to every member of the Conference, and it emanated from a group of extreme politicians, many of them monks, who

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have consistently refused to co-operate with the Government and who are in touch with the extreme left wing of the Indian Congress. I do not mean to say that all anti-separationists belong to this group, but it was this group that engineered the campaign against separation. In particular they engineered the election of 1932.

The position of those opposed to immediate separation is that Burma should be allowed to enter the Federation on a strictly temporary basis, with the right reserved to her to secede at will, the assumption—an entirely erroneous one—being that in this way Burma would get full self-government quicker than she could expect to achieve it independently of India. The Prime Minister made it perfectly clear that this solution was not admissible, and that Burma must choose between two alternatives—either she could separate and pursue her own political destiny apart from India, or she could enter the Federation unconditionally on the same terms as any other province of British India. This pronouncement, however, was discounted. It was represented that the matter was one for India to decide, and that the Congress had expressed its willingness to let Burma come in on her own terms.

The General Election of 1932

Thus temporary federation was the position of most of the anti-separationist candidates at the election of 1932, but the extreme group took charge of the election campaign and took the broad and easy line of attacking separation. Leaflets containing the most unscrupulous misrepresentations were circulated in every village. In particular much use was made of the fact that it was proposed to reserve the Ecclesiastical Department, and it was alleged that if Burma was separated from India, the Governor would take control of the Buddhist religion. Even the begging bowls of the monks would be taxed. By this lie the influence of the village monks was brought to bear on the villagers to vote against separation. But the victory when it was gained was a very embarrassing one, and the more moderate anti-separationists found that they had been manœuvred into a thoroughly false position. Their

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mandate from the electorate, though it was not a true mandate, was to vote against separation, but this was just what they were not prepared to do. They had already been told that it was useless to vote for temporary federation, and none of them knew what line to take. The only thing they made clear in the long and involved resolution passed at the meeting of the Legislative Council in December, 1932, was that they were unalterably opposed to unconditional federation. They were given a second chance. A special meeting of the Council was held in June last in order that they might say which of the alternatives offered them by the Prime Minister they preferred, but again they flinched from making a decision, and after a long debate extending over many days the Council ended without any vote being taken.

There is only one thing that stands out clear from the confusion, the admitted fact that educated Burmans, almost to a man, are in favour of separation, though some would like it postponed. Those who wish to enter the Indian Federation temporarily, wish to enter it not because Burma has any contribution to make to its strength and solidarity, but merely as a matter of tactics to serve their own political ends. Burma would be a source of weakness, not of strength, to the Federation. The Burmans do not belong to India, they are not in sympathy with Indian sentiment, and in important respects their interests differ. Burma would be a foreign body in an organism which, at first at any rate, must necessarily be delicate, and her inclusion in the Federation would be good neither for herself nor for India. If the Burmans want separation, as admittedly they do, clearly they have come now to the parting of the ways. That seems to me to be the conclusion of the whole matter.

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Tuesday, January 16, 1934, when a paper entitled "The Separation of Burma" was read by Sir Charles Innes, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. The Right Hon. Sir Robert Horne, G.B.E., K.C., M.P., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

The Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Basil Blackett, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., Sir Walter Willson, Sir Hubert Carr, Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Henry Lawrence, K.C.S.I., Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Clement Hindley, K.C.I.E., Sir Duncan J. Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir George Buchanan, K.C.I.E., Major-General Sir William Beynon, K.C.I.E., C.B., and Lady Beynon, Lady Innes, Sir John O. Miller, K.C.S.I., Lady Scott Moncrieff, Mr. F. B. Leach, C.I.E., Mr. H. K. Briscoe, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. P. C. Dutt, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Colonel W. G. Hamilton, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. and Mrs. Watkins, Mr. W. Stenhouse Lamb, Mr. C. B. Chartres, Mr. S. T. Sheppard, Mr. A. Sabonadière, Mr. V. H. Boalth, C.B.E., Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mr. and Mrs. J. J. Nolan, Mr. R. A. Wilson, Mr. and Mrs. William Lamb, Mr. R. C. Lai, Mr. H. M. Willmott, Mr. C. C. Fink, Mr. and Mrs. D. Ross Johnson, Miss F. Leatherdale, Miss N. Cook, Miss V. Hardwicks, Miss C. Hardwicke, Mr. C. H. Northmore, Rev. T. Fisher, Mr. H. K. Sadler, Mr. L. Glass, Mr. J. Gordon, Captain H. J. Inman, Mrs. Kinnier Tarte, the Rev. H. Halliwell, Mrs. Churchill, Miss Bacon, Mr. C. Innes, Miss C. M. Morton, Miss Hanson, Miss Speechley, Mrs. H. Landee Johnston, Mrs. Hamilton, Mr. S. Barman, Mr. and Mrs. Doune, Mr. F. C. Robey, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN said: Ladies and Gentlemen, I wish to express my pleasure that such a large and so distinguished an audience has assembled this afternoon to hear Sir Charles Innes speak upon a subject with which he is much more familiar than almost anybody else in this country. I ought to tell you, in the first place, that Lord Lamington, our President, is unable to be here this afternoon and sends an apology, and the same is true of Sir John Kerr, Chairman of the Council, and of a large number of others who much regret that they are unable to be present.

The topic upon which we are to be addressed is one of intense interest, not merely to those who happen to have special knowledge of Burma and perhaps are interested in its trade and business, but as a subject of vital importance to all who desire the welfare of the British Empire. It opens up a problem which is in some respects enticing and in some respects very puzzling. It is a more difficult question, for example, in some aspects than is the question of the new Constitution for India, and we in this country have found it almost impossible to follow the divagations of opinion that

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have been shown amongst the various communities in Burma. I am not sure whether the situation has been clear even to people in Burma, but at least it has presented many strange twists to those who have attempted to give close study to the question here. The Burmans themselves have not been very stable in the attitude which they have taken to it, and sometimes it has been very difficult to know how the opinions they expressed could be reconciled with the votes which they gave. The European community has also been fickle. I myself have had the experience of hearing views expressed which were exactly the contrary of those which the same people had previously enunciated. Accordingly I am sure that we are most grateful for the opportunity which allows us to hear a master upon this subject this afternoon.

May I say, by way of indicating some of the facets of this question that present themselves to my own mind, that there are certain considerations which have to be kept in view in coming to any conclusion. I only give expression to them now, not with a view of even hinting at an opinion, but as indicating some of the things that we have to keep in mind.

In the first place, it is perfectly obvious that from a political point of view Burma might obtain certain advantages through political separation from India. All of us must have been conscious from time to time, as the Burmese themselves were, that their voices were never adequately heard in the Legislative Assembly at Delhi, and I do not imagine that it would ever be possible in any scheme that might be devised to satisfy the *amour propre* of Burma by giving her membership of a Legislature composed almost entirely of representatives from the enormously populous areas of India. I think, however, that people sometimes give too much weight to the distance of Burma from India. There is, in fact, not so great a distance between Calcutta and Rangoon as between Madras and Peshawar, and transport nowadays is of a character which practically annihilates distance.

On the other hand, there are matters which are obviously of importance. There is the fact that in the matter of defence Burma is involved with India. There is also the consideration that a large part of Burmese labour is derived from India. We know that the number of coolies that cross the sea in the year from India to Burma to take part in the industry of that country is very large. I am not sure that it is so large now as it was, but a year or two ago there were about 360,000 coolies who came from India to do the work of Burma. Again, the capital upon which Burmese industry rests is very largely supplied from Britain and from India. There is also the overmastering consideration that India is Burma's market. Without the great market that she has in India, Burma's position would indeed be a very difficult one.

All of these things, as you can see, have got to be taken into account when any new constitutional arrangements are made, and they would at least indicate to a superficial observer that in any separation that may take place between Burma and India it will be absolutely necessary to have trade agreements which will create some security for the trading position which Burma has hitherto enjoyed. I have no doubt that we are about to be

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greatly enlightened upon these topics, and it now gives me the greatest possible pleasure to call upon Sir Charles Innes.

(Sir CHARLES INNES then read his paper.)

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure you will agree with me that we have listened to a very informative and illuminating address upon this subject. It has cleared up many matters which previously were obscure. Now the opportunity has come for the members of the audience to play their part in the discussion of this question. I should like to call in the first place upon Mr. Nolan, the distinguished former editor of the *Rangoon Times* in his day, and, later, Information Officer of the Government of Burma.

Mr. J. J. NOLAN: It is a pleasure for anyone who has been in Burma and is a separationist to find Sir Charles Innes in a position of greater freedom and less responsibility where he can speak without restraint. One of the evils from which the Burmese believe that everyone suffers is the Government official; consequently, the views he holds are necessarily evil, and any views which he is supposed to hold the Burman will oppose. It was believed that the Government, and especially the Governor, was intensely for separation, and that was good enough for attacking the Government's policy and voting against separation.

There are one or two points Sir Charles made which might be accentuated. There is one small matter: for many years there was a considerable export trade from Burma in hides and skins. They went to Italy and elsewhere. About 1917 or 1918 the Government of India passed an Act which put an export duty upon these hides and skins, and the tanneries in Northern India were benefited thereby; but the export trade from Burma has considerably fallen, and as there are tanneries in the Province, it has been hard hit.

There is another issue which might be put forward, and that is it is not yet seventeen years since the then Governor, Sir Harcourt Butler, whom we had hoped to see here today, called together a gathering of representative men in Burma to discuss the question as to whether the Legislative Council should be enlarged. The committee contained a large proportion of Burmans and several representative Indians, and their decision was unanimous that the Legislative Council, on which there were only two elected members, should be continued as it was. Previously the only elected members were representatives of the Burma Chamber of Commerce and the Rangoon Traders' Association.

Within four or five months of that decision not to ask for an extension of the elective system, the famous declaration of August, 1917, was made, and Burma was forced into the whole current of Indian politics. It has been a very open question whether the seventeen years that have elapsed since have been sufficient to educate the Burmans into the right attitude of democratic bodies.

One of the difficulties that always arises is the attitude democratic bodies take towards their officials. In prominent questions in Burma, and India as well, democratic bodies have not played the game by their permanent

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officials. This whole question of political education is one which has made some people doubtful as to whether Burma is not asked to take on too much. It is in less than seventeen years asked to telescope the whole political experience of centuries into its public life. But that is quite apart from the main subject of separation. Sir Charles Innes has shown us that separation is for the benefit of Burma. The Burmese form no part whatever of the Indian nation. The Burmese being called the Irishmen of the East, I sympathize with their view that they should have the opportunity of developing according to their own system.

I am sure we are all grateful to Sir Charles for enlightening us on a subject about which many people know very little.

Mr. Joseph Nissim (late I.C.S., Bombay): We have listened to a discourse of brilliance, and, coming as it does from so distinguished a Governor as Sir Charles Innes, it must carry the greatest possible weight with us. But I wish to submit that it is, to some extent at any rate, one-sided, and there are certain qualifications I should like to urge with regard to the recent history of this question of separation.

Sir Charles Innes has in his brilliant paper told us that the question was not one of practical politics till 1919; nobody was interested in it till then, but it has cropped up since, and, if you remember, the question of separation became acute while the Simon Commission was reporting, and had reported, and before the question of Federation in India had ever come into practical politics. When it was a question of provincial autonomy in India merely, with no great opportunity for Burma to influence central politics, to take a share in Central Government, then, of course, it became fairly clear that Burma would be far better off as a separate Province. But this great hesitation which has arisen since is something which I foresaw as soon as Federation came into the picture. Then you found that Burma, attracted by the enormous possibilities of Federated India, began to hesitate; and that is one of the qualifications I should like to make with regard to Sir Charles Innes's address that Federation in India has made the question a more difficult one for Burma to decide. It has attracted Burma and kept it from coming to any definite conclusion with regard to separation.

The burden is heavy on those who would enforce or advise separation. Matters should remain as they are until it becomes absolutely clear that a change is necessary. But when you have regard to the attitude of Burmans and to the intricate considerations that arise on either side, you see there is no such overwhelming consideration that would enable us to say that separation would be definitely for the good of Burma, because that is the important matter.

Another point I would like to make is this: that the interests of the Indian population in Burma seem to be entirely overlooked by Sir Charles Innes in his survey. If there is antipathy between them, surely by separation the Indian minorities in Burma are likely to suffer a great deal, and I for one wish to enter a protest that in this matter the point of view of India is not taken into account. Indians are not invited to take part in the negotiations that are going on. If you will bear in mind the interests of

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minorities in India, including the British, you will not be so easily driven to separation as the inevitable best for Burma.

On the question of defence one has to take a very large view. Whatever affects Indian defence must, of course, react upon Burma. Not only that, but you have to remember that Burma has been endowed with legislation of the utmost value. The legislation has been worked out at Delhi and Simla, and Burma is content to abide by it so far. Of course, if it is a matter of seats in the Federal Legislature, that is a point for adjustment. I think separation will raise far more difficult problems than you can picture at this particular moment of time. So that without more argument, I wish to say that there is another side to the issue, and that much stronger than Sir Charles Innes suspects. The hesitation there should make us hesitate here, and I hope it will not come to Parliament deciding where the Burmese themselves are apparently divided.

Mr. F. B. Leach: Mr. Nissim made the very interesting, but to me rather novel, suggestion that the proposal for Federation in India had altered the position with regard to Burma—it has, I admit, altered the position—but also that it had influenced the Burmans in their views on the question. All I can say is that if anybody will read the published account of the Joint Select Committee's conference with the Burman Delegation, held last month, I do not think he will find that any of the Burman delegates who spoke against separation raised that point at all or gave any indication whatever that their views or the views of the voters they represented had been altered by the proposal for a Federation in India. One of them took a very strong line, and definitely declared in favour of Federation even if it had to be permanent. But he got himself, as the papers show, into a very awkward position over that. He was asked a number of questions, and he made the rather curious admission at one time that he was not thinking of the future of his own country, but only of the immediate question now under discussion. He finally made the even more curious admission that one of his reasons against separation was that he did not think Burma was fit to stand on its own legs either politically or financially. He may be right or he may be wrong, but he certainly did not raise the point, and I do not think any of the other delegates did, that the introduction of Federation into India had altered the question. Then there was one other point Mr. Nissim made. He said that the Indians had not been invited to represent their views on the question of the Indian minority in Burma. I do not think that is quite correct. Both the delegations which have been sent from Burma to India have included Indians and representatives of all the other minorities. In the last delegation there were seven Burmans and five minority representatives, two Indians, a Karen, a European, and an Anglo-Indian, which is entirely out of proportion to the actual population.

The Indian position has certainly been considered most carefully by the Governments both of India and of Burma, but I would remind Mr. Nissim that the line taken up by Indian politicians generally has been that, though they will, of course, demand adequate safeguards for their minority in

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Burma, at the same time the question of the separation of Burma is essentially one for the Burmans themselves to decide, and if they are satisfied that the Burmans want separation, they will not oppose it; they will demand safeguards, but that is all.

Of this I am sure, that H.M. Government in this country will take exactly the same line as the Governments of India and Burma have taken, that there must be adequate safeguards. It has been provided for in India, and obviously will have to be provided for in Burma too.

Mr. Nissim: The point I was making was that at this crucial stage there has been no opportunity given to the delegates from India to meet the delegates from Burma.

Mr. Leach: I am sorry if I misunderstood Mr. Nissim. It is correct, of course, that the Indian delegation and the Burmese delegation did not meet in England, but it does not alter what I said just now, that the Indian Legislature and Indian politicians generally have taken up the clear line that the question is one for the Burmans to decide for themselves.

The real difficulty about separation is, as Sir Charles Innes mentioned, the question of a trade agreement between Burma and India. There is no doubt whatever that nobody could contemplate with any equanimity a tariff war between India and Burma. What the result of it would be it is extraordinarily difficult to prophesy. It does not seem at all likely at present that India would put a tariff on Burma rice. She has shown no inclination to put a tariff on foodstuffs, and I do not think for a long time to come she would do that, and that is her main import from Burma. But a tariff war between the two countries would be a most unfortunate thing for both of them, certainly for Burma, and I think it is quite clear that the most important thing which has got to be decided now is the question of this trade agreement. That is one which will have to be faced by the Joint Select Committee when they meet next month, and by Parliament when the whole question comes up before them.

But apart from that, I agree with Sir Charles that there are very important arguments in favour of separation, and I do not think that anybody who reads the case which was put up for Burma being in the Federation at the Joint Select Committee last month will be very much impressed by it.

Sir Louis Dane: I am very glad that it has been recognized that it would be impossible to have separation between Burma and India without providing for the enormously important commercial interests which have sprung up in Burma which have conduced so greatly to the prosperity of both countries, thanks mainly to the enterprise of European firms. Their market is mainly in India. It is all very well to talk about friendly understandings or even trade agreements, but unfortunately our experience with Southern Ireland has shown that it is difficult, when States are autonomous and self-governing, to enforce any agreement or any understanding. One will be very interested to see what will be the measures taken to ensure that this beneficial freedom of trade is not disrupted by political jealousies.

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It might be possible to provide in the written Constitution that for fifteen years the present free trade between them should continue, and no tariffs or trade barriers should be set up without mutual consent and the approval of Great Britain. That possibly might work, but I do not think any other form of agreement would. It would be open to either party to tear up the agreement, and that would lead to war, commercial or actual; and does anybody propose that Burma should levy war on India or vice versa? That is the difficulty with Ireland at the moment.

Sir Charles has not said very much about the defence of Burma, because I suppose in the past Burma has been perfectly satisfied to rely on the might of India to protect her. He has said that questions of the Burma frontier do not often affect the India Foreign Office. That is true of recent years, but when I was Foreign Secretary it was not true. The question of the defence of the frontier of Burma came up once or twice rather acutely, and at any moment it might occur again—with the greatest respect to Sir Charles. Burma has a sea frontier, and some arrangement will have to be made for the protection of that, unless England is called upon to bear the whole of the burden of maintaining the sea frontier of Burma without charge. Also, though some of the tribes in Burma make excellent soldiers, hitherto she has relied mainly on Britain and India, and I do not know how she is going to do without them.

Further, we have very enterprising and powerful neighbours on the East, and with some difficulty a buffer State has been kept in existence. The position in Siam now is not quite as satisfactory as many of us would wish to see. Any of you here could easily figure to yourselves what would happen if in the cause of so-called democracy Siam became a vortex of chaotic revolutions and insurrections. Somebody would have to intervene to restore order. Who would that somebody be, and what would be the effect on the long Burma frontier? There are very serious questions connected with the defence of Burma, and these will have to be very carefully considered. That and the trade situation of Burma are the two main difficulties in a separation.

Sir Clement Hindley: I cannot pose as a politician, but I would like to ask Sir Charles one or two questions. If we were really satisfied that Burma could stand alone, the picture which Sir Charles has given us of an autonomous Burma would be most attractive. Everyone who has been to Burma must have very great sympathy with the Burmese themselves. They are perhaps the most attractive nation in the whole of the British Empire. One would like to see them standing on their own feet, but I wonder whether all the possibilities have been considered.

I should like to ask how the railways are going to be expanded. During the brief period of prosperity we had, when we were able to do some railway construction, Burma received a very satisfactory share of what the Government of India were able to do in the way of railway extensions. I wonder whether Burma could finance its own railway development, which is of very great importance to Burma itself.

On the question of defence, I wonder if the frontier on the China side is

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really quite so safe as has been told us. The silver mines and the lead mines were worked by China originally, and I always looked upon Burma as having a great hinterland in the Yunnan, an enormously populated hinterland, with a very long distance to its other seaboard and a very short distance to the sea through Burma. It was always one of my ambitions to run a railway up to Namkham. We thought we might perhaps introduce some economic benefit to Burma by bringing in cheap labour. It would have been done, but I am very doubtful whether Burma itself would be able to do it on its own finances.

As to this question of Burma standing on its own feet, Burma as a nation cannot be considered a very strong or virile nation. You have on the one side a steady invasion of Indians from the west—in fact, visiting Rangoon for the first time, one almost might consider it an Indian city—and on the northern side you have a potentially large invasion of Chinese. Is not little Burma likely to be crushed between these nut-crackers unless it has the support of its really very strong neighbour, India? If Burma sets itself up, as it might very well do, to fight India economically, won't it get somewhat into the position of Southern Ireland? A Burman De Valera might cause havoc with the future economics of Burma.

I am only asking questions. I am not stating any opinions. I should like to congratulate Sir Charles on his very eloquent picture of the problem which he knows so well.

Sir Charles Innes: I will take first the gentleman who has spoken last. He said, Here is this little country, Burma, wedged in between these two enormous countries, India and China. If Burma tries to stand alone, is it not likely to be her fate that she will be squeezed between these two nut-crackers and lose her identity?

Surely the obvious answer is that it is certain Burma will lose her identity as a separate nation if she is not separated. There she is, squeezed in between these two large countries of India and China. Indians pour in every year to Burma without let or hindrance. I do not deny that some Indian immigration is absolutely necessary to the economic well-being of Burma, but for years past, ever since the opening of the Suez Canal, Indians have flocked more and more into Burma, and the immigration of Indians into Burma cannot be regulated so long as Burma is just a province of British India. As long as Burma remains a province of British India there is no way of stopping Indians pouring in in any numbers into Burma. There are now over one million Indians there, and if you leave the position as it is now, inevitably Burma must become Indianized.

That is what the Burmans feel so much themselves. That is one reason why the Burman sentiment is so strongly in favour of separation. They do not want to stop Indian immigration altogether. They would be fools if they did, because the Indians perform a most valuable function in Burma. But, as the Whitley Commission pointed out, it is absolutely essential in Burma's own interests that Burma should have the power of regulating the inflow of Indian labour into Burma.

Then, again, Sir Clement said, What is Burma going to do about railway

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development? Burma at the moment is in a bad way. Nearly all agricultural countries are, because the price of primary products is lower than it has been in the memory of living man. But I hope it is not always going to be so; we hope that the tide of prosperity is going to flow again, and when prices do rise, and when Burma again gets prosperous, I believe myself that Burma will have a surplus of income over expenditure which will enable her to go into the London market and borrow money for railway and other development on the security of her revenues.

Even on the financial side, I must remind Sir Clement Hindley, Burma runs risks in some ways in remaining part of India. Everyone knows that it is a real danger for India that at any time there may be trouble on the North-West Frontier, and experience shows how expensive such trouble may be. I believe that the relief of Wana in 1919 cost the Government of India 20 crores, and the last war with Afghanistan cost much more. As I said before, Burma is very little concerned with the North-West Frontier of India, but at present she has to bear her share of expenditure there.

I am told that there is the possibility of real danger on the land frontier of Burma. I think that I am correct in saying that the last serious invasion from China took place about 1780. Sir Louis Dane referred to the dispute about Hpimaw. Nevertheless, the fact remains that we have never had to deal with anything more than small unimportant raids from China, and that the Burma Military Police have always dealt with them. In this matter, however, there is another disability for Burma. India has to make the best possible use of every penny she can afford for her army, and every penny she can afford she spends upon the North-West Frontier. Naturally. I don't complain, but I could not even get the Government of India to build me a lateral road behind our land frontier so that we could run our police by motor lorry from one point to another instead of letting them go by ponies. Whenever I put the matter up I was always told that there was no money to spare for the defence of the Burma frontier. I believe that Burma would be better off if she had the defence of her land frontier in her own hands. If there were a large-scale invasion from China, Burma would have to rely on the British Government. But remember that the roads in China end at Yunnanfu, which is some 250 miles from Bhamo, so that a long period of preparation would be necessary before any serious attack could take place, and we should have ample notice.

As regards Siam, it is, of course, possible, as suggested by Sir Louis Dane, that there may be Communist trouble there, though I hope not, and if there is it may affect Burma. But the frontier is not an easy one, and we never have had any trouble with Siam. On the contrary, no nation could ever have had a better or more reasonable neighbour than Siam. Any small disputes we have had with her we have settled most amicably.

Surely it is not possible for us to say to the Burmans, "It is true that there has been no trouble with China or Siam for the last 150 years, but there may be trouble in the future, and therefore we cannot agree to separation." That is not a practicable line to take.

I entirely agree with Mr. Leach as to the importance of a proper trade agreement with India, but I must at once express my disagreement with

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Sir Louis Dane's suggestion that the trade agreement should be embodied in the Constitution Act, and that neither the Government of India nor Burma should be able to modify that agreement for fifteen years. If you are going to start the new Governments of India and Burma in that way, saying, "We cannot trust you to take a reasonable view," you may as well drop the whole idea of the new Constitutions. It seems to me that the only possible line for us to take is to assume that both the Government of India and that of Burma will try to make use of new powers that are going to be conferred on them in a reasonable way. If we do not trust them, we cannot expect them to use those powers in a reasonable way. You might start them with a trade agreement, but they must have power to modify the agreement after due notice.

Nor do I believe it to be possible to have an agreement which would ensure the same freedom of trade as now exists between the two countries. India has gone in for a policy of protection and imposes high protective duties on many articles. On some textiles her duties until recently were as high as 75 per cent. *ad valorem*. As I have pointed out, Burma's interests lie in the direction of light revenue duties. India would have to take precautions to prevent foreign goods finding their way into India through Burma without paying the full Indian duties. Also one has to look at the Indian point of view. The separation of Burma is going to cost India some Rs. 3 crores a year. India must make up that loss of revenue in some way, and as I see it there are bound to be some duties on goods exchanged between the two countries. What I hope is that a carefully considered trade agreement will be made between the two countries. It ought not to be a very difficult matter. Burma's exports to India consist almost entirely of mineral oils, rice, and teak. The excise duties on petrol and kerosine are already equal or nearly equal to the import duties, and the question for Burma is very largely what concessions she can get on her rice and teak, and possibly kerosine and lubricating oils. It would, of course, be a serious thing for Burma if India put an import duty on her rice, but I agree with Mr. Leach that the danger is not a very serious one. India is very thickly populated, and her population is increasing faster than her food supply. Since the war she has ceased to be a net exporter of foodstuffs, and has become a net importer. She must import foodstuffs to supplement her own supplies, and I do not think that there is much danger of an import duty on rice. Nevertheless, I do attach the greatest importance to a very favourable trade agreement between the two countries.

Mr. Leach has dealt with most of the points Mr. Nissim made, but I should like to assure Mr. Nissim that he was under a complete misapprehension when he suggested that in all these matters the interests of the Indian had not been considered. We have taken the very greatest account of the interests of the Indian. I believe myself that the position of the Indian in Burma after separation will be very much stronger than now.

Mr. Nissim was wrong, I think, in saying that the question of Federation has made all the difference. A great part of my paper was devoted to showing that the interests of Indians and Burmans are different; their customs, traditions, and aspirations are entirely different. I am certain that

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the right thing both for India and Burma is to part, and I hope that they will part friends. Every educated Burman wants separation. Let the two countries now part in a quiet, friendly way, and I am sure that will be the best course for both of them.

The MAHARAJA OF BURDWAN: I am sure that you desire to pass a vote of thanks to Sir Charles Innes for his very interesting paper on "The Future of Burma," as well as to my friend Sir Robert Horne for having taken the chair at this meeting. I am not going to express my opinion about the future of Burma. All I wish to say in this connection is that the sooner the future Constitutions of both India and Burma are settled, the better for both countries.

I sincerely hope that you will carry with acclamation this vote of thanks to Sir Charles Innes and Sir Robert Horne for their services this afternoon. (Applause.)

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DUTCH POLICY IN THE EAST INDIES

By Dr. A. Neijtzell de Wilde
(Ex-President of the Volksraad in the Netherland East Indies, Member of the Institut Colonial International)

I wish to express my best thanks for the invitation to lecture to your Association in my capacity as ex-president of the Volksraad and also as a member of "l'Institut Colonial International" at Brussels. I highly appreciate the honour of the chairmanship of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India and the presence of so many authorities on British Indian affairs. It is also gratifying to me to have here this afternoon his Excellency the Minister of the Netherlands in London.

It was suggested that I should compare Netherland India with British India. I have occasionally done so, but that with great caution; in the first place, because my knowledge of British India has been acquired only through books, and, in the second place, because, according to the tradition and good custom of your Association, the time allowed to me for my lecture is limited.

The members of your Association are thoroughly acquainted with Indian affairs, as is shown from your Proceedings in the Asiatic Review. Not long since an excellent lecture was given at The Hague on "Indian Constitutional Reform," by Sir John Thompson, a member of your Council. I hope that in my exposition of the evolution and administration of the Dutch East Indies you will find sufficient points of contact, so that you yourselves can make comparisons with the same processes in British India.

The Dutch East Indies are inhabited by most divergent races and peoples. The legal division into Europeans, foreign Orientals, and natives only gives a very superficial insight into the actual composition of the population, since within these groups there is no question of homogeneity.

In Java and Madura there were in 1930 about 210,000 Europeans. In the other islands 48,700.

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There were 1,232,000 Chinese and 110,000 other foreign Orientals. Natives 40,800,000 in Java and 18,200,000 in the other islands, together 59,000,000. As to races, the native tribes can be divided into Malays in the west and Papuans in the extreme east of the Archipelago.

The island of Java is populated in the west by the Sundanese, in the middle by the Javanese, while the eastern part of the island is inhabited for the greater part by Madurese, who have emigrated from the island of Madura. The three races of the island are entirely different in language and character.

The importance of the European community for the Archipelago and the part which their activity, capital and energy, their technical and organizing capacities have played in the development of these islands are well known.

The population of the Dutch East Indies, which on December 31, 1931, totalled 69,700,000, is very unevenly distributed over the various districts of the Archipelago. In Java and Madura there are no fewer than 41,700,000 persons, representing an average density of about 309 per square kilometre. The danger of overpopulation is more and more threatening. In the typical rice-producing areas of Java there are regions where the density reaches from 500 to 600 persons per square kilometre. The Outer Islands provide a striking contrast. With a total population of 19,000,000, the average density is only about 10·33 per square kilometre.

When we speak of the Dutch East Indies, we generally think of them in their present state—a political unity built up by the Netherland Government and containing the whole of the Indian Archipelago—a well-regulated, vast empire containing some 60 million inhabitants. We must not forget, however, that this unity, especially with regard to the outer islands, has only been established of late years. It was scattered territory that was given back to Holland by the English Government in 1816, and previously had been acquired by Holland from the United East India Company. This was first and foremost a trading concern. Its principal object was to secure a commercial footing here and there, and not the founding of a state or an empire.

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A Javanese demagogue addressing the crowd likes to speak about the "golden" days which preceded three centuries of Western domination.

But the Javanese themselves in those "golden" days said resignedly: "*Nek awan doeweke sang noto, nek bengi doeweke doersilo*" ("In the daytime our possessions are the property of our rulers, in the night all that is ours is the property of the criminals"). An absolute despotism, an unmistakable tyranny ruled in the many little Hindu and Muhammadan states of those days. The greed of the all-powerful chieftains and their agents was checked only by their fear of losing their subjects by emigration. Thus the allegation, made by native leaders, that on the arrival of Europeans in the East there was a change for the worse, is without foundation.

The fact is that the Europeans brought to the East the traditional colonial exploitation policy. Following in the footsteps of the Portuguese, the United East India Company rigorously excluded all foreign traders from their territory and secured as much of the inland trade as possible. By the standard of those days this was quite justifiable. Of the United East India Company, a well-known English writer of the time, John Harris, wrote in his book, which was published in London in 1764, entitled, *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca, or a Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels*:

"There is something so commendable in the Dutch, that I cannot forbear speaking of it. The common phrase for Holland in all their Colonies, is Fatherland, which is an expression so pathetic, so full of true patriotism, and so expressive of filial affection, that we may from thence discern the true use of Colonies, which is: *to feed and support the Country, from whence they are derived.* In this respect we excel the Spaniards, and the Dutch excel us, for there is a conformity between the interest of that State and of all her plantations, which is discerned no where else, and which is the true source of the mighty power and immense wealth of that flourishing Republick."

Early Policy

Indeed in those early days it was the usual thing to get from the colonies anything that might be of use or yield some profit to the mother country. The East India Company did not act other-

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wise. It adhered to its monopoly in face of the increasing rivalry of the French and English navigators and traders. This was a prominent cause of the Company's fall. Other causes were faulty bookkeeping and insufficient pay to the functionaries with consequent corruption. The waves of the French Revolution finally washed away the United East India Company and the colonies became the property of the Government.

If the times had not been so unfavourable the "Bataafsche Republiek" would have acted in a far more liberal way than had been known before. The Governor-General sent to India under French inspiration the Marshal Daendels, who strove to act in that direction, though he mostly followed the arbitrary methods of the "ancien régime."

In the Napoleonic period when the English managed the colonies the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Stamford Raffles, of whom my own grandfather was a great friend, followed the same system as Daendels, but in a more refined way. So did the "Commissarissen-Generaal" (delegates), who were sent out by King Willem I. to the Indies to take over the colonies from the English. Corruption was stopped, the administration of justice improved in the case of natives as well as Europeans, slavery and opium smuggling were checked. The system of "land-rent" of Raffles took the place of the compulsory cultivation and the contingent system of the United East India Company and gave back to the native farmer the right to dispose of his toil and the fruit of his labour. Trade was free and European private enterprise was allowed to participate in non-native agriculture. Liberalism, as contrasted with the system of the United East India Company, revealed the importance of well-regulated internal administration as a means to a prosperous population.

The system was not to last long. What the Government had omitted to consider was the fact that the simple native farmers were unable to help themselves without guidance and instructions, now that the pressure under which they had worked for such a long time had been taken away. That is why the new policy was of no use to them. Besides, the new liberal ideas were not yet strong enough to maintain themselves against the growth of

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reaction. This reaction, beginning in Europe in Napoleon's reign, soon caused the colonies to slide back to their previous state.

Moreover, the very bad condition of colonial and home finances required a "quick acting" remedy. This the liberal system could not give, for it could only improve the state of affairs gradually; but the system developed by the Governor-General Van den Bosch, the compulsory "cultivation system," could bring a remedy almost at once. No wonder that the Government restored this system.

In those days the method of application was not objectionable. But this profitable State production was forced up in order to improve the desperate finances of the motherland and colonies. Hence cultivation deteriorated into a continuation of the contingent system of the United East India Company, and in the end there was a primitive form of monopolized State exploitation, the risk of which was for the greater part shifted on to the native farmer himself. It took some fifty years longer before a feeble movement from a group of philosophers towards the end of the eighteenth century was shaped into a purposeful liberal colonial policy. England and France had already trodden that path. After 1850 those liberal principles were also applied more and more in the administration of the colonies by the Netherlands.

New Agrarian Policy

When at last under pressure of the Netherland Legislative Assembly in 1870 the system of Van den Bosch was abrogated, a decisive turning-point in our colonial policy was reached. The more human policy of liberalism for the colonies, which people of our day can understand and appreciate, was definitely established. The new agrarian legislation of 1870 scrupulously guarded against dispossession of the land rights of native farmers. By converting the compulsory cultivations (of Van den Bosch) into free cultivations and creating the possibility of reclaiming waste lands on a large scale the way was prepared for the European industrialist to grow tropical produce for international commerce. "Free trade" and the "open door" were the policies pursued from that time onwards. Thanks to this the possibilities for economic expansion were opened at least for Java, which in

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the meantime had been brought entirely under Dutch authority (Java War).

In the outer islands the economic expansion had to be preceded by the "territorial expansion," which constituted the establishment of Dutch authority. The "political expansion" was to follow later. As has been said above, at the termination of the English era in 1816 Holland received back a scattered and divided territory. The revolt in Saparoea, the Palembang quarrels, the Padri wars in the Padang highlands (1817, 1819-24, 1834-37), compelled Holland again and again to intervene, and led to considerable expansion of her authority, especially in Sumatra.

Another fact to consider was the exchange of territory with England, Holland's colonial neighbour, through the Treaty of London, by which Holland gave up all her claims to colonies on or very near the continent of Asia (Malacca, Singapore) in return for possession of Benkoelen and Banka.

The policy of inactivity practised in those days in regard to the outer islands yielded little or no gain. It was only when, in 1840, James Brooke saw his chance to found the State of Sarawak, in Borneo, that further interference was feared, and from that time more attention was paid to the outer islands. Several expeditions were necessary to subdue rebellious rulers and tribes and to put an end to the peculiarly non-Western political ideas of the native rulers with regard to their subjects. Moreover, in dealing with the Achinese, who were smugglers and pirates, Holland's hands were tied by the London treaty of 1824.

In the meantime the Suez Canal had been opened in 1869, and in consequence the trade route from Europe to Eastern Asia was removed to pass along North Sumatra. In 1868 Atjeh had already invoked the help of Turkey against Holland, who feared more foreign interference.

Eventual Unity

The Sumatra treaty with England of 1871 gave Holland the liberty of action that she so much desired. A year later she declared war upon Atjeh. This war was to drag on for twenty years and was only ended by complete subjection through the

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vigorous intervention of the military commander of that time, Van Heutz, who later on was appointed Governor-General.

This success led to the ambitious plan of making Dutch authority recognized *de facto* everywhere on the outer islands, whether by the introduction of direct government or by making the self-governing princes and chieftains sign so-called "Succinct Treaties," which made them totally dependent on the Netherland Government. So it was that only in the last thirty to forty years a unity was built up out of the divided possession of the Company and the territory Holland received back from the English in 1816.

As has been seen the establishment of the unity of the Netherland colonies dates from the time of the United East India Company, though the few centres of authority maintained by that trading company did not expand in that way. This result was only brought about by the modern colonial policy, which abolished local disorder and the despotism of the native rulers and inaugurated an era of peace and safety, thus creating the possibility of further economic development also for the native population.

Forced cultivation marked the beginning of State exploitation, which was terminated by the general abolition of the system in 1870. Then arrived the time for the so-called "industrial exploitation" of the East India possessions by Dutch capital and later on by foreign capital.

European Capital

This economic expansion was accompanied by a considerable investment of capital in the European agricultural estates which came, especially after the world war, not only from the Netherlands but from foreign countries also. Thus it came about that in 1929 about one and a half milliard guilders* were invested, more than one milliard of which was Dutch capital. In 1913 as much as 200 million guilders were invested; half of this was Dutch capital, for Sumatra's eastern coastlands, orginally the tobacco-land *par excellence*, and later also used for other plantations (rubber, tea, oil-palm). In 1929 it had increased to 640

* One guilder is equivalent to one shilling and eightpence at par.

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million guilders, 56 per cent. being Dutch, 19 per cent. British, 11 per cent. Franco-Belgian, 8 per cent. American, and 2 per cent. Japanese capital. From 1925 to 1929 at least 400 million guilders more were invested in the Netherland Indies, especially in Sumatra, in rubber and tea. The process of capital investment was stopped only by the present world crisis. If we add to this invested capital the sums invested in oil and other mining industries, in shipping and railways, banking, and other companies, the total investment of capital in the Indies before the crisis may be estimated at about 4 milliard guilders, one-third of which was non-Dutch.

Undoubtedly the open-door policy led the way to this unprecedented investment of capital which became the powerful lever which, in the last years before the crisis, raised the Netherland Indies from a purely national domain into an international centre of tropical produce for the world market. For in 1928 the East Indies share in world exports was, in the case of rubber, 35 per cent.; for other commodities the percentages were: sugar, 11; coffee, 8; tea, 17; Peru bark, 93; coconut, 30; palm oil, 4; agava, 19; cocoa, 58; kapok, 79; and pepper, 70.

The enormous prosperity of the Netherland Indies was accompanied by a blending of Western capital, intellect, and enterprise with native landed property, native supply of materials, and native labour.

Ameliorative Efforts

During the period of the industrial exploitation of the Netherland Indies, when progress was noticeable everywhere, some liberal leaders (Van Deventer and others) were of the opinion that the natives in their socially backward state did not have an adequate share in this prosperity.

From the experiences after the times of the United East India Company and compulsory cultivation we had learnt that without the co-operation of the inhabitants themselves nothing was to be attained. So the education of the people had to be raised to a higher plane. "Irrigation, emigration, education," were the watchwords of Van Deventer; and he secured a ready hearing from the Government. To a considerable extent, however, it was the

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economic revival that provided the Government with the means to take the comprehensive and very costly measures in the economic and social field which were then adopted in the interests of the native population. A gigantic effort was made to stir the native to a new life and improve his material condition. Very gratifying results have been obtained in the matter of the general education of the people, the system of loans, agricultural instruction, irrigation, etc.

This was an undertaking of great consequence, though some thought it necessary to utter a warning. Especially in regard to education they were doubtful whether the right way had been chosen, or whether, as in British India, there would not be too many educated and, still worse, too many half-educated people, unable to find employment and only forming a literate proletariat, ready to swell the ranks of national revolutionaries or extremists.

In the meantime the Orient had awakened. Speaking in his picturesque Oriental language, a native chieftain said: "The coco-trees, which grow in the small tropical islands, came out of the seeds conveyed by the ocean currents or dropped from them by the birds coming from distant regions. And it has been exactly the same with the ideas from the West."

The radical changes in Western lands caused by socio-political evolution during the latter half of last century, which kept them in a constant state of commotion, have no doubt strongly influenced the awakening of the Orient. And consequently a remarkable change has been brought about in the relations between Asia and Europe. The Asiatic movement was late in penetrating into the Dutch Indies, but of late years the same symptoms have shown themselves there as elsewhere in that continent.

The Rise of Nationalism

It began with a certain unrest among the Chinese, followed by the so-called native movement. About 1908 a national uplift movement arose among the higher classes of the native population of Java. It was soon followed by a rapidly growing Muhammadan movement embracing also the middle and lower classes of the population, adherents of the doctrines of the Prophet. That

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movement, however, became less intense. A Communist movement introduced into the Dutch Indies by Europeans influenced especially the trade union movement and caused much trouble at first through strikes and repeated clashes with the authorities. In 1926 and 1927, after the riots in Western Java and on the west coast of Sumatra, this movement was suppressed.

Since 1927 a distinct native nationality movement has sprung up, partly inspired by the non-co-operation idea. Without wishing to thwart the normal and sound ideas in this movement, the Government has often been obliged to take measures against it in order to prevent excesses, and to keep the movement in normal channels. The Government must still be on the alert. Its spokesman used a classical illustration in the People's Council:

"Phaeton, the young, still inexperienced son of the Sun God, was, through the fateful carelessness of his father, the Sun King Helios, allowed to hold the reins of the restive horses in the chariot of the Sun God for a few hours only. He was killed in his wild career, and through his recklessness a great part of the earth was destroyed."

We have seen that Java since 1870, and the outer islands since the beginning of this century, had enjoyed a period of enormous economic prosperity, and that the whole population had shared in it. It had also been a period of extraordinary political activity. But the extension of political rights had not yet begun. Even in the beginning of this century the Governor-General, as the representative of the King in the Netherland Indies, was alone responsible for the policy to be followed in governing the country. His orders were carried out throughout the whole country by an army of European and native officials, who had to execute only the commands of the Government. The inhabitants had no voice in the administration.

Chailly, a well-known French writer on colonial affairs, described this situation very well when he called Java "le paradis des fonctionnaires." Locally there was a certain autonomy of the "desa," but for the rest there was only a strong centralization and a powerful officialdom. Though after 1854 and more and more after 1867 the administration of the East Indies was controlled by the Dutch Parliament, in the East Indies themselves

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the population had no say in public affairs. On the contrary, the Netherland East Indian Government Act of 1854 simply forbade unions and meetings of a political nature. An expert on colonial systems has declared that no other home Parliament paid so much attention to colonial matters as the Dutch, but that on the other hand Netherland India had become one of the few colonies where matters of general importance could not be regularly discussed in public sittings.

Decentralization

It was only in 1903 that decentralization on a small scale was introduced. Then a beginning was made with the Government permitting unions and political meetings, especially with the object of recommending people for membership to the local councils. It was not until 1915 that political meetings were actually permitted, but they were subject to many restrictions appertaining to public safety and general security.

The growing development of the country and the innumerable new problems that the awakening of the Orient brought with them caused the Government to become more and more overburdened in all their duties which were strongly centralized. They began to feel that the effective promotion of local interests was beyond their powers. It became desirable and urgently necessary to hand over the care of local interests to independent local authorities with an independent budget.

The first example of decentralization in the Indies was that the provinces were governed by councils. These, however, did not come up to expectation, because the inhabitants had not sufficient influence on the constitution of the councils and because the sums granted from the budget of the Government were insufficient. In some instances in the provinces, however, and in the towns decentralization was more successful.

The new Act of 1922 for local administration largely extended the scope of decentralization. This Act contains regulations for the formation of larger provinces, which have a council and to a certain degree are self-governing; these provinces are now divided into a large number of "divisions." The official who, as a representative of the Central Government, is at the head of a divi-

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sion, is now called a "resident," and is assisted by "assistant residents." They all are subordinate to the Governor of the Province.

In many respects, especially in Java and Madoera, the work of the officials differs from that under the former régime. In the first place, the whole province is now divided into self-governing units, these being either municipalities or regencies under the jurisdiction of their respective "councils." In the second place, simultaneously with the reorganization of provincial and local administration, the policy is being extended of investing native officials with responsibility. In the outer islands the new Act for local administration has not yet come into force for financial reasons. There only a few local bodies were called into being and are still based on the Local Councils Ordinance of 1905.

The Volksraad

It was realized that, owing to the rapid rate of development, a central representative body could not be dispensed with any longer, and accordingly the first Volksraad (People's Council) was opened by the Governor-General on May 21, 1918. The idea of a representative body for Netherland India had dated back to 1893. At that time it was confined to a proposal to reorganize the Council of the Indies. This body, consisting of a vice-president and four members, all appointed by the King, was as such the adviser of the Governor-General in all important matters of State and shared with him the responsibility of making laws. In 1893 it was proposed to reorganize and enlarge this body. "Extraordinary" members, including several persons acting in their private capacity, were to be added.

The Bill providing for this reorganization did not, however, eventuate. It was not until thirteen years later that the scheme for a representative body for Netherland Indies was proposed and the extension of the Council was again considered.

In 1913 determined steps were taken with regard to the inauguration in Netherland Indies of a body of a representative character, the Colonial Council standing next to the Council of the Indies, and being entrusted with a special rôle. Owing to

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the fall of the Ministry this Bill was not introduced, but was followed by a new one, practically on the same lines. This measure finally led to the inauguration of the Volksraad, which was constituted in the year 1918. In this way the strict centralization of government and the domination of the high officials were abolished. It was thus expressed at the time: Indian matters were to be removed from musty offices into the "fresh air of publicity."

In the beginning the Volksraad was a purely advisory body, but as the budget was discussed, the opportunity came to acquire a great influence on all the affairs of the Netherland Indies. The number of members was originally fixed at thirty-nine. The president was to be appointed by the King and not more than half the members were to be appointed by the Governor-General, and again one-fourth of them had to be natives. Half of the other members likewise had to be natives. All these members were to be elected by the local councils.

Constitution Act

The Constitution Act of 1922 was intended, in accordance with modern conceptions, to transfer part of the authority of the mother country to the Indies as has been done in British India. Taken with the Netherland East Indian Government Act of 1925, which is based on the Constitution Act of 1922, these laws constitute a very important degree of self-government in the Netherland East Indies. Thus the legislative power of the Crown was limited, the Governor-General's Council being reduced to a purely advisory body. On the other hand the Volksraad was changed from an advisory into a legislative body, the assent of which is required for all ordinances presented by the Governor-General. The annual general budget is drawn up by the Governor-General after consultation with the Volksraad. Moreover, the Volksraad possesses the right to amend bills and the power of initiative, to petition the King and the States-General, to interpellate the Government, also to advise on Bills moved in the States-General and Orders in Council directly or in a considerable degree affecting the Netherland East Indies.

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Since 1929 the Volksraad has consisted of thirty native members, a minimum of twenty-five European members, and from three to five Oriental subjects, who are partly elected and partly appointed by the Governor-General. Including the president, there are sixty-one members.

As the Volksraad has only two meetings a year, mainly to deal with the annual general budget, its legislative powers are generally used by "the Committee of Delegates," consisting of twenty-one members, including the President of the Volksraad. The Legislative Assembly may reserve any ordinance moved by the Governor-General, but it is obvious that, owing to the short duration of the usual sessions of the Legislative Assembly, it is the Committee of Delegates that, as a rule, has to assent to the ordinances that have been passed.

There is close contact with the motherland. Thus the Dutch Legislature supervises the laws passed by the Netherland East Indies Legislature, apart from its authority in general to regulate all subjects. The Crown is empowered to suspend ordinances made by the Netherland East Indies Legislature if, in its opinion, they conflict with higher statutes or go against public policy. Such ordinances may be annulled by an act of the Dutch Legislature. In the same way the Crown has the power to veto the regulations of the Governor-General. And the eleven individual estimates of the annual general budget, though settled by the Governor-General in consultation with the Volksraad, are afterwards submitted for approval to the Legislature in Holland.

And finally with regard to executive power, and especially the policy to be pursued, the Crown can give "instructions" to the Governor-General, according to the stipulations of the Netherland East Indies Government Act, and he has to obey them.

Influence of the Chamber

The Volksraad is not what is generally termed a "parliament." In the first place, the Governor-General is not responsible to this body, but only to the Crown and to the Minister of the Colonies at The Hague. Neither are the representatives of the Governor-General, who speak for him in the Volksraad, responsible thereto.

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Nor is it possible for representatives of political parties to take over the reins from the Government when differences of opinion arise with the authorities in office. On the other hand, the Government has no power to dissolve the Volksraad.

At the time of the inauguration of the Volksraad in 1918, many people were of the opinion that the time had not yet come to constitute an Indian People's Chamber, but the experience of 15 years has fully justified its existence. Rigid centralization and the domination of officialdom has been broken. In the opinion of many the Council had made itself useful, if not indispensable, as a safety-valve, as a compass, as a source of information on the currents of opinion among the various groups of the population, and as bringing about a closer contact of the Government and the people. Through the Council of Delegates the contact between the Government and the Volksraad has become closer and public opinion can make itself heard all the year round.

Since the time the Volksraad was instituted there have been remarkable changes in the various parties represented in it. In the beginning there was an association of various groups of the population owing allegiance to the party. Afterwards the groups of the parties became more and more separated on racial lines. But the political complexion of each group is not very distinct as yet; as a rule, it has been possible for the Government to collaborate with the Volksraad in the interest of all, as has often been shown during these last critical years.

The Economic Depression

In the meantime the world crisis has affected the Dutch East Indies, chiefly the large western plantations, which have always been influenced by world conditions. This was also the case with the native plantations to the extent to which they yielded crops for the world market. Owing to the enormous fall in prices caused by high tariff walls, quotas and other impediments to trade in other countries (especially in British India) the export of tropical products has almost ceased to be profitable.

The co-operation between Western capital and Eastern labour

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has been greatly reduced. Numerous plantations have gone out of cultivation. Restrictions have been applied to plantations and mines, and Europeans as well as natives have been dismissed on a large scale in consequence. In this way the great European estates tried to accommodate themselves to the difficult times, but unemployment on an unprecedented scale has resulted. Also in the case of native plantations, this adjustment took place in most instances by stopping the cultivation of crops for export (*e.g.*, rubber and copra) and resuming again the cultivation of food crops. Thanks to a succession of plentiful food crops during the last few years, the natives can generally command sufficient sources of income. The shortage of cash, however, has been aggravated, and the other savings of the population such as gold coins and trinkets have become exhausted. The system of barter has revived. The economic balance is unstable. The native himself characterizes the situation by saying, "*Larang doewit moerah pangan*" ("Short of cash but we have cheap food").

Naturally, this situation is a constant cause of anxiety to the Government. There is a regular survey of the state of the crops all over the Archipelago with a view to affording immediate help wherever there has been a poor harvest. Already, in normal circumstances, and how much more so in these days of crisis, the food problem was a very difficult one in Java on account of the enormous increase of the population. The density of the native population per square kilometre increased from 123 in 1870 to 309 in 1930.

Pressure on the Soil

The problem of over-population in Java is one of the most difficult questions which the Netherland Indies Government has to face. Even today there is only a very limited area available for the extension of native agriculture, and within a short time this will be completely exhausted. In the densely populated areas there are already many who cannot find a livelihood in agriculture and who found themselves forced to work on European estates to supplement their income. Where, however, there is only a small patch of soil available for the extension of the

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estate-cultivations, these possibilities are also very limited. Moreover, many plantations have been closed, and labour possibilities have been reduced. The importance of the steps which the Government is taking to increase the productivity of native agriculture is evident.

Many hope also for a rapid development of the factory system on Western lines as a means of giving new opportunities for the surplus population. Although the advantages of a greater industrialization of the Netherland East Indies cannot be denied, and although a course of development of this kind is occupying the attention of the Government, the heavy foreign competition, the low purchasing power of the home market, the large capital that would be required, and finally the lack of skilled labour, are formidable obstacles to a rapid solution along these lines.

Attention has been repeatedly drawn to the benefit that would result from the emigration of Javanese to the thinly populated districts of the outer islands. Steps to this end have also been taken by the Government. Although the attempts at colonization as such have been a complete success, they naturally work too slowly to relieve to any appreciable extent the pressure of the population on the soil of Java. In spite of all the efforts of the Government—*e.g.*, for scientific improvement of produce, etc.—the welfare of the native population has not been noticeably raised, for higher productivity is counterbalanced by the increase in the population. But what would the situation now be if the Government had not taken all these measures? The Exchequer, which is dependent on the prosperity of the large European plantations, has also been enormously affected by the crisis. By economizing whenever and wherever possible, and dismissing officials on a large scale, by establishing various emergency taxes and measures, the Government has tried to redress the balance, though up to now these sacrifices have not been successful, notwithstanding considerable financial sacrifices by the motherland. It is expected, however, that in 1935 the budget will be balanced.

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Conclusion

The emergency measures taken by Government are intended to support industry and prevent unwanted imports and dumping. Thus we have been forced to deviate from the old liberal policy of "free trade" and the policy of the "open door" which, since 1872, have so strongly contributed to the welfare of the Netherland Indies and have made them an economic centre of international importance. For the Netherland Indies, as much as for other countries, the future is still very unsettled, because it is closely bound up with the course of the world crisis.

In these difficult times much tact, great ability, and ceaseless vigilance should characterize Government. Since the Great War the ties with the West have been loosened and our natural relations with the Pacific have become more intimate. In consequence, the slogan "Asia for the Asiatics" is significant. Asiatic people overlook the incontrovertible fact that during the last fifty years, apart from economic development, the West has brought to the East certain tangible benefits such as security, control of food-supply, public health, social service, hygiene, higher education, impartial justice, and honest rule. In this respect I believe that, like the British in India, the Dutch people have performed a great and useful task in the East Indies.

At present the ship of State there is encountering dangerous economic and political currents, which are the direct result of the world crisis. It has been proved that the liberal economic course followed since 1870 is no longer practicable in every respect in view of the uncertainty of the future. I think the captain of the ship will not hesitate, if need be, to turn the helm in time and steer a new course until safe waters have been reached.

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, January 30, 1934, when a paper, illustrated by lantern views, entitled "Dutch Policy in the East Indies," was read by Dr. A. Neijtzell de Wilde (ex-President of the Volksraad in the Netherland East Indies). The Right Hon. Sir Samuel Hoare, G.C.S.I., G.B.E., C.M.G., M.P., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., and Lady Lamington, His Excellency the Netherland Minister in London, Sir John Kerr, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., and Lady Dane, Sir John Thompson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Hubert Carr, Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Henry Wheeler, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Henry S. Lawrence, K.C.S.I., Sir W. Ross Barker, K.C.I.E., C.B., Sir Duncan Macpherson, C.I.E., Lady Scott Moncrieff, Madame Neijtzell de Wilde, Lady Walker, Lady Abbas Ali Baig, Mrs. Weir, Mr. F. G. Pratt, C.S.I., Mr. H. M. R. Hopkins, C.S.I., Mr. John Ross, I.S.O., Mr. V. Boalth, C.B.E., Lieut.-Colonel W. G. Neale, C.I.E., and Mrs. Neale, Professor John Coatman, C.I.E., Mr. O. Gruzelier, M.V.O., Mr. E. E. Long, C.B.E., Professor P. Geyl, Professor H. G. Rawlinson, C.I.E., Professor J. E. G. de Montmorency, Bishop Eyre Chatterton and Mrs. Chatterton, Mr. Stanley Rice, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Mr. John de La Valette, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. Frank Beresford, Mr. A. Sabonadière, Mr. W. D. Croft, Moulvi A. R. Dard, Mr. M. Y. Arif, Mr. C. M. Morrell, Mr. J. Sladen, Swami B. H. Bon, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Rev. R. Burges, Mrs. R. M. Gray, Mrs. Rothfield, Mr. H. M. Willmott, Mr. and Mrs. R. K. Nolan, Mr. C. A. Mehta, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. C. R. Corbett, Mr. C. E. Veale, Mr. W. T. Lloyd, Mrs. Barns, Mrs. C. Alexander, Mr. M. Wynand Wolff, Mr. E. E. Miller, Swami Purohit, Mrs. G. Foden, Mr. J. P. Fletcher, Mr. J. F. C. Marshall, Lieut.-Colonel G. E. Grimsdale, Mr. A. G. Pawar, Mr. H. Westers, Mr. A. B. Kreule, Mrs. N. B. Dewar, Miss Macdonald, Mr. H. K. Sadler, Mr. C. Mott-Radcliffe, Mr. F. B. s'Jacob, Mr. J. Cost Budde, Mr. E. C. Wrench, Capt. and Mrs. Freeland, Capt. Marshall, Miss Emily Coleman, Mr. E. Chadwick, Mrs. Lawrie, Mr. John Ruys, Rev. C. C. Clump, S.J., Dr. Demisch, Mr. F. van Inglen, Mr. and Mrs. A. G. Morkill, Mr. J. H. de Koningk, Mr. and Mrs. Koolhoven, Mr. Th. de Meester, Miss Thorpe, Mr. R. Van Stuwe, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN said: I am delighted to welcome our distinguished guest from Holland, Dr. A. Neijtzell de Wilde. Dr. Neijtzell de Wilde is not only a representative of a country with which we have been in the closest association for centuries, but he has served with great distinction in the Dutch East Indies and now occupies a responsible post in the Ministry of the Colonies in Holland. The Government of the Netherlands in those

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great East Indian islands and we on the great Indian subcontinent are both faced with much the same problems, the overmastering problem, for instance, of the relations of the East and the West, of Asia and Europe, of peoples in both continents living in worlds that invention, discovery, and war have revolutionized before our very eyes; the problem, again, of economic depression, with its disastrous effects upon communities that live by the production of primary commodities. To what he has to tell us upon these vital questions, as Secretary of State for India I shall listen with the greatest interest. May I also add, as one who was for many years Secretary of State for Air and who was responsible for the air route to India, I shall listen with scarcely less interest to anything that he may say about the means of communication between East and West, and particularly about that great Dutch air line that for speed, regularity, and safety has scarcely a rival in the world.

For more than three centuries the roads of our two Empires have crossed. Within two years of each other the English and the Dutch East India Companies began their careers as keen competitors and often as deadly rivals. At first they both concentrated upon the same territory, the Spice Islands in the Malay Archipelago. Clash after clash took place between them in their quest for pepper and spices. But as time went on they began to realize that there was Eastern trade in plenty for both countries, and that the better course was to leave the islands to the Dutch and the mainland to the British. Although, however, this was the general course of our respective development, there were startling vicissitudes that now and again threatened a renewal of the old battles.

Then, as now, it was impossible to isolate Eastern trade from European politics. When, therefore, Napoleon annexed Holland and attempted to turn the Dutch East Indies into a base against England in the east, Java and Sumatra were brought into the main current of world politics. It was then that there emerged one of the three great builders of our Eastern Empire. In the romantic and adventurous life of Clive, the British world has already taken a keen interest—an interest that I greatly hope will be stimulated by the excellent play that has recently been produced. As to Warren Hastings, the more I study Indian affairs the more certain I am that he was the greatest Indian administrator that this country has ever produced.

As to the third of this great triumvirate, Stamford Raffles, the world at large is only now beginning to realize the brilliance of his work, the attraction of his character, and the magnitude of the difficulties with which he was faced. The son of an unknown ship's captain, with no influence behind him and no money in his pocket, he became an extra clerk in the office of the East India Company at the age of fourteen. By the age of forty-three he was retired, and, as he described himself, "a little old man, all yellow and shrivelled, with his hair pretty well blanched," having won three empires for the British Crown. It was he who first realized the great wealth and importance of Java. It was he who induced Lord Minto, the Governor-General of Bengal, to support him in its annexation. "On the mention of Java," Raffles wrote years afterwards, "his Lordship cast a look

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of such scrutiny, anticipation, and kindness upon me that I shall never forget. 'Yes,' he said, 'Java is an interesting island. I shall be happy to receive any information you can give me concerning it.'"

It was he who, when forced to return Java to the restored kingdom of Holland, fell back upon Sumatra. Here again he had to yield to the persistent pressure of our Dutch friends, who not unnaturally demanded the restoration of their colony, and to face the suspicious and obstructive ignorance of his superiors in the East India Company. Twice foiled in his determined efforts, he fell back by a stroke of genius upon the mainland of Malaya; and today, though the details of his career may be often forgotten, Singapore, one of the great and cardinal ports of the world, stands as the perpetual memorial of his vision, his knowledge, and his genius.

Our guest today will pardon this reference to one of our own Empire builders. Indeed, our Dutch friends, once his determined enemies, have themselves paid many a tribute to the wisdom of his administration. Further, if I mistake not, they have themselves made increasing use of the wise economic and social policy to which he was so constantly devoted. Moreover, he and they have this common bond. He and they, whilst the rest of England and Europe were wrangling about much that did not matter, realized that the great islands of Java and Sumatra and the Archipelago that lies beyond them are amongst the richest and most important territories of the world.

Tonight we are here to learn more of their problems and their prospects. May our Dutch friends succeed in keeping them happy and prosperous. May they follow our fortunes in India with the same sympathy with which we follow theirs in the East Indian islands, and may they play their part in our common endeavour to reconcile the aspirations of the East and the West. (Loud cheers.)

(Dr. de Wilde then delivered his lecture, which was illustrated by lantern views.)

H.E. the Netherlands Minister in London: The fact that you have asked me to speak a few words may be a more or less valid excuse for my presumption in following the two speakers we have heard. I feel that there is nothing left for me to say that would be worth your attention. The interesting things you have heard, the intimate knowledge of Eastern affairs as they have been set forth to us by two speakers, must not be shadowed by any words which an outsider thinks fit to add to them.

But as that outsider has the honour of representing amongst you the country of which the economic and colonial development has been the subject of the lecture, I think that I may anticipate your consent for me to speak a few profane words. I must first thank the East India Association, which has given us the opportunity of hearing a learned man like Dr. Neijtzell de Wilde exposing before you an inside view of the lines along which Holland has during many, many centuries shown her conception of what it meant to be placed as a guardian over many millions of people belonging to very different races and far away from our own, and how she has been able to reconcile the gradual development of the inhabitants of

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those islands with the material benefits which those by nature so richly endowed islands have in store for the Mother Country. This very difficult problem is presented in British India in a similar, be it not really identical, form.

We have also heard an eminent statesman, Sir Samuel Hoare, whom the East India Association has had the great good fortune to secure tonight for the chairmanship of this lecture, an honour which I know that the lecturer himself realizes to the fullest extent. Sir Samuel Hoare, as Secretary of State for India, is better qualified than anyone else to judge what it means to reconcile those two different elements. That he is here is a cause for great congratulation, and I thank him very much indeed for his presence. (Applause.) When Sir Samuel opened the meeting in such well chosen words, it struck me that he knew how to prepare the atmosphere for the audience to be able to appreciate the lecture. His speech demonstrated his knowledge and his tact.

We have been able to follow from what the lecturer said that during all the time that our Empire has been built up there has been no conflict in arms of any importance with British interests. In the old days in the seventeenth century we fought each other on the open sea, but from the time that naval rivalry was happily ended in the unison of the two countries under the King-Stadholder, in all these years there has been no conflict in arms between Dutch and English troops in the East Indian waters. Even after the administration of Sir Ramford Raffles himself, more than a century has passed in which these peaceful relations have been continued, to the great benefit of both countries. (Applause.) Therefore, when your naval experts met the other day, Sir Samuel, in Singapore to examine the complications with which the British fleet may again be confronted in those regions, that meeting never frightened us in Holland in the slightest, because we knew that whatever they were deciding they have no idea of aggressive intentions against the Dutch Colonies. Can you understand with what pleasure I read this morning that the Conference in Singapore had come to an end—not that that gave me joy in itself, but that Admiral Sir Frederick Dreyer, who had presided over the Conference, left in the cruiser *Suffolk* for Batavia. That was a very pleasant moment for me. When we look at our relations in the Far East from a political point of view, it is a matter of the greatest satisfaction.

But alas!—three times alas!—what a different picture is presented by economic relations—relations which at one time were prosperous on both sides; but, Sir Samuel, you know that at this moment the economic connection between British India and Java is a shadow of what it was before, especially because the greatest item in that commerce was sugar. The Government of India has raised such high tariff walls against sugar that it is not only impossible to jump over them, but even for anyone who attempted to make the jump it would be a *salto mortale*, because he would see himself landed on the other side of the tariff walls in a field of barbed wire, where the barbed wire itself was replaced by new sugar factories, rising like mushrooms out of the ground there. He would be inclined to leave the country at once, saying, "Here, for me at least, sugar is no more sweet, but bitter."

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But, Sir Samuel, if I go on in this way, what I intended to be a hymn of thanks will end by being a tale of woe! Therefore I will stop, except to use this opportunity to make a very strong and very well-meant appeal to your powerful influence. If possible try to convince the Indian Government that a continuation of our commercial relations is to the benefit of both countries. Do not forget to tell them that the sugar goes to British India, but if anyone from India comes to Java at this moment he will find the silk goods of Bombay all over Java, and who knows whether the people will go on dressing themselves in silk when the situation ends in a formal catastrophe?

It is superfluous to remind you that our colonial economy has always been the Open Door. We have no differential duties on anything. The Open Door, as the Frenchman says, can go closed too. There is another French proverb which says: *Vivent les principes, périssent les colonies*; but there was also a school in France which turned that round and said: *Périssent les principes, mais vivent les colonies*. We also might come to a situation when the Government would think more about colonies than principles. I hope it will never come to that, and I know you are the man upon whose good disposition towards us we may count. (Applause.)

The Right. Hon. L. S. Amery, M.P.: We have listened to an extraordinarily interesting and informative lecture, of which to my mind not the least striking feature was its modesty. Dr. de Wilde spoke in restrained, almost deprecating terms of Holland's immense achievements in economic development and in administration. You and I, Mr. Chairman, and many in this room who have had to deal with similar economic and administrative problems in our own experience, know well how wonderful that achievement has been and how much of human ability and effort and thought are summed up in those very simple, matter-of-fact statements which he made. Also his address has been very interesting, because the problems with which he has dealt have their parallels within our own Empire and because there is always much that we can learn in the methods of others.

It struck me that there are two main problems which ran through the address—the economic problem and the problem which you, Mr. Chairman, described as the bringing together of the aspirations of East and West. On the economic side Holland carried out with success for two centuries or more the mercantile policy to which the world generally devoted itself in those days. More recently it has carried out with even more conspicuous success, your Excellency, the policy of Free Trade and the Open Door, which characterized the great era of nineteenth-century expansion. I think Java might almost be taken as the *ne plus ultra* of what can be achieved in a tropical country of rich soil with an industrious, intelligent, and hard-working population, by European capital, by European directing policy, and by European science.

I am a little surprised—though perhaps hardly surprised in view of the general modesty of our lecturer's tone—that he did not emphasize the fact that no Government in the world has done so much for tropical development by the expansion of scientific research. Certainly to me, dealing with similar problems in the British Empire, what the Netherlands Government has

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done in places like Buitenzorg and Paseroean will always stand out as a triumph of applied thinking over material nature. But all those immense achievements have depended upon the existence of a market, and that market today is in danger as it never was before. It has been temporarily endangered, cut in half, by the great world depression; but it is more seriously and permanently threatened by the whole change in economic thought and policy all over the world.

It is not India only, your Excellency, that is trying to develop in its own territories the things that the Dutch East Indies have produced, and putting up tariffs against you. After all, however friendly we may be, there is no doubt that in recent years our policy of Empire development has set certain barriers against you with regard to sugar, tea, and tobacco. The whole position of tropical territories raising primary products is going to be a very difficult one in the modern world.

It is no longer safe to rely upon a world market. You need a secure market. The West Indies and Mauritius as sugar producers would long ago have gone to the wall in competition with Java and Cuba if they had not got a secure and assured home market in this country. One difference, it seems to me, between the position of British tropical territories and your own is that their home market here is a much larger one than that of the Netherlands, capable of absorbing their products to a much greater extent.

If the world is going to turn steadily more towards a self-contained economic system, it seems to me that the only security for the continued development in the long run of your great Eastern Empire is some enlargement of the Netherlands home market, and that presumably can only come by bringing within that economic market those other European countries which have need of the products of your Colonies.

For, giving you a favour in those markets, they will no doubt demand favours over us and over India in your Colonies. Well, if it should come to that, we shall have no right to complain. Certainly, from your own point of view, it seems to me that sooner or later you have to envisage the necessity, as the free world market contracts, of strengthening your hold by negotiation upon assured markets. That means, of course, the disappearance of the most-favoured-nation clause—but I think that is doomed, anyway.

If I may add a word on the political situation, there your difficulties are, in many ways perhaps, less than ours. The problem in the Dutch East Indies is infinitely less complex than it is in the Empire of India. Moreover, you have this difference, possibly an advantage, that you have advanced later into the field of Western development. We have been bound to advance while the ideas of nineteenth-century democracy were still in the ascendant. Those ideas are being transformed, passing away. New constitutional ideas, underlying much that is happening in Central Europe today, are working their way out. By the time you come to take some of the measures that we have taken and are taking in India today, you may have a good deal of the experience of the old world, of new forms of representation, new methods of government that may help you and possibly simplify your task.

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Dr. A. Neijtzell de Wilde: I restricted myself to a short but, I hope, a fair exposition of the evolution and problems of the Dutch East Indies. May I take it that the discussion following on my paper does not put me in the wrong? I want to thank the speakers for their remarks in connection with my lecture, which have shown their interest in the subject introduced to them.

In replying to Mr. Amery I should like to tell this little anecdote. An Englishman who for many years had held a high position in British India and made himself acquainted with the situation in the Netherland Indies, and especially in regard to the Volksraad, some years ago said to me, "We are some twenty years ahead of you"; he added, "but you need not be envious."

There is no call for a more detailed reply, because my lecture was not controversial, but was chiefly one of exposition. So I want to thank you, ladies and gentlemen, and first of all the Chairman and His Excellency, for your very kind attendance and attention and for your very cordial reception.

Lord Lamington: Before we separate I wish to express, on behalf of the East India Association, our thanks to Dr. de Wilde for having come from Holland to deliver us a lecture based on his prolonged political and administrative experience in the Netherland East Indies. It is the first time in our history that we have had a distinguished gentleman coming from abroad for the sole purpose of lecturing to us.

This evening has been of particular interest to us owing to the Netherland East Indies not being so very remote from our Indian Empire, and the problems there not being very dissimilar from those that confront us in India. The comparison is especially interesting at this time when the Indian Constitution is being remodelled.

There is ample proof of the value of this lecture in the fact that for the second time in six months we have the Secretary of State for India honouring us with his presence. On each occasion he has come direct from his labours in connection with the Joint Committee sitting in the House of Lords. That is a remarkable testimony to the value of the address we have heard this evening, and therefore without further delay I wish to express our thanks to Dr. de Wilde for having come here and given us this interesting address; also to Sir Samuel Hoare for using his scanty leisure to preside over us this evening.

The motion was carried by acclamation.

Sir Henry Lawrence writes: "The general situation in the Dutch East Indies has so many points of parallel with our problems in British India that we should be most grateful to the governing body of our Association for the opportunity to hear this admirable review by Dr. de Wilde on Dutch policy in the East Indies.

"Dr. de Wilde has made a very modest reference to the efforts of his Government for the scientific improvement of produce in Java; for the scientific research conducted at Buitenzorg is known and valued throughout the world, and, to take one instance only, their work on the sugar cane has

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contributed greatly to the prosperity of sugar cane cultivators, not only in India, but even so far afield as our West Indian islands. A few years ago, when I was with Lord Linlithgow's Agriculture Commission, it was brought to our notice that the cane known as *poj* Java and its descendants made a revolution in cane growing. It is the irony of fate that these Dutch scientists have contributed to the barring of the door in India to the importations of Java sugar; but this misfortune for Java is a frequent reward of scientific developments.

"Dr. de Wilde has also pointed out the tragedy which is common alike to the Dutch and the British Governments, that every rise in the welfare of the native population is counterbalanced by the increase in the population. The increase in Java of 250 per cent. in the last sixty years may be compared with the increase in British India of 30,000,000, or 10 per cent., in the last ten years. In this simple fact of the pullulation of Asiatic peoples we may recognize perhaps the gravest menace to the peace of the world.

"The constitutional developments also deserve the consideration of our statesmen, and it is of good omen that Sir Samuel Hoare exhibits his freedom from the self-satisfied complacency of our insular prejudices, and shows his readiness to study the solution applied in Netherland India to similar problems. It is not too late for such study to bring inestimable benefits to India, and one point of peculiar interest is the adoption by the Dutch of indirect elections. If the plan of the enfranchisement of 37,000,000 direct voters for India is finally adopted, then, when that plan breaks down through the sheer weight of numbers and the intolerable costliness, our statesmen may, perhaps, be driven of sheer necessity to revert to the more practical methods of indirect elections. This device has not only been proved to be successful in the colonial administration of the Dutch East Indies, but has also sprung from the soil in all other Oriental states such as Syria, 'Iraq, Turkey, and Egypt, where the rulers have found that the safety of the state demands protection from the dangers of illiteracy and the passions of mob agitation. What would Dr. de Wilde say of a system which gives a direct vote to 10 per cent. of the people, and, if applied to his Government, would enfranchise 6,000,000 out of a population of 60,000,000? His remarks indicate that he would agree with his countrymen, Dr. Angelino and Jhr. Van Karnebeck, that this system would not meet with their support.

"On the other hand, it is clear that our Dutch friends have recognized the importance of fostering the spirit of public service and the worthy ambition of being a representative of a group. Perhaps in this device they have discovered the secret of the enigma which the rising generation has to solve how to organize the employment of the leisure of the masses."

Mr. E. E. Long, C.B.E., writes: "I should like to express my thanks to Dr. Neijtzell de Wilde for his excellent paper. I speak with a certain amount of knowledge of the Netherland East Indies, and not merely of Java and Sumatra, but of several of what are termed the Outer Possessions—Bali, Celebes, the Moluccas, the Kei and Aru Islands, Timor Laut, and Dutch New Guinea.

"I think it is very difficult for those who have not travelled extensively

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throughout the Dutch East Indies to realize the extent of the problem with which the Dutch and Dutch Colonial Governments are faced. From Sabang in North Sumatra to Merauke in New Guinea is a distance of 3,000 miles, or more than the distance from this country to America. The intervening seas shelter scores of islands, some considerably larger than some of the countries of Europe, several equal in size to the smallest of European lands, and inhabited by races of Malayan, Polynesian, and Papuan stock, and blends of all three. New Guinea is so remote, even to the people of Java, that on one occasion when, on my return to Soerabaya from Dutch South New Guinea, I attempted to give an impression of the Papuans there—people of decidedly curious appearance, with habits we should term exceedingly repulsive, and still given to the savage practices of head-hunting and cannibalism—I was looked upon as somewhat of a Baron Münchhausen!

"For Holland, with a population of seven and a half millions, to provide a Civil Service, with a certain amount of help from the domiciled community, to govern the whole of this vast territory, equal in extent to the half of Europe, without Russia, is a tremendous task, but it has been undertaken and carried out with signal success.

"The percentages of the world supply of certain commodities such as rubber, quinine, copra, tea, cocoa, kapok, and pepper, contributed by the Netherland East Indies in 1928, mentioned by Dr. Neijtzell de Wilde, must have surprised many of his listeners who are not familiar with the subject. Though evil times have come, and, unfortunately, restriction in the production of many of the most valuable of the commodities for the use of mankind is the policy of the day rather than expansion, such an artificial condition of things cannot, let us hope, last for long. With a return to freer, and fairer, trade conditions throughout the world, and a thoroughly economic method of distribution, the Netherland East Indies will surely resume its position as one of the leading sources of supplies of invaluable tropical products. Despite all that has been accomplished up to the present in this respect, there are still millions and millions of acres of some of the most fertile soil in the world awaiting development in the Outer Possessions of the Netherland East Indies—for the benefit of the consumers of tropical products in every part of the world. And with the return of economic prosperity I feel convinced that many of the political evils encouraged by the miseries of economic depression will also pass away, and that Dutch colonial administrators will be enabled to continue their just and beneficent rule in the Netherland East Indies—a rule which is endeavouring to hold the balance fairly between the interests of the native population and those of the European community."

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POPULATION AND HEALTH IN INDIA: THE REAL PROBLEM

By Major-General Sir John Megaw,
K.C.I.E., M.B., I.M.S. (retd.)

The title of this paper was rather hastily concocted by Mr. Brown and myself, but I make no apology on that account: if the words suggest a challenge so much the better, for I invite the frankest criticism of my views; indeed a complete refutation would be welcome. Population and health in India is far too big a subject to be dealt with properly in the short time at my disposal, so I propose to restrict myself to a few of the outstanding points.

The problem of human life in general is essentially biological. Man, like other animals, depends for his well-being on a favourable environment, but, unlike the lower forms of life, he has the power of controlling his surroundings to a large extent; his success or failure in securing a satisfactory existence depends greatly on the manner in which he makes and carries out his plans. Looking at the world today we observe a surprising degree of inequality in the results of man's efforts to secure a favourable environment for himself. In some respects he has succeeded in harnessing the forces of Nature in such a way as to make life more pleasant for mankind as a whole, but too often the products of his ingenuity are directed to the detriment or even destruction of his fellow-beings.

Medical science is one of the rare examples of a human activity which has enlisted the friendly co-operation of every civilized country in a movement for the welfare of humanity in general. Medicine is fortunate in being served by a brotherhood of men who attack their problems in a scientific manner and in a spirit of goodwill to all mankind.

Science is not enough, it may be directed towards destruction as well as construction; goodwill is not enough, some of the world's

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greatest tragedies have been caused by idealists; it is only by a combination of the scientific with the humanitarian spirit that real progress can be made.

Basic Principles of the Population Problem

"Every schoolboy knows" that all animals produce more offspring than are needed to replace the parents: in the case of some kinds of fish each mature female produces millions of eggs, though on the average only two of these survive to reach the reproductive stage. Among mammals there are no examples of such excessive reproduction, yet it is estimated that a single pair of rats could have a hundred descendants in the course of a year if no casualties occurred.

Man is much less prolific than the lower forms of animal life, yet human beings could easily double their numbers every twenty-five years if no checks of any kind were applied. Thus, starting from a single pair, the present population of the world could be reached in 800 years if no checks were imposed. We have no accurate knowledge of the population of the world till recent times; obviously the rate of increase must have been very slow on the whole throughout the thousands of years since man appeared on the earth.

Shortage of food, disease, war, and other forms of violent death imposed effective checks on the growth of population till a few generations ago, when new factors have come into play in the case of progressive countries: the chief of these factors are increased production of food and disease prevention.

An opposing factor has come into prominence within the last century, the deliberate restriction of reproduction which originates from a desire to secure better conditions of life. In this connection a misunderstanding must be cleared up: the term "birth-control" is often used in the sense of contraception; but, of course, contraception is merely one of the methods of birth-control.

Celibacy and delayed marriage have the same effect as contraception in restricting the number of births, and therefore they have every right to be regarded as forms of birth-control. The opposition of certain Churches is not directed against the preven-

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tion of births in itself, but against certain special methods of birth control, especially artificial abortion and contraception. Restriction of the population, by one means or another, is clearly inevitable, save in special conditions when the food supply is sufficient, for the time being, to provide for a swelling population. Time only permits of a very cursory glance at this aspect of the question, but obviously broad biological principles form the necessary basis of a proper understanding of the population problem.

Variations in Population

Experience is the best guide in human affairs, so I propose to refer to a few examples of what has actually happened to certain groups of human beings in varying conditions of environment. My first example is taken from one of Sir George Newman's fascinating books. Sir George tells us that in London 200 years ago something like three children out of four died before reaching the age of five. In such circumstances a high birth rate was essential if the family or race were to have a chance of survival.

Taking England as a whole, we are told that the population increased only from 5 to $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions between the years 1600 and 1700, by 1800 it had grown to 9 millions, in 1900 it had swelled to 30 millions: now the 40 million mark has been reached. The rapid growth during the past 150 years or so has not resulted from a rise in the birth rate, but from an increase in the survival rate, due partly to disease prevention and partly to improved economic conditions. These two factors are so intimately associated that the exact share of credit due to each cannot be estimated with any degree of accuracy. One thing is certain: neither factor by itself could have caused the remarkable results which have been achieved in England.

My next example shows how precarious is the state of a people whose numbers increase while their economic condition deteriorates. The population of Ireland in 1700 was about $1\frac{1}{4}$ millions, in 1800 it was $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions, by the year 1840 it had grown to about 8 millions.

The condition of the people in 1840 is vividly described by Stephen Gwynn in the following words:

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"In a parish with a population of 9,000 the only wheeled vehicle was one cart, there was one plough, sixteen harrows, twenty shovels, no pigs, no clock, three watches, no fruit trees, people slept naked on straw and rushes, men and cattle were housed together. The school teacher, a man of distinction, had a salary of £8 a year. The people had one meal a day, sometimes only one meal in two days. The poor became a teeming multitude, living on potatoes with a little milk. Over two million persons were in distress for more than half of every year. At least a quarter of a million were driven to beg on the roads before the potato harvest."

The population of Ireland is now little more than 4 millions, yet there is overcrowding. The last census report shows how drastic are the measures that are being adopted to control the growth of population: about 25 per cent. of the people never marry; no less than 80 per cent. of the males between the ages of 25 and 30 are still unmarried. The calamity which happened in Ireland less than a hundred years ago is a striking example of the manner in which Nature deals with excessive and improvident reproduction.

One more case will be mentioned—that of Japan in recent years. The Japanese have been making determined efforts to control preventable disease and increase the output of commodities, so that the conditions seem to be favourable for improvement in the health of the community. Yet we find that the death rate in 1931 was 19 per mille, about the same as in 1886, whereas in England it fell from 18·5 to about 12 during the same period. The infant mortality rate of Japan rose during the years 1886 to 1931 and was about 132 in the latter year, while in England it fell from 145 to 66. The expectation of life of a child born in Japan in 1931 was 42½ years, actually 1½ years less than it was 15 years previously. In England it was about 58 years in 1931, having risen by 15 years during the past half-century.

Why has public health achieved so great a victory in England and failed in Japan? The explanation seems to be that while production of commodities was increasing in Japan, the population was growing even more rapidly. The birth statistics of England and Japan throw a flood of light on the question. In Japan the birth rate rose from 29 to more than 32 between the years 1886 and 1931, while in England it fell from 31 to about 15 during the same period.

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One might well ask what would have happened in England if the birth rate had remained over 31 during the whole of the last 50 years, assuming that there had been no adequate outlet for the surplus population? Incidentally it may be observed that the international problem of Japan cannot be understood without taking into account the rapid growth of population: the Japanese question is one of biology rather than of politics. On a visit to Japan in 1925 I obtained an interesting sidelight on the Japanese outlook on life: I asked a leading public health official for his views on the great increase which was taking place in the population; his reply was: "Any discussion of the limitation of families in Japan is not permissible."

The Problem of India

The problem of population and health in India is simple in its broad outlines when studied in the light of general biological principles and the experience of other countries.

First of all, a few words must be said about the historical background of the question. The real history of India is not a record of wars or of political movements so much as the simple story of the conditions of life of the people. The population of India must have grown very slowly before the country came under British control: periods of increase must have alternated with periods of diminution caused by famine, epidemics, and war. Under British rule the output of food and other commodities has expanded greatly: famine and epidemics have been brought under control to a large extent, while violent deaths have been reduced to negligible numbers. The result has been that the population has doubled within a comparatively short time, while in spite of this increase in the number of mouths to be fed, the economic condition of the people as a whole has improved to some extent.

This is the bright side of the picture, but there is also a dark side. The most alarming facts are that between the years 1921 and 1931 no less than 34 millions were added to the population, and that the rate of increase is now greater than ever. Reliable estimates indicate that nearly 5 millions are now being added to the population every year, so that unless some unex-

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pected check should be applied there will be about 400 millions of people in India by 1941.

Two questions arise—are the present conditions of life of the people satisfactory? and are they tending to improve or deteriorate? Evidence bearing on the first question is found in the official vital statistics. The death rate of India in 1931 was nearly 25 per mille as against about 12 in England. The infant mortality rate of India in the same year was 179 against about 66 in England. The birth rate of India was more than 34 against 15·8 in England. The expectation of life of a child born in India is less than half that of an English child.

About two years ago, with a view to filling in a few further details of the picture, I made a rough survey of some of the conditions of village life in India. A questionnaire was issued to a large number of doctors working in typical agricultural villages throughout India: the figures which I now give are based on the replies of 571 medical men.

About 60 per cent. of the people were reported to be poorly or badly nourished. There was little evidence of actual hunger, three meals daily being more common than two, but malnutrition due to unsuitable diet was the rule rather than the exception. The average amount of milk consumed by each person worked out at about $3\frac{1}{2}$ ounces daily; nourishing proteins and vitamins were obviously insufficient in the great majority of cases. It was reported that scarcity or famine had occurred at some time during the previous ten years in 22 per cent. of the villages which were surveyed. The average age at which girls begin to cohabit with their husbands is 14 years, and the average age of the mother at the birth of her first child is 16 years.

The maternal mortality rate worked out at 24 per mille births against a little more than 4 in England. Statistical accuracy is not claimed for these figures, but they do give a true general impression of the realities of the situation. They show that health and economic conditions in India are thoroughly unsatisfactory. On the other hand, the rapid increase which is still occurring in the population shows that the people can maintain some kind of existence on even lower standards of well-being.

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Dealing with the second question—are the standards of health and life in India tending to improve or deteriorate?—our only guide is the official information of the output of crops and other commodities and of the growth of population.

The evidence goes to show that India has already reached a stage at which reproduction is increasing more rapidly than production, so that a close parallel exists with the conditions existing in Ireland a century ago. Economists are no longer regarded as infallible, but they are on safe ground when they assert that the amenities of civilized life are provided by the surplus of production over what is needed to maintain life. If, as seems to be the case, this surplus is dwindling in India, what is to happen to the structure of civilization? how are the army and police to be maintained? how will education and public health be provided for? how will trade and commerce fare? We used to blame the people of India for hoarding gold, but it looks as if the sale of these hoards had been staving off the evil day during the past two years. This relief cannot last indefinitely; hence the urgent necessity for considering very seriously what will happen when the next great failure of the monsoon occurs.

You may say that the world is producing more food than can be consumed, but difficulties will certainly arise if it be proposed to pour the surplus wheat into India: even if these obstacles could be overcome, the only result would be to promote a further expansion of the population, so that the problem, instead of being solved, would become greater than ever.

I have dealt very briefly with the Indian problem; it stands out so clearly that few words are needed to show that the country is in a state of emergency which is passing rapidly towards one of crisis.

What is the Remedy?

Some of you are doubtless impatiently waiting to ask me what is the use of trying to make our flesh creep when everybody knows that there is no remedy for the evils which have been described? My reply is—how do you know that there is no remedy? An attitude of fatalistic resignation will be justified

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only after we have failed in a determined effort to discover and remove the causes of the ills which beset India. We take a justifiable pride in the wonderful work which has been done in India: the wealth of the country has been doubled, peace and justice have been established. Thousands of our countrymen have sacrificed health and even life itself in the struggle to harness the forces of Nature for the benefit of the people.

Nature now threatens to take her revenge for our interference with her destructive powers: her opportunity for doing so will certainly come if we fail to deal with the new situation which has been created as a result of our own labours. What is needed is not to bow our heads and wait for Nature to create a wilderness, but to recognize the fact that in the contest with Nature we have been short-sighted; we have upset her balance without applying a counterpoise. The plan of battle must be rearranged so as to make a well-considered advance along the whole front instead of progressing on one part of the line, leaving our flank unguarded. Nature, if handled with firmness and intelligence, is an excellent servant; if allowed to assume control she is a ruthless tyrant.

It would be cowardly to take refuge in the plea that we are preparing to hand over the responsibility to the people of India, and therefore action must be deferred till the new Government is in working order. Such a policy would be justified only if we could persuade the great biological forces to halt in their ruthless march until the new Government of India is in full working order. Apart from a miracle of this kind, the administration, whatever form it may assume, will find itself faced with a superhuman task.

Another pretext for inaction is that the only effective remedy for the ills of India would involve interference with the religious beliefs and social prejudices of the people. This view has been expressed many times by Europeans, rarely by Indians. I have discussed the question with many educated Indians: every one of them has freely admitted the urgency of the problem, and nine out of ten have assured me that their religious beliefs would not stand in the way of the necessary reform in the Indian outlook on life. The resolution on birth-control passed in December last

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by the All-India Women's Conference must have been an eye-opener to many Europeans, but this was merely a reiteration of a similar resolution passed two or three years ago by the same body of educated Indian women representative of all races and creeds of the country.

Let me make it clear at once that I do not advocate any particular form of population control, whether it be celibacy, delayed marriage, or contraception. Each individual and community must decide as to the special method of control which is acceptable to them. What I do advocate very strongly is that the people should be instructed in the hard facts which have to be faced and told how other countries have dealt with a similar problem.

So long as this instruction deals with biological principles and historical facts there can be no objection: the practical application of the instruction can safely be left to the people themselves. The truth is that the inhibitions connected with the study of the population problem have been chiefly on our side: we have been accustomed to plan our own lives in such a way as to secure a comfortable existence, but we have assumed, quite wrongly, that education in life planning is inadmissible in India.

An account by an eye-witness of a little incident which happened nearly 60 years ago in India is a good illustration of the attitude of many educated Europeans to this question. Sir Richard Temple, Governor of Bombay, when on tour, was presented with an address by the Karbari of a Mahratta State who requested His Excellency "to use his high character and transcendent ability to restrain, in some measure at all events, the inordinate aptitude of the people to increase the population." Sir Richard's indignant reply was that "he would do everything in his power for the increase, and nothing for the diminution of Her Majesty's subjects." The Karbari and his friends were amazed that the Governor should have taken offence at so reasonable a request.

Even if time permitted, it would be inappropriate for me to bring forward a detailed plan of remedial action: this ought to be prepared after a thorough investigation of the case by the best brains of India and England.

The problem, fortunately, is outside the domain of party

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politics and racial prejudice. It cannot be dealt with in a satisfactory manner by experts: the question is not one of disease prevention, of agriculture, of economics, of industry, of commerce, of finance, of sociology, or of education, but of all these subjects acting and reacting on each other in a very intimate manner. What is needed is a broad general survey of the situation by a body of men with a judicial rather than a specialist outlook, but, of course, the specialists can give very valuable help by supplying evidence.

The urgent need for inducing the people of India to adopt a new outlook on life has been stated with admirable clearness by the Royal Commission on Agriculture in the concluding chapter of their Report in the following words:

"Throughout our Report we have endeavoured to make plain our conviction that no substantial improvement in agriculture can be effected unless the cultivator has the will to achieve a better standard of living, and the capacity, in terms of mental equipment, and of physical health, to take advantage of the opportunities which science, wise laws and good administration may place at his disposal. Of all the factors making for prosperous agriculture, by far the most important is the outlook of the peasant himself. This, in the main, is determined by his environment, and it follows therefore that the success of all measures designed for the advancement of agriculture must depend upon the creation of conditions favourable to progress. If this conclusion is accepted, the improvement of village life in all directions assumes at once a new importance as the first and essential step in a comprehensive policy designed to promote the prosperity of the whole population and to enhance the national income at the source. The demand for a better life can, in our opinion, be stimulated only by deliberate and concerted effort to improve the general condition of the countryside, and we have no hesitation in affirming that the responsibility for initiating the steps required to effect this improvement rests with Government."

I venture to assert that if the whole of the rest of the Report had been ignored, and if a determined effort had been made to give effect to these weighty conclusions, we should already have made a good start in bringing India to a state of prosperity. A careful investigation would certainly bring about a realization of the fact that the sick man, India, is suffering from a progressive debilitating malady whose root cause is ignorance.

There is ignorance of the means of avoiding the infection of deadly diseases, ignorance of the disastrous effects of forcing im-

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mature children to produce babies for whom they cannot provide, ignorance of the wastage which results from the use of cow-dung for fuel and the maintenance of millions of useless cattle, ignorance of the means of increasing the yield of nutritious food crops. Briefly stated the evils of India are due to ignorance of life planning.

The remedy is obvious: this consists in education directed definitely towards teaching the people how to make a success of life.

Up to a point the investigation would be simple: the real difficulty will be to prepare a sound working scheme for conveying instruction in life planning in an effective and acceptable manner. But if a new situation with new difficulties has arisen, science has provided us with new facilities for dealing with the problem.

I am convinced that if a quarter of the large expenditure on education in India were set apart for conducting well-organized propaganda by such means as the cinema and broadcasting, the whole outlook on life of the people of India might well be revolutionized within a few years. The rural population of India are thirsting for amusement to relieve the drab monotony of their lives. As was shown in the lecture to this Association in October last by Mr. Strickland, this can be supplied by broadcasting, and at the same time the opportunity can be taken of providing instruction in an interesting form.

The problem must be tackled as one of public health, but public health must be understood to comprise everything that makes for the production of a favourable environment for the people: it is not merely a question of disease prevention. Above all, the method of approach must be that which has characterized public health work throughout the world; it must be one in which scientific methods are applied in a spirit of goodwill to all mankind.

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, February 27, 1934, when a paper entitled "Health and Population in India: the Real Problem," was read by Major-General Sir John Megaw, K.C.I.E., M.B., I.M.S. (retd.). Sir George Newman, K.C.B., M.D., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

Sir John Kerr, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Malcolm Seton, K.C.B., Sir Reginald Glancy, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Duncan Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir Albion Banerji, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Leonard Rogers, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., C.B., etc., Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Charles Innes, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Philip Hartog, K.B.E., C.I.E., Sir Ross Barker, K.C.I.E., C.B., Lieut.-Colonel Sir Cusack and Lady Walton, Lady Bennett, Lady Walker, Lady Abbas Ali Baig, Mr. R. A. Butler, M.P., Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.P., Mr. F. G. Pratt, C.S.I., Mr. H. M. R. Hopkins, C.S.I., Mr. O. Gruzelier, M.V.O., Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mrs. Weir, Swami B. H. Bon, Mrs. Damry, Mrs. D. Chaplin, Miss M. Hooper, Mr. T. R. V. Chari, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. Sunder Kabadi, Mr. H. K. Sadler, Mr. R. A. MacLeod, Mr. N. N. Ghosh, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mrs. Dewar, Rev. E. S. and Mrs. Carr, Miss C. K. Cumming, Miss Price-Simpson, Mrs. Gray, Mr. C. R. Corbett, Miss Leatherdale, Miss Hanson, Dr. and Mrs. T. T. Thomson, Mrs. B. D. Bery, Miss E. Macadam, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen,—It is very kind of the East India Association to invite me to their meeting to-night, and I am very pleased to come. I looked up my records, and I discovered that it is now about fifty years since my father was invited by your Association to come and lecture here on "Water Storage and Irrigation in India." He had only been a private traveller in the East, but he had been much interested in questions of irrigation. He became a friend of Sir Arthur Cotton and was drawn into something in which he was not much more than an amateur, but a much interested amateur.

In the second place, I am very pleased to be here to preside for my distinguished friend, Sir John Megaw. Not only had he, as we all remember, a long and useful career in India, but we are now happy in having him back in England as President of the Medical Board at the India Office, and I am quite sure that we shall listen with the interest and attention which it deserves to what he has to say to us.

Major-General Sir JOHN MEGAW, K.C.I.E., M.B., I.M.S.: Let me first of all express the sense of honour which I feel at being invited to address you this evening, and especially at the fact that Sir George Newman has consented to come and preside over the meeting.

The paper was then read.

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The CHAIRMAN: I am sure that we shall all feel that Sir John Megaw has placed us greatly in his debt by his paper to-day, by his lucidity and simplicity, by the fact that he deals with some of the fundamental issues of life not only in India but here also.

At first sight this problem of the population, as he has presented it, and as we all are witnesses of it in India, may strike us as novel, but a little reflection will show us that it is a very ancient problem, and one which has been met with on many occasions in the long history of mankind, and I doubt not that with the exercise of the suggestions which he has made to us, it may be solved or at least ameliorated in India.

You will not forget that we have experienced this problem in England. In 1348 the population of England was four millions, and in 1349 it was only two millions, because the plague had slain half the population, and a great deal of the subsequent history of England to-day in regard to wages and land tenure was permanently affected by this extraordinary situation.

Very much later, in modern times, in 1800, the population was nine millions, a growth, you see, over four or five centuries which was extremely slow. To-day it is between forty and forty-two millions. There are no doubt too many of us on this little island in a northern sea, and yet we have contrived, as our forefathers before us have contrived, to produce the healthiest nation in the world. We have done that, not because of medical science so much as because of social circumstance, which has been controlled by Government and by the individual, combined with education.

We learned lessons. England learned how to control disease, not because she has any particular genius in that regard, but because her history has taught her how to control disease, and her people have grown up more and more accustomed to such control. I suppose I am saying what is true, I believe it to be true—we have the healthiest nation in the world at the present time because the people are socially circumstanced more favourably than others, and by their growing experience and education and by the understanding of the common people of the art of living they have been able to survive and raise their nine millions to forty millions in a hundred and twenty-five years. They have been able to reduce their high mortalities by a recognition of the facts of nature, and a more and more biological understanding of those facts.

I have endeavoured to point out for many years to this country that the conditions of the health of its people are dependent not upon drugs but upon a fuller understanding of what I call for short "the art of living." I could give many illustrations of this, but they would probably only bore you, and they would not be exactly comparable to the problem which has been raised by Sir John Megaw. I read this paper with very great pleasure, and we have heard it with still more pleasure. The living voice and the living personality of a distinguished medical officer of the Government of India have added to the printed word.

It is a problem which seems to me to be threefold. The problem is a population so large that it is higher than the production of the nation is at present supporting. Secondly, it is to be solved mainly by the education of the people as a whole, and Sir John gives various illustrations where

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education is sadly needed. He would be the first to admit the extreme difficulties in India, which has not had the advantages which the nineteenth century gave to England or anything comparable to them. We owe a very great deal to the early Victorians and to the nineteenth century. They built a solid foundation of health for us. The position in which England stands to-day is more dependent upon the Act of 1870 for the education of the people than many of the Public Health Acts which Parliament has since passed.

Thirdly, we must not be unduly depressed in regard to the ravages of disease. We have seen the great triumphs of science and of social reform, and they go hand in hand, changing the face of England to an incredible degree even in our own lifetime. If you want to see leprosy, you must leave England and go where you can find it. If you want to see plague, you must leave England and go where you can find it. If you want to see cholera, you must leave England and go where you can find it. Yet those three diseases have in the past swept England and brought it well-nigh to a conclusion. Four times in the nineteenth century the visitations of cholera impressed the English people so profoundly that we set to work to mend our ways, clean our water, and behave ourselves a little better than we had done formerly. Leprosy, plague, cholera—three diseases which India knows all too well to-day to its terrible cost—have been banished from England and are now curiosities in this country.

What man has done, man can do with those strange but all-powerful factors that Sir John Megaw mentioned in his lecture—knowledge, understanding, and goodwill. Then his actual recommendation commends itself to me as being a very sound proposal, one in which he and I have to indulge in our official work very often—namely, go and find out, enquire. So he says here, "What is needed is a broad general survey of the situation by a body of men with a judicial rather than a specialist outlook." I am with him entirely. That is the kind of way in which to begin to approach this vast human problem which so many English people overlook.

I am glad to be here to hear the President of the Medical Board of the India Office and the late Sanitary Commissioner of the Government in India; I am glad to hear from him of his appreciation of this splendid call to us all, for ourselves as well as for our fellow-citizens in India—namely, further education in the art of living, and an appropriate inquiry in India as to the exact situation in respect of maternity, birth control, and malnutrition, and the means for improving the public health and the prevention of avoidable disease.

Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.P.: It was impossible to listen to Sir John Megaw's exceedingly lucid and interesting address without one's mind bristling with questions one wanted to put to him. So I shall proceed at once to put as many as I dare allow myself without taking up more time than is fitting for any one member to take up.

The first question one wants to ask him was led up to by what was almost the concluding sentence of his address—namely, a quotation from the Linlithgow Report, which ended with the words: "The responsibility

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for initiating the steps required to effect this improvement [in the general condition of the countryside] rests with Government."

What I should like to hear from him is, what steps exactly would he like the Government to take? He did indicate one step. He suggested the necessity for a survey by men of judicial minds, who should hear expert evidence. I think many of us would like to see such a survey, but, if I may put the doubt quite brutally which I think is in some of our minds: What is the use of a survey unless you have a Government that is willing to carry out the recommendations of the survey, even if those recommendations should prove to be unpopular?

Therefore I should like to ask him to indicate perhaps the lines of the survey and the questions it should investigate.

Another point of his speech I should like to hear further elucidated concerns how and in what way information should be given that will tend to the limiting of this remarkable but menacing increase in the population.

Sir George Newman suggested that if India only chose, she could attack the problems of leprosy, plague, and cholera as effectually as we in this country did. But unfortunately Sir John Megaw's address suggests the conclusion that if India did that, they would only make the problem worse, because instead of adding ten millions to the population in ten years, if the enormous present mortality was decreased, they might add twenty millions.

Therefore I think all he has said suggests this: that the whole problem of population in India turns round the question of how the increase of population can be slowed down. As Sir John said, there are various ways of birth control. It may be through celibacy or postponement of the age of marriage, but when the problem comes in a concrete form to a doctor working in India, is the doctor, if he is working in the Government service, now at liberty to tell a woman whose health necessitates it, how she can prevent having another child? And if not, does he not think that the first constructive step the Government should take is to make it plain that it is not only the right of a doctor to give such advice, but his duty? I would like to know this. What should be the exact lines of this survey, assuming you have a Government courageous enough to carry out its recommendations?

My second question is, what does the Government at present do in this matter of encouraging information on birth control?

Does Sir John agree with a very interesting remark in the Report of the Census Commissioner, Dr. Hutton, to this effect, that it is doubtful whether the luxury of Baby Weeks in India should be longer permitted unless they are accompanied by information in methods of contraception. Are Government medical agencies and hospitals now permitted to give that information, and if not, is that not the very first step, that the Governments in India must surely face up to the question? Can they see any way of solving the economic difficulty, the frightful pressure of population upon the means of subsistence or all the questions that arise out of child marriage and bad midwifery, and so on, unless they are willing to grasp the nettle in both hands and permit and encourage their accredited representa-

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tives in India—doctors, nurses, midwives, teachers—to give the information to the people which is requisite for their health; information about methods of contraception where the health of the woman requires it; information as to why child marriage is detrimental to health; active work to improve conditions of midwifery; information as to the detrimental effects of purdah in its extreme forms.

The real obstacle is that the moment a Government or Governments find that information on any of these subjects is likely to cause offence in any quarter, however intellectually contemptible, or to arouse agitation in any quarter, immediately they subside and a policy of hush-hush prevails, and their representatives are not allowed to speak the truth to the people even when every intelligent man or woman knows that the knowledge of that truth is essential if these evils, which are cutting at the vitals of the Indian people—over-population, child marriage, and so on—are to be stopped.

Dr. T. T. Thomson: In rising to represent a missionary body, I have not had time to obtain representative views from the various societies, and I really stand here because I have been privileged to live and work in the Madras Presidency and in the Mysore State for about twenty-five years, and perhaps to some extent can represent the views of the medical missions working in India. We thank you, sir, and the Association for giving us the opportunity and the honour of representing some views here this afternoon.

We really plead guilty to Sir John Megaw's accusation of helping to bring on this "population crisis" in India, because the medical missionaries in the various hospitals that they seek to manage with the very efficient help of Indian Christian doctors, do all they can to make people alive out there, and to keep those who are alive still more alive, whether they are diseased or weaklings, or strong and simply needing surgical attention. But still that is the duty of medical men all over the world.

I will divide my remarks into two headings. First, with regard to restricting the population. Some aspects of birth control are taught in our mission hospitals, where occasion arises, by those who are competent to deal with the subject. In the matter of voluntary sterilization also we are able to give advice. Quite often when we get patients coming for the Cæsarean operation, we are able to give that advice, and if the patients or their friends accept it, sterilization is performed. We could cite many cases where that has been done, and where life has been made much happier for the whole family after voluntary sterilization has been performed. These cases might be called extreme, but, in a population of three hundred and fifty millions, they are unfortunately all too common. Delayed marriage is a matter I should like to refer to, because I think it would be correct to say that in the Christian community the average ages of cohabitation and the birth of the first child are about two years higher than the figures Sir John Megaw mentioned, fourteen and sixteen. In the Christian community I think the figures could be put at sixteen for cohabitation and eighteen for the birth of the first child.

It seems to me from my experience in India that this matter is most

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urgent with the rural population. After all, 90 per cent. of the people of India live in the villages. The educated Indian knows by education and by his own common sense that delayed marriage is important not only to the mother but for the health of the offspring, and for the mother that at the tender age of sixteen she should not bear her first child. I think it is therefore not amongst the educated Indians that we need to stress the subjects of birth control and delayed marriage or even voluntary sterilization, but amongst the vast masses of India, the uneducated in the villages. That is being striven for in our various high schools, where we teach hygiene and biological education. We are training nurses, and we do not mind if those nurses whom we train get married, because they take with them the knowledge of childbirth into the villages.

I pass on to the second heading, how to support the existing population. There are not the ravages of famine, pestilence, and war, fortunately, that existed in past generations. Missionaries are out to help Indians in as understanding a way as possible and with goodwill to assist them to plan a more effective life—that "life planning" which is so lacking in the Indian village. Agriculture must be improved and brought up to date, and farmers and field workers taught accordingly. One method of imparting such instruction is through rural reconstruction centres.

A survey has been undertaken in a small way by the missionary bodies in India along the lines of co-operation in rural community work. The rural uplift is stated to be of the very essence of the Gospel of Christ, and therefore an integral part of the Christian message. Interest in rural problems has been stimulated by the Royal Commission on Agriculture, referred to by Sir John. The heart of the matter is quoted by him from the Commission's report.

Interest has also been stimulated by the work of Mr. Brayne in rural uplift at Gurgaon, the Moga School, in relating education to rural needs, by the development of co-operative credit societies, and by the work of men like K. T. Paul, Samuel Higginbotham, and others. Dr. Butterfield, the counsellor on rural work of the International Missionary Council, gave the idea of the Rural Reconstruction Unit, which is thus defined: "A Rural Reconstruction Unit is a group of contiguous villages, ten or fifteen in number, in which as full a programme as possible of rural reconstruction service shall be made available to all the people. All agencies for education, health, economic and social progress will be urged to pool their efforts, through some form of Community Council, in an attempt to get the people to co-operate in building a new type of Indian rural community. The Church must lead this endeavour to make the enterprise thoroughly Christian in spirit."

An International Missionary Conference, which met in Jerusalem four years ago, added in their Report: "The only practicable way is to select suitable reconstruction centres, and demonstrate in them an intensive form of work that may eventually spread over wide areas, as the Church grows in power and influence."

That has been put into practice within the last three years, and there are about a dozen of these Rural Reconstruction Centres working now in India

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with very real benefit. Our efforts as a missionary body are comparatively small, but we seek to help and to forward the great example which the Government of India has shown, the rule of justice which has been brought into India. Our medical missions supplement the magnificent work of the Indian Medical Service, which is manned by both Europeans and Indians.

Sir LEONARD ROGERS: I have listened with somewhat mingled feelings to the paper of my old friend Sir John Megaw, because I cannot help wondering if, after having spent my life in finding new forms of treatment and prevention of cholera, dysentery, liver abscess, etc., I might not have been better employed in finding a lethal gas which would put the excess population out of their misery. However, as I have often felt that one of the greatest disappointments of a research worker is that when he does make discoveries they can rarely be applied in India on any large scale, because the majority of the people live in villages where they cannot obtain or afford to employ a medical man, so I now have the consolation that I have not saved as many people as I might otherwise have done.

We control epidemics to a large extent, but I am not sanguine as to the control of all cholera outbreaks. We have not had very big epidemics lately owing to good monsoons; so we have been very fortunate in recent years. In the famine years 1875 and 1892 and 1900 we had big cholera epidemics, which are likely to recur under similar conditions.

The greatest Viceroy I have served under, Lord Curzon, showed his wisdom in taking up the question of improving agriculture. He started the Agricultural College at Pusa to improve food supplies. That is the best way to deal with the problem, as what we want to do is to increase our food supplies for this increased population, and this is gradually being done.

Sir John Megaw referred to that panacea of all our ills—education. That, of course, is a very wise and safe thing to fall back on. We do really want in India a great extension of the primary education which now is being attempted. But to find money for that we shall have to curtail the education of the enormous number of people turned out of the Indian Universities who can find no work to do.

The real crux of the question is finance. That fact was brought out very well some years ago by my old friend Sir William Osler, who wrote a letter to a medical journal, saying that in Panama at a cost of only £1 per head malaria had been nearly stamped out, so why could not this be also done in India?

I wrote to my friend to point out that in India, in my time, in an ordinary small municipality, the yearly income was one rupee per head, 1s. 4d. a year, and for that they had to keep up the roads, hospitals, and sanitation, and carry on education. There is one hopeful point for Sir John Megaw: he had many conversations with the members of the Legislative Council in India to inoculate his ideas into their minds. So let us hope that our legislators will now turn their hands to some practical method of working out this problem, which will be of much more benefit to their fellow-countrymen than the showers of rhetoric in which they indulge.

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SIR ALBION BANERJI: This to my mind is one of those happy and helpful occasions when we are privileged, under the auspices of the East India Association, to listen to an address given by a distinguished public servant from India on a subject which is non-controversial and non-political.

I must add my word of tribute to the author of the paper for the lucidity with which he has explained the vast complexity of the problem connected with the population of India. He has not been critical towards the Government of India nor towards the people of India, and I dare say, if he had attempted to do so, he would have found much that he could have said in those directions. He has been most sympathetic, and has touched those vital points which relate to our social and economic life. The statistics he has quoted give much food for thought; for instance, this vast increase at the rate of thirty-five millions per decade, the annual increase of five millions, and by deduction from those figures—namely, one million six hundred thousand—which we lose per annum, bring to our minds many problems for which it is very difficult to find an immediate solution.

To my mind the increase in the population of India is due to peace and tranquillity and security of life, brought about by British rule and the slightly higher standard of living amongst all classes. It is not, as Charles Pell has said in his standard work on the subject, by the working of the law, "The higher the grade, the slower the reproduction." But the effective increase is not recorded at any stage, either during the census operations or during the periodical registration of vital statistics in the rural parts of India, for which we District Officers were responsible. The unfit and the sick disappear at each successive stage, and so the very large increase in the population need not alarm us to the extent that it otherwise would do.

Further I venture to say that the vital statistics returns of India are the most unreliable of all the statistics prepared by the Government. I would give you my own experience while I was serving in the Tanjore district, a fairly healthy district and most populous. Cholera was raging in three parts of the district, and carried away thousands of people. For the period relating to a quarter succeeding the months when cholera was raging, the return had to be prepared by the clerks in the Collector's office, and when the returns were submitted the very clever Brahmin clerk, who was a graduate in mathematics, repeated the figures of the previous quarter. These mistakes do occur, and I venture to think that our vital statistics returns, in spite of the fact that registration is compulsory, are most unreliable, so we need not be too alarmed at these enormous figures that are shown under the increase of births, of infant mortality, or the increase of deaths.

I would also like to say that in matriarchal states the increase goes with economic growth, whereas in backward localities the population is stationary or decreases, and such a tendency is due to infanticide, poverty, and disease. In Kashmir, for instance, tuberculosis and venereal disease are prevalent amongst the small population of three and a half millions to an alarming extent. In India we cannot say with any certainty that every mouth has got a pair of hands to work for it. In some parts of India that is so; in most parts of India it is not the case.

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Nor is it possible for us to find out the effective vitality of the people of India from the statistics, the reports of hospitals, or of the public health department. The only rough-and-ready way to find that out would be to adopt the formula of Rubens, who said, Take the square of the death-rate and divide it by the birth-rate. If you do that you will find that the effective vitality of the people of India to-day is extremely low.

Community and caste groups are fettered by customs of birth and marriage. Hence infant mortality shows no signs of decrease, in spite of the spread of education and improved public health administration.

I agree most heartily to the suggestions as to remedies proposed by the learned author of the paper. I would add that no National Government in India could apply all these remedies, and a great deal will depend upon the people acting in co-operation with the Government. We cannot expect to have in India dictatorships as in Russia, Germany, or Italy.

The raising of the age of consent of or the age of marriageable girls, thus decreasing the number of immature mothers, to my mind will touch only the fringe of the problem. Natural conditions cannot be altered. For instance, in India 36 per cent. of girls attain the age of puberty at thirteen, as against 10 per cent. in Europe. I would therefore suggest that in addition to the remedies that have been proposed, we Indians should also very sincerely consider the following measures: (1) Reform of our social system; (2) the emancipation of our women, who for the most part are unwilling mothers; and (3) the increase of agricultural production to reduce the percentage of half-fed.

I may say with a certain amount of confidence that the estimate given by Sir William Hunter in the eighties as regards the half-fed population in India still remains good through the length and breadth of the country. We should also have eugenic education, and, furthermore, propaganda for birth control and the prevention of venereal disease. We should have clinics, and I may say with great pride that Mysore has been the first part of India to introduce clinics for birth control.

In this country we have had recently a cinema picture called "Damaged Lives," and I believe that it has produced a deep impression upon the people. We should have similar cinema propaganda in regard to tuberculosis, malaria, venereal disease and birth control. I may add that the prediction of Malthus, that the world will die of starvation if reproduction is unrestrained, may be well kept in view, for though we need not be too pessimistic, we are face to face in India with a grave danger on account of the spread of disease and want of education. If India is confronted with this population problem without finding a solution to mitigate its evil effects, the destruction of our whole population and culture will have to be prevented with all the earnestness and sincerity at our command.

Sir JOHN MEGAW: I am sorry that Sir George Newman has had to leave for a lecturing engagement. I wish to thank him for the kind words that he said about me. I agree with him that I have placed you under a debt of gratitude, but perhaps not for the same reasons as he gave. I think that the speech of Sir George Newman and the subsequent discussion have been

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of so interesting a nature that you really ought to be grateful to me for having been the cause of bringing them about. I was rather pleased at Sir George's optimistic outlook with regard to the problem of India. I think there really are grounds for optimism in spite of the extreme difficulties of the problem.

Miss Rathbone laid about me in good earnest. She rather ingenuously produced a stick and placed it in my hand, with the suggestion that I should proceed to beat the Government with it. Miss Rathbone knows quite well that I am not allowed to beat the Government, but, even if I were, I would be inclined to suggest to her that she attaches too much importance to what Governments can do in matters of this kind. You will find, if Government indulges in legislation which is in advance of the public opinion and public demand, very little benefit results from it.

This is a case for stirring up public opinion, and when public opinion is stirred up, then Government, I have not the slightest doubt, will respond to the demand of public opinion. I think if Government were so ill-advised as to introduce advanced legislation of the kind that I personally would like to see introduced and Miss Rathbone would like to see introduced, the probability is that the result would be much the same as in the case of prohibition in America and the Sarda Act.

The same thing applies to Miss Rathbone's very pertinent criticism about Baby Weeks. There again you cannot go in advance of public opinion. I quite agree that we are promoting the increase of the population by saving life and by preventing disease. We ought at the same time to recognize the absolute necessity for applying a counterpoise by regulating the flow of babies. If you do not do that, every biologist knows you will get over-population and starvation. But that, again, is a thing that cannot be controlled by Government. It must be done by the expression of public opinion, and I think that what we want to do is to educate the public not to confine themselves to throwing stones at Government and suggesting that the whole blame is theirs.

I was very interested to hear from Dr. Thompson what the missionaries are doing. They can be of very great assistance in this matter. I have been rather inclined to be critical of what they have done in the past. The problem is one which some of the missionary bodies have been a little nervous about tackling. What one feels is that the missionaries have had an opportunity of building up in India an example of what can be done in the matter of life planning. They can help tremendously by teaching their followers how to plan their lives in such a way as to have not only spiritual advantages but physical advantages, such as they themselves enjoy in their homes in England. I have felt that the missionaries might have done more in that direction, and I am pleased to hear from Dr. Thomson that this aspect of missionary work is being kept fully in mind by the missionaries today.

I am sorry that Sir Leonard Rogers has left the meeting, because he was the one person who really did attack me in good earnest by suggesting that if you believed what I told you, you would shut down all medical and public health work. This is a superficial criticism which has been directed against

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my talks on this very subject over and over again. I want to make it particularly clear that I think there is a great and increasing need for disease prevention. My one point is that public health work in India will be deprived of its just reward if the other aspects of the case are not borne in mind. You cannot possibly have a satisfactory condition of public life in India if you have a population which is in excess of the production of the country.

Sir Leonard was perfectly sound when he said that we had to attack the problem by increasing production. I agree entirely with that view, but I say if you do that you have to attend to the other aspect of the case, because if you merely increase production the population very rapidly swells and increases to the same degree as your production, the result being that you have a larger number of people, but they will not be any healthier or better off than they were before. He talked about the cost of introducing the kind of education which was needed. My suggestion is that very large sums of money are being spent on education already, and I claim that if a proportion of the money, say one-third, were spent on enlightening the people in the subject of life planning, you would get excellent results.

I thank Sir Albion Banerji for the kind remarks that he made about me. I agree with him that the statistics in India are not reliable. We all know that very well, but taking them in the bulk they do stand the test fairly well. In the village survey of which I spoke, I deliberately introduced some questions dealing with the infant mortality rate and various other things, and I was rather surprised to find that the result of my broad survey made by the men on the spot corresponded fairly closely in most respects with the statistics which are published by the Public Health Commissioner. I agree very heartily with the suggestions that Sir Albion made of other lines of reform that are needed. I hope that if I have succeeded in doing nothing else, I have at any rate aroused a little interest in this very great and pressing problem, and in the necessity for thinking about it, and still more for doing something about it.

Sir James McKenna, speaking from the Chair, said: I now have the pleasant duty of proposing a very hearty vote of thanks to Sir George Newman—whose shadow I am—for presiding, and to Sir John Megaw for his exceedingly interesting and human paper. During the many years I spent in India there was nothing that struck me more than the remarkable work done by the Indian Research Fund's officers, of which group Sir John Megaw was a most distinguished member, followed up by the extremely efficient services of the Public Health Departments of the various provinces. There is nothing spectacular about this work. It is done by very modest workers, who do not parade their goods in the shop window. But there is nothing that makes a greater impression upon the intelligent and inquiring visitor to India.

Sir John has given us the sort of paper one would have expected from a man of his standing, and the Association is extremely fortunate in having obtained his services to-night, combined with the distinguished Chairman, for whom apparently we have to thank Sir John Megaw too. We are also

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particularly pleased to have with us the Under-Secretary of State for India, Mr. Butler, a name which is well known all over the Indian Continent. I now ask you formally to record a very hearty vote of thanks to Sir George Newman and to Sir John Megaw.

The motion was carried by acclamation, and the meeting closed.

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NEPAL AND HER RELATIONS TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT*

By Hugh Wilkinson-Guillemard, C.S.I., C.I.E.

The country that is to be discussed this evening is commonly spoken of as "Nepal, the land of the Gurkhas." The inhabitants use the word "Nepal" for the capital, Káthmándú, almost exclusively—perhaps disgusted that Mr. Kipling and other English people pronounce it Kăthmăndú. The word "Gurkha" is not used at all. There is a town named Gorkha, three or four marches west of Káthmándú, and "Gorkhális" are descendants of those who came to the present capital with the conqueror, Prithvi Narayan, in the second half of the eighteenth century. We need not, however, be bound by the nomenclature of the inhabitants. They still speak of British India as "Mughalán," the land of the Mughals, and of British Government rupees as "Company" rupees. We can safely use the words Nepal and Gurkha in the sense familiar to us.

I wish to remark at the outset that I am sure that I am voicing the sentiment of everyone present when I say that we feel real grief and most genuine sympathy with Nepal in the calamity which the earthquake has brought upon her Royal Family, her people, and her beautiful buildings.

Nepal has an area of about 54,000 square miles—that is to say, it is slightly larger than Greece or England without Wales, but about 60 per cent. greater than Austria, Scotland, or Portugal, and more than four times the size of Belgium. The population is about $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions—slightly less than that of Sweden, slightly greater than that of Scotland, nearly 80 per cent. of that of Australia, and four times that of New Zealand.

The country is roughly a rectangle, 500 miles long, 120 broad. It consists of four zones running roughly east and west—and of

* Based on an Address at a Discussion Meeting of Members of the East India Association on March 21, 1934.

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the well-known "Valley of Nepal." The southernmost zone runs along the north of the United Provinces and Bihar, and forms part of the stale, flat, but very profitable Gangetic plain, called by the Nepalese the Terai. North of the Gangetic plain comes the dense forest belt, which we call the Terai but the Nepalese do not. This provides tigers and rhinoceros for the reigning and ruling families and their guests (among whom the British Envoy is the most frequent). It also produces a valuable supply of sál wood timber used for building and railway sleepers. Under the management of a British Forest Officer lent to the Nepal Government (I speak of five years ago), this used to yield an annual revenue of over £50,000.

The forest belt is infested with a most deadly type of malaria, known as *awal*. North of it is a belt of sandstone hills, rising to about 3,000 feet, cut up by watercourses and of little value.

The remainder of the country is a tumbled mass of hills and valleys, irrigated by snow-fed rivers, becoming less and less fertile as they approach the final Himalayan barrier, which forms the frontier with Tibet and contains Mount Everest and many other giant peaks.

The Valley and the People

Almost in the centre of the Kingdom occurs the remarkable phenomenon of the "Valley of Nepal," an elevated table-land about 250 square miles in area. About 4,500 feet above sea-level, 2,500 feet above the surrounding valleys, it is itself shut in by a circle of mountains rising to 9,000 feet. No snow-fed river enters it. In it are Káthmándú, Bhátgáon, and Pátan, the three capitals of three former dynasties of Newár kings, who reigned simultaneously. The second of these is only eight miles from the other two, which are less than two miles apart. The valley is free from malaria, venomous snakes, and drought. Intensive cultivation (all by hand, for there are no plough bullocks) yields two bountiful crops annually (chiefly vegetables in the winter, maize and rice in the summer). At Káthmándú and Pátan are the great white modern palaces of the aristocracy, at Káthmándú the British Legation, and at all three towns are temples in red brick, tiles, and

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carved wood of the highest artistic excellence, the work of the Newárs.

The population of Káthmándú is about 90,000; of the Valley about 300,000. It is the seat of Government, the hub of the Kingdom, whose fate depends entirely on what occurs in the square mile that contains the palaces of the King and Prime Minister, and the barracks in which are lodged most of the efficient troops of the State.

The people of Nepal are intensely religious. There is said to be a temple for every house and a god for every man in the Valley. There are only two religions in Nepal that count—Hinduism and Buddhism. About half the people belong to each. They live amicably side by side, and even worship at one another's shrines. Hinduism is the State religion, and in the end is likely to dominate and absorb. A handful of Mussalmans trade, mainly in the central valley. There is no Christian church. The Italian Roman Catholic mission was expelled at the end of the eighteenth century. The Nepalese then believed in a proverb that "with the Bible comes the bayonet, with the missionary the musket."

The original population was Mongolian. With the Moslem domination in India came the infiltration of Indians—many of them Brahmans and Rajputs, who intermarried with the inhabitants. There is therefore much Indian blood in the country. Many claim pure Rajput descent. The reigning family originated in Mewar and are descendants of the Sesodia family, to which belongs the Maharana of Udaipur, the premier Rajput Prince. The Rajput- and Brahman-descended Nepalese, the Chatris, provide two of our twenty Gurkha battalions. The remainder are Mongolian—Magars and Gurungs from the west, and Rais and Limbus from the north-east, each tribe speaking its own language.

An important section of the population are the Newárs. Their origin is uncertain, probably Mongol. They have by some, perhaps fancifully, been connected with the Nairs of South India. They speak their own language, written in three different scripts. The rulers of the three countries whose capitals were formerly in the Nepal Valley were Newárs. Under them the arts flourished, especially architecture and wood-carving. These have unfortu-

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nately died under Gorkháli domination. The Newárs are Buddhists and bury their dead. Since the Gorkháli conquest they have been disarmed and debarred from military service. Many are cultivators and they form the bulk of the trading community. Some rise to high rank in Civil Government employ.

Prithvi Narayan

In the past three great personalities have made the history of Nepal. The first was Prithvi Narayan, a Rajput, Raja of Gorkha, the town mentioned above, ancestor of the present king. He conquered the Chaubisia Ráj, the twenty-four rajas of the west, and consolidated his kingdom in the second half of the eighteenth century. Then, profiting by an invitation to render assistance to one of the three Newár kings of the Nepal Valley, who had quarrelled with the other two, he led his army over the passes from the west and entered the Valley. After twenty years of stubborn fighting he conquered the Newárs, who defended themselves with the utmost skill and gallantry, and were only defeated owing to Brahman treachery. One town, Kirtipur, put up a long defence, which so much enraged Prithvi Narayan that he cut off the lips and noses of the defenders, sparing only those who could play wind instruments in his orchestra. The town's name was changed to Naskatipur, "the town of cut noses."

Prithvi Narayan subdued the remainder of the country and combined it almost into what we know as Nepal.

Then followed a period of aggression—invasion of India, conflict with the Sikhs, and the invasion of Sikkim, which led to war with China at the end of the century. The Chinese armies marched 1,400 miles over the Himalayas, and dictated terms at Betrávati, twenty-five miles from Káthmándú. Nepal was compelled to acknowledge Chinese suzerainty and to send a quinquennial embassy to Pekin, bearing gifts. This continued till 1912, when it was discontinued on the deposition of the Emperor. Early in the nineteenth century Bihar was invaded and portions annexed. The result was the wars of 1814-16, in which we suffered several defeats before General Ochterlony achieved victory

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and imposed terms of peace. One of the most important was the acceptance of a British Resident. From that epoch dates the recruitment of Gurkha regiments for the Indian Army—at first three, now twenty, battalions.

It should be noted that the Gurkha wars were largely caused by Nepal's desire to possess the fertile Gangetic plain. They used to speak of washing their kukris in the Ganges. If there were no co-ordinating and controlling power in India, it is possible that they would talk in the same way again. The Indian army that tried to prevent them would certainly be without its twenty Gurkha battalions.

Sir Jung Bahadur

After 1816 there followed a period of thirty years of palace intrigue, civil feuds, cruel systems of misgovernment, and succession by assassination. In 1846 the second great figure of Nepal history rose to the surface, the renowned Jung Bahadur, G.C.B. After the celebrated massacre of the Kot, a palace in which he killed so many of the nobles opposed to him that their blood gushed out into the street, he attained complete domination. Four years later he felt himself secure enough to leave his State. He accepted an invitation to England as the guest of Queen Victoria. He was the lion of the London season, a debonair, dashing figure ablaze with diamonds, of ready wit and engaging personality. He attended the christening of the present Duke of Connaught. On return to Nepal he reformed the administration, abolished mutilation and other barbarous punishments—and forbade *sati*. He refused the Crown. He established the absolute hereditary supremacy of the Prime Minister, and there is some evidence that he even extracted from the King a "lal mohar," or red-seal decree, giving him power to set aside the orders of his sovereign. In 1857 he led 10,000 of his troops down into India to fight on our side in the Mutiny. Standards captured from the enemy are still on view in the Military Museum at Káthmándú. Nepal was rewarded by the restoration of the rich territory, yielding £50,000 annual revenue, which had been ceded to us after the Gurkha wars of 1814-15. Jung Bahadur entertained King Edward as

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Prince of Wales some twenty years later, giving him a tiger shoot in the Terai.

The Constitution

The existing constitution of the Kingdom is mainly the creation of Jung Bahadur. The reigning sovereign is the Maharaja Dhiraj, the "Panch-Sarkar," or "five Governments," the King of Nepal. We recognize his title of Your Majesty. Ladies curtsey to him. At Darbars he arrives last and departs first, and sits on a high throne with the Royal Princes' chairs between it and the sofa of the Prime Minister. He rides in a gold and silver howdah, and has a golden umbrella on State occasions. He never leaves the country. In its government he has no power whatever. The King's descent is by primogeniture. He is generally a young man.

The real ruler, the absolute autocrat of the country, is His Highness the Maharaja, Prime Minister, Marshal, and Supreme Commander-in-Chief, the "Tin Sarkar," or "three Governments." His State umbrella is silver, and his State howdah of plush only, but his sons, like the King's, are born generals. Inscriptions on public buildings commemorate not only the Sovereign, but the Prime Minister also. He has the power of declaring war and is head of all departments of State. Once a year he reappoints every official, from the Commander-in-Chief downwards. All relations with the British Government are conducted by him. Parallels in history are the Maires of the Palace in France, the Peshwas of Poona, and the Shoguns, who held similar powers in Japan from A.D. 966-1868.

In Nepal the succession to the Prime Ministership is hereditary, but not by primogeniture. It passes to the senior male member of the ruling family who is not unfit. Consequently the Prime Minister is always a man of riper years than the King.

There is also a Council of Bharadars or Nobles, meeting when summoned. Their full strength is perhaps 400. They are mainly members of the reigning and ruling families, who form the great majority of the aristocracy. They probably have little voice in affairs, and confine themselves to giving advice which is

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likely to be palatable. There is no representation of the people, who do not concern themselves with politics.

It is now very generally realized that the status of Nepal is that of an absolutely independent kingdom. She is in no sense whatever an Indian State. She is as independent as Belgium or Portugal. There is nothing to prevent her from becoming a member of the League of Nations or from sending representatives to any Court in the world, except the good sense that tells her that the cost would be enormous and the advantages *nil*.

The British representative is an Envoy, not a Resident. He lives in a legation, not a residency. On appointment he presents credentials, as our diplomatic representatives in other countries do. His relations with the Nepal Government (which we never speak of as the Nepal "Darbar") are purely diplomatic. He has no concern whatever with the administration.

British Policy

What is our policy towards Nepal? A complete answer to this question was given by Sir Denys Bray in the aphorism, "We have no policy towards Nepal, only friendship." This friendship has subsisted unbroken since 1816, and is now stronger than ever.

By way of parenthesis may I refer to the frequent question as to why, if Nepal is our friend, she excludes our nationals from her territory and makes herself a closed land? Her attitude has been much misunderstood, but it is completely natural and reasonable and consistent with friendship. In the first place, she sees what has happened in India, and has observed that in the past penetration has led to influence, interference, domination, and even annexation. Secondly, she has heard of Sir Lee Stack and goes in fear that something may happen to the British Envoy or other foreign national if allowed to wander at large in wild places. Thirdly, she knows that Europeans on tour, especially if guests among a hospitable people, must have copious supplies, transport, and attendance, which it is difficult to provide in a poor, sparsely-populated country, where every able-bodied man is re-

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quired for the army or agriculture. Lastly, as it has been the tradition for so long that foreigners should be kept out, any Government which abandoned that tradition might be suspected by an ignorant people, who would think that by a change of practice they intended a change of policy, and were betraying them.

Sir Chandra Shumshere Jung

The subject of our present relations with Nepal brings us to the third great personality in her past history, His Highness the Maharaja Sir Chandra Shumshere. He was Prime Minister from 1901 to 1929, and was therefore for twenty-eight years, in effect, Nepal. He was a truly great man and a real statesman. Personally, he was courteous, cultivated in the best sense of the word, of charming manners and address, well educated (he was B.A. of an Indian University), well-informed, and possessed of a keen sense of humour and capacity for friendship and gratitude.

As ruler of the State he was a benefactor to his people. Although he founded a well-equipped college at the capital and allowed his subjects to proceed to Indian Universities, it has been alleged that he did not expand education sufficiently. In this respect the pace he set was slow, but not because he held to the definition of education as "the casting of false pearls before real swine." He did not despise education, or despise his people, but he said he thought we had been unwise in India in educating people for whom no employment could be found, and determined not to repeat our mistake.

In other matters he was extremely progressive. He improved the water supply of the Nepal Valley and on the great roadways, extended cultivation in the Terai, connected Káthmándú with India by telephone, a motor road, a ropeway, and a railway. He built two large hospitals in the Valley, set on foot an enquiry as to the prevention of malaria (taking the advice of Sir Malcolm Watson of the Ross Institute), began the construction of a sanatorium for tuberculosis, and, not least, liberated, by purchase, the 80,000 slaves of Nepal (I think the number is correct). He restricted gambling, the great vice of the people, and on his deathbed

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summoned his relatives and implored them to see to it that the succession should pass peacefully.

His relations with us were unexceptional. For twenty-eight years we were relieved of all anxiety about 500 miles of frontier, and had no need to keep any troops to protect it. Two days before the outbreak of the Great War he told the British representative (then Resident) that, if war broke out, the entire resources of Nepal would be at our disposal. He kept his promise. He raised the number of our Gurkha battalions from twenty to thirty-three, and kept them at full strength in spite of terrible losses in France, Gallipoli, and other theatres of war. He sent over 10,000 Nepalese troops into India to assist us in the third Afghan war.

In the Great War 200,000 Nepalese served in our armies, and a million rupees in cash or kind were given or lent to us—this though Nepal was an independent kingdom and was under no obligation to do more than allow us to recruit for twenty battalions.

After the war we showed our gratitude by undertaking to make an annual present of Rs. 10 lakhs to Nepal. The Prime Minister received a high decoration and the rank of General in the British Army. The Maharaja Dhiraj was recognised as His Majesty the King, and the Prime Minister as His Highness the Maharaja, both new departures. A new treaty was concluded, specifically re-affirming Nepal's external and internal independence, and obliterating all traces of inequality of status. The Resident became the British Envoy and the Residency the British Legation.

Nepal benefited also by the payment of pensions to the Gurkhas who had served in the war, and their dependents. This means a considerable influx of money into the country. According to a rough calculation made in 1927-28, we paid Rs. 25 lakhs a year into the pockets of pensioners living in Nepal.

But Nepal's friendship was perhaps as valuable to us politically in time of peace as her military help was in war. She refused to allow herself to become a refuge of criminals, or the jumping-off ground of political agitators. Had she become a gigantic Pondicherry or Chandernagore we should have had untold trouble along 500 miles of frontier. For her co-operation in this respect we owe her a very deep debt of gratitude.

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His successors, his brothers Sir Bhim Shumshere and the present Prime Minister, Sir Judha Shumshere, have followed the same policy, and shown themselves our equally staunch friends. Sir Judha has even departed from the rigidity of previous policy by permitting the land and air expeditions to Mount Everest. He has personally visited Calcutta and exchanged civilities with the Viceroy, and has conferred the honour of the Star of Nepal on some of our officers. At the present moment a deputation is about to visit England to present to King George the highest Nepalese decoration. Clearly we can regard him, too, as a faithful friend.

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THE BIHAR EARTHQUAKE

A Personal Narrative

[An eye-witness's impressions. The following account of a tour in the devastated regions was sent in a couple of letters by a young engineer to his parents in England, and is published with their permission.—Ed. A. R.]

Sagauli.
January 29, 1934.

I am writing in a grass hut about ten miles from the Nepal frontier and unable to get back to civilization. How I came to be in this predicament I will tell you in due course.

Last Friday afternoon the proprietors of a sugar mill in Sagauli came to me in a panic and asked me to advise them what to do with their factory which had been damaged in the earthquake. As we had put up the buildings for them I felt that we had some responsibility for their welfare.

On Saturday evening I started off and reached Mokameh Ghat early on Sunday morning: here the first evidence of the earthquake was visible in a derelict signal cabin which had one wall left. From Sumeria on the other side of the Ganges our progress was slow, although the damage done was nothing like what I was to see later. Going up the line Barauni was hardly affected, while Samastipore was damaged a good deal. I saw "our" sugar factory from a distance of a quarter of a mile, and the chimney was down and the gable ends had all fallen. The walls were still standing, with how many cracks I could not see, and the corrugated roof on top looked the latest permanent wave. About one o'clock on Sunday I reached Muzaffarpur where the line at present comes to an abrupt end. This town is one of the worst affected and the amount of damage done is appalling. I walked out into the town and did not see a single house intact: in most cases the roofs had fallen leaving parts of the walls standing, something like a house burnt out in a fire. The people have all moved their office furniture out into the open, and in the Government offices one is privileged to see the Government clerk drumming on his typewriter in the full public gaze, while his sahib reclines in a camp chair nearby discussing the news with the passers-by. All the people there are living in tents, but are not suffering much hardship as there is a through railway connection and stores can come up from Calcutta. I left Muzaffarpur as quickly as I could—*i.e.*, in two and a half hours spent in getting a car, almost impossible, and persuading the district officer to give me a pass for

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petrol. The last seventy miles of the journey up to the Nepal border was the most adventuresome part. Normally it can be done in two and a half hours; I took seven and reached my destination at midnight, and thought I was lucky to be there even then.

We started off from Muzaffarpur in gay style. The road was a bit bumpy, due to the earthquake, and on either side the country was flooded, like Bengal in the monsoon. Every now and then one came across miniature volcanoes, about three to five feet in diameter, made of sand. These were where the water spouted from the ground carrying up enormous quantities of sand with it, which in some places is lying two feet deep. This ejection of water was, I am told by those who were there, the most terrifying thing about the earthquake. Imagine thousands of these waterspouts and the level of the water slowly rising: people had no idea when it was going to stop and thought that a second flood had come. The demand for ready-made arks must have been enormous; fortunately the water ceased fairly quickly, due to the holes getting choked with sand. The first part of the journey from Muzaffarpur was fairly quick; all the bridges were impassable, but it was possible to get round them as the river-beds were dry; some bridges were still standing, how, I do not know; I examined these carefully, and, having myself got out of the car, allowed the driver to rush across. During this short period I acquired a lifetime's knowledge of the possibilities of bridge failures. The masonry bridges nearly all cracked at the keystone, and in multiple arch bridges it was quite usual for one or two arches to be left standing while the remainder had disappeared completely. Steel bridges stood up the best of the lot; in some cases they were tilted in the air six or eight feet, but there were no signs of failure of the steel and usually very little distortion had taken place. Unfortunately I only had the opportunity of examining small span girder bridges, which, of course, are stiffer than the lattice type which would probably have crumpled. One curious bridge, which is worthy of mention, consisted of four spans of thirty feet; the three masonry piers in the river had disappeared but the abutments still stood. The only thing holding the bridge was the trough decking and the road metal on top; the deck had sagged about six feet in the centre and looked exactly like a suspension bridge. We dashed across this at full speed and got safely to the other side. After this it got dark and driving was very dangerous as the road in places was fissured with enormous cracks, some of which were three or four feet wide, and we had some narrow escapes in avoiding them. Just before reaching Motihari, in the words of the song, "We came to a river and we couldn't get across." The

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stream was about three hundred feet wide and the bridge consisting of brick arches had completely disappeared, carrying with it several bullock carts and their drivers. The shock here was so great that even the trees had been uprooted in the neighbourhood. When one thinks of the force required to pull a palm up by its roots one can realize what a stupendous shock it must have been. Eventually I got hold of a country boat and after much cursing got the car across the river. We then came to Motihari by night, and truly it was a "city of dreadful night." The town was in complete ruins and practically deserted; it looked as though it had been subjected to an artillery barrage, and the stench of putrefying bodies was horrible. After leaving Motihari we ran into a swamp while trying to cross a dry river-bed, and the car went in over the differential. I was too tired to bother much about it at this stage, and was quite resigned to spending the night there. However, the driver collected a gang of men and laid bamboos across and by half-past eleven got away again. After this there were no more incidents and we arrived safely at the Sagauli sugar factory just after twelve.

Of course, by that time they had given me up and there was no dinner ready; even if they had known I was arriving I should not have got much as the supplies of food were very low—no bread, no soda water, no tinned provisions, only a few moorghis. The bungalows there were all uninhabitable and I eventually slept in a grass hut on a charpoy. Needless to say, I had not come unprepared, having brought up a case of provisions from the Army and Navy Stores; the whisky was greatly appreciated and unfortunately has nearly run dry now. We have no sodas, but we get boiled water scooped from holes in the ground.

On the Monday I made an examination of the factory, and found that the shell which was supported entirely on steel columns had stood very well. The foundations had lifted or subsided in some cases two feet with the result that the roof was something like a dog's hind leg, but there was no serious damage. The real damage had been done to the mill foundations, which had been cracked in two pieces. The foundation was a solid block of brickwork about fifty feet by fifty feet by ten feet deep weighing about 2,000 tons.

The mill proprietors, who are Indian, had been advised that no repair could be effected, and that the best course was to remove the whole mill to another site at a cost of about 4 lakhs of rupees. I have now advised them to chip away the crack and grout it up solid, and in order to prevent settlement which has taken place—due, in my opinion, to the sand coming up from under the foundations and to the subsoil water level rising—I have suggested that they should drill holes through the foundation and

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carry pipes to the soil below and grout in with liquid cement so as to form a solid bed. This will cost about 20,000 rupees, but I have offered no guarantee of its efficacy. One of the difficulties is with subsoil water which, due to the earthquake, has risen to within three or four feet of the ground, whether permanently or not I do not know. As the soil is very clayey its bearing capacity when wet is considerably reduced, so that I have advised them to dig sumps all round the foundation and try to lower the level gradually by pumping. By the time the mill is working I am hoping the ground below will be drier and thus able to withstand the heavy loads.

My inspection and report filled up the whole of Monday and I thought I would get back to Muzaffarpur on Tuesday, but it was not to be. Rain began to fall on Monday and now the road is impassable and I am stranded here with nothing to do. I have offered anything for a car or other means of locomotion, but nothing is forthcoming.

MUZAFFARPUR.
February 4, 1934.

My last letter was written to you from Sagauli, when the rain was coming down and obliterating the landscape. Since then I have been wandering about a lot and have seen many strange sights, indicating the magnitude of the Bihar earthquake.

I left Sagauli on Wednesday last, as the rain had cleared off and the road was just passable. By midday I reached Bara-Chakia, following the same route as I had come up by, and called on Beatson, the manager of the Champaran sugar factory. I already knew him as I had stayed with him about eighteen months ago at the time when they built a bridge across the Gandak river for bringing in cane. After putting back a good tiffin and uttering the usual condolences about the state of his factory I pushed on to Muzaffarpur, arriving there in the evening. I found our agent Fairweather out, and his bungalow was a complete ruin, just as though a shell had dropped on it. His office, although badly cracked, was just intact, but not safe enough to sleep in. There was a curious collection in this compound: Mr. and Mrs. Corbett, neighbours, whose bungalow had collapsed, were living in the garage; the latter was caught by a falling beam during the earthquake and had a broken ankle as well as a nasty head wound. The Corbetts had a grown-up daughter, who slept in their car, and three children, who slept in a mat shed. Fairweather's typist slept in another car, while a Burma Shell man had pitched his tent in the compound. I added myself to this motley collection, sleeping in a very draughty wigwam; it was bitterly cold at night and I was nearly frozen. On the Thursday I met our old friend

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Noel Deerr, who is rushing about from one factory to another endeavouring to put things right. He asked me to visit Samastipur, Ryam, and Champaran and submit tenders for their reconstruction where necessary.

Accordingly on Friday I set out for Champaran and found there that they had decided to make extensions, but did not know what they would be! I therefore left and went to Samastipur, arriving there late in the evening, having done 110 miles by car. This does not sound much, but with the roads and bridges as they are now it is equal to about 300 at home. Saturday: I spent the whole day making measurements at Samastipur and writing my results to Howrah. These ran to eleven pages of foolscap, so you can imagine there was a fair amount of work to do. I regret to say that Samastipur is badly damaged, and it is very doubtful if it will run again this season. The repairs to the buildings will, I reckon, cost somewhere about a lakh, and in addition there is a fair amount to be done to the machinery, probably Rs. 2 lakhs in all. I was very comfortable at Samastipur and stayed there two nights with the manager and his wife. I had a commodious tent to sleep in and in the day used the bungalow, which was cracked badly and hence considered unsafe to sleep in. On Saturday evening Noel Deerr turned up with a good dose of malaria; he was very much under the weather and has been overdoing this last three weeks. On Sunday he left for Calcutta, where he remains one day, and then returns to Cawnpore. On Sunday morning I left for Ryam, about 50 miles from Samastipur by car. This factory has not suffered much, and I was able to measure up the damage in an hour and a half. As I had the whole afternoon left I decided to try and reach Chakia by night. This is 115 miles from Ryam by car. I returned to Samastipur by car, and was so tired of the jolting that I took the train to Muzaffarpur, as it was fortunately standing in the station. I arrived there about 7.30 p.m. and the remaining 35 miles I have decided to do tomorrow, as these roads are no joke in the dark. I am intending to sleep in the waiting-room here, and I shall retire to my bed very shortly as I feel I have had a good day of it. The last week has been rather hectic and I am tired of earthquakes and their attendant discomforts. I have hardly slept two nights in the same place, and when I start in the morning I do not usually know where I shall land up in the evening.

In Darbhanga, which I passed through today, the district officer, endeavouring to allay the fears of the panic-stricken people, had printed a pamphlet in which it was stated that the cause of the earthquake was the gradual movement of the Indian Peninsula towards the Himalayas. This was squeezing up the Gangetic plain and had caused the earthquake. The crack, it was stated,

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extended from Sitamarhi to Monghyr. There was a previous earthquake in 1833, and it is predicted there will be another in one hundred years. The minor shocks, which we get quite frequently, are due to the earth settling. After examining a fairly large part of the disturbed tracts I have come to the conclusion that the most terrific upheavals have occurred in Muzaffarpur. As I mentioned in my last letter, the whole town is a ruin, but just outside the town on the polo ground the cracking has been tremendous. The road there is rent with fissures six feet wide and the ground has dropped six feet; this does not sound much but the damage is unbelievable.

(Scenes of the earthquake will be found in the illustrated supplement.)

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POVERTY AND PUBLIC HEALTH IN INDIA

By R. W. Brock

In his final report as Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India, an appointment he has sustained with great ability and devotion since 1924, Major-General J. D. Graham, I.M.S., recalls—not inopportunely in view of the further momentous constitutional changes now under consideration—that with the passing of the Government of India Act of 1919, the introduction of the Montagu Reforms and the commencement of the working of the rules framed under the Act in 1921, public health and sanitation were, with certain reservations, transferred from the Central Government to the Governments of the various provinces. A Ministry of Health or Board of Health was not provided for in this change, and consequently does not exist; but those activities of public health and prevention of disease which have been reserved by the Central Government are carried on through the Department of Education, Health and Lands of the Government of India. In accordance with the Government of India Act of 1919, the health subjects which were reserved for the Central Government were: (1) International health affairs; (2) wider aspects of epidemiology; (3) census and statistics; (4) emigration and immigration; (5) pilgrim traffic *ex*-India; (6) major port quarantine work; (7) medical research; (8) legislation in regard to any provincial subject stated to be subject to legislation by the Indian Legislature and any powers relating to such subjects reserved by legislation to the Governor-General in Council. As Major-General Graham observes, it is extremly improbable that such subjects as those named, which are generally recognized as federal health responsibilities, will cease, under the new Constitution, to be the concern of the Central Government and of its Public Health Commissioner. In the Report under review, as in preceding surveys of the same character, Major-General Graham has "laboured the desirability and need for a Ministry of Health for India. The recent reports of the Royal Commission on Agriculture and of the Royal Statutory Commission," as he reminds us, "have emphasized the same need whether this be arrived at through a Ministry of Health or by strengthening the central health organization. We are now," he adds, "within measurable distance of the introduction of a new Constitution—a Constitution which must presuppose heavy and increased expenditure in many branches of the administration;

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but the subject of federal health has been relegated, meanwhile at all events, to the background, and has not received the attention which its importance would seem to merit. This is no doubt due to some extent to the eclipse which threatened to overtake central health in the campaign of retrenchment when recommendations both undesirable and apparently unnecessary were made in regard to personnel which were bound to impede if not strangle certain developments then in progress."

Inadequate financial support has, indeed, proved one of the most formidable handicaps to the promotion of public health in India. The drastic economies of the Inchcape Committee paralyzed the renewal of research activities on a big scale before the work of the Indian Research Fund Association had had time to recover properly after the war. Public opinion, however, both in Great Britain and India, and scientific medical opinion in India as expressed through the Scientific Advisory Board, were not silent. His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, realizing the true implications of the closing down of medical research activities in India, pressed the Government of India continuously to restore the grant in part or in whole at as early a date as possible, and also the unspecified appointments in the Medical Research Department which were in abeyance. The Scientific Advisory Board in October, 1924, homologated the following resolution of the Research Workers' Conference of the same date:

> This Conference has heard from members of the pressing need of investigation into malaria, plague, cholera, dysentery, helminthiasis, relapsing fever, and other diseases which affect the people of India, and of the need of investigation into the distribution, prevalence, treatment, and prevention of these diseases.

In deference to the demand for resuscitation of the grant-in-aid, the Government gradually restored both the grant and the appointments which were in abeyance, thus enabling the Governing Body to approve a rapid and wide development of medical research on a priority programme as well as to recruit expert workers from outside sources, including Europe and America. "All-India" researches on a priority plan were started on plague, cholera, kala-azar, malaria, helminthology, indigenous drugs, drug addiction, skin, statistics, leprosy, rabies, and, later on, maternity and child welfare, anæmia and other subjects. In a short time, between fifty and sixty researches were in progress under Europeans and Indians. Alas! "When the stage was apparently set for a wide development of medical research the financial crisis of 1931 suddenly deprived the Association of 6 lakhs of rupees out of a 7.50 lakh grant," and only the existence of accumulated funds enabled "a moderately full programme of research" to be continued. "It is hoped, however, that within

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a reasonable period the restoration of the Rs. 6 lakhs and of the posts now in abeyance will become a *fait accompli*."

On the other hand, the project for a new Central Research Institute worthy of India, recommended by the Fletcher Committee, has been abandoned, owing to the financial implications being greater than the Government of India cared to undertake. The establishment of the All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health was only rendered possible by the munificence of the Rockefeller Foundation, which offered to purchase a site and to erect and equip an institute for six sections to deal with advanced public health teaching and public health research, subject to the Government of India undertaking to meet the recurring charges. The Institute was completed and opened in December, 1932. The sequel is dolorously familiar: "Unfortunately the financial crisis has prevented all six sections being opened, and only four will function in the first instance." If and when this hiatus is overcome, the Public Health Commissioner is convinced that the Institute should "exert in future a very great influence in grading up the public health standards of education in the country and in supplying highly trained officers for health directional work throughout India. It should be able to provide a public health course of a much more useful kind from the Indian point of view than that now obtainable in the United Kingdom. As a rallying point for research on public health problems it has facilities to offer which should ensure its great utility to the federal health organization of the India of the future." If so, the expressions of gratitude already conveyed to the Rockefeller Foundation in New York will be multiplied a thousandfold.

It is not forgotten in India that it was the generous and far-sighted financial assistance of an American donor which rendered possible, during Lord Curzon's viceroyalty, the foundation of the famous Agricultural Research Institute at Pusa which has proved so potent and beneficent an influence in improving the quality and yield of so many of India's staple crops. How intimately economic and health problems are allied may be recalled by reiterating the vital importance, especially in a country where the population is increasing so rapidly as in India, of adequate supplies of nutritious food of all kinds, not forgetting fish and milk. In reality, study of the relevant data in regard to population and production appears to justify a great deal of doubt and anxiety; the situation in this respect having suffered considerable further deterioration owing to the disastrous reactions of the world slump. The census taken in 1931, it will be remembered, showed an increase in population during the decade of 10·6 per cent., while since 1872, when the first census was taken, the increase has been 46·6 per cent. In the opinion of Major-General Graham,

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the implications of a decennial increase of approximately 34 millions cannot be lightly regarded when we consider the economic state of 90 per cent. of the inhabitants and the admitted necessity for raising it. Responsible medical opinion has declared definitely that such a state of affairs is likely to prove a danger of great magnitude. Major-General Sir John Megaw, whose views on health and population in India are elaborated elsewhere in this journal, did not overstate the position when he declared in a recent analysis: "It is clear that the growth of population has already begun to outstrip the increase in the production of the necessities of life so that even low standards of economic life must inevitably become still lower unless some economic change is brought about. The outlook for the future is gloomy to a degree, not only for the masses of the people who must face the intensified struggle for bare subsistence, but also for the upper classes whose incomes depend on the production of surplus crops and other commodities. If the entire produce of the soil is needed to provide for the urgent need of the cultivators nothing will be left for payment of rent or revenue . . . and the whole social structure of India must inevitably be rudely shaken if not completely destroyed."

It is not necessary to discuss here the crude and cynical view that, in such circumstances, the soundest policy would be to dispose of the excess population by allowing disease to exercise its decimating influence unhampered. The widening activities of the health organizations sponsored by the League of Nations are a recognition that the problems involved have an international as well as a national aspect, and that any country in which disease is rampant is a menace to all. The reactions of modern methods of trade and transport in this sphere are too obvious to require elaboration. Major-General Graham reveals his own acute consciousness of this aspect of the problem when he prefaces his description of international health activities with the comment that: "The *post bellum* orientation of communicable disease problems opened up new lines of work for all central health authorities, because it was no longer possible to visualize countries like India in matters of public health policy as standing aloof from and outside general world movements." Until most of the diseases which now decimate its population are brought under closer control India, like China, will remain a world menace. And the arguments which justify international action in health matters are, of course, still more closely applicable to joint action in India itself: an additional warrant for the proposed Federal Constitution, which will bring British India and the Indian States into closer co-operation for all purposes affecting the welfare of the country as a whole. As disease ignores administrative boundaries, so must the measures adopted to combat it.

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Inside India there is free trade in goods; there is also free trade in germs; in other words, the country is one unit for purposes of health no less than for purposes of commerce. Most of the diseases which ravage India—plague, smallpox, cholera, malaria, and the rest—are as rampant in the Indian States as in British India, and require approximately the same measures to combat them; furthermore, the closer the co-operation secured, the more efficacious such measures are likely to prove. There is an Imperial Agricultural Research Council, in which the Indian States are active participants, directed to improving crops and cattle; and there is at least an equally strong case for a Federal Health Council, or, as Major-General Graham urges, a Federal Ministry of Health, to facilitate concurrent progress in matters of human health. An effective federal organization implies, of course, the existence, in all the federal units, of Health Departments not only competent to cope with the problems demanding action in their own areas, but ready to co-operate in those directions in which joint action is indispensable to any real progress; it is therefore satisfactory to note the existence, in some of the more progressive States, of Departments of Health which, in respect of staff and financial resources, organization and energy, are not less efficient than many of the corresponding provincial departments in British India.

In Mysore, which in 1932-33 won the Imperial Baby Week Challenge Shield which is annually competed for throughout the British Empire, excluding only the United Kingdom, the State Department of Health, under the able direction of Dr. J. V. Karve, M.B., CH.B., D.P.H., is sub-divided into seven sections: the Bureau of Administration; the Bureau of Epidemiology and Communicable Diseases; the Bureau of Laboratories; the Bureau of Vital Statistics; the Bureau of Health Education; the Bureau of Sanitary Engineering; and the Bureau of Rural Health. Nor is this elaborate organization merely a pretentious administrative façade; on the contrary, as revealed in the report for 1932, it represents a medium not merely of high aspiration but of solid achievement, despite the financial and other handicaps to which every such department in India is inevitably subject. During the year under report, as indicated in the Director's report, the state of public health was normal. When outbreaks of epidemic diseases did occur, preventive measures were promptly undertaken, with the result that the State had to face only minor epidemics. Malaria control work was continued, and an interesting account is given of the activities of the hookworm campaign unit. Anti-plague measures were employed in many of the infected localities, the chief measure being anti-plague inoculation: 234,295 inoculations were effected, the inoculated popula-

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tion being approximately 3·6 per cent. In other words, out of every thousand of population 36 persons were inoculated during the year. From the Vaccine Institute the quantities of lanoline vaccine issued were enough for 232,177 cases as against 200,565 cases in the preceding year. There was no difficulty in meeting the full demand for vaccine at any time. As testified by the statistics quoted by the Director: "The protection which vaccination affords amongst all ages against death from smallpox in our State is quite obvious." As evidence of the range of activity of the Bureau of Health Education, it is pointed out that during 1932 as many as 162 cinema shows were given to audiences aggregating 124,485 persons. The Publicity Officer visited large numbers of schools and gave health talks to teachers and pupils. The officers of the Bureau actively co-operated in the State-wide Health and Baby Week celebrations, special films relating to mothercraft being hired from Madras and Delhi. Advantage was taken of the second State Conference of primary and middle school teachers at Bangalore to hold a health exhibition. A leaflet entitled "Smallpox in Mysore" was published in five languages for free distribution in the State. The Bureau also printed leaflets and pictorial posters on smallpox, plague, soil pollution and borehole latrines in large numbers in Kannada, Urdu, and English. They are being distributed free all over the State through the agency of the revenue and educational authorities, district boards, village panchayets and municipalities. The Bureau of Sanitary Engineering is able to point out that at the close of 1931 there were 25 piped water supplies in the State serving a population of 678,893, or 10·4 per cent. of the total population of the State. During 1932 four new waterworks were installed, serving an additional population of 13,098. Two existing water supplies were improved and their capacities enlarged. Nine existing water supplies were equipped with chlorinators, resulting in an additional 86,335 people being benefited by safer drinking water. New designs and estimates were prepared for 20 water supply schemes, and much other useful work was completed or initiated. The Rural Health Unit justified its formation, but the establishment of additional units was deferred owing to financial stringency.

In Hyderabad State, where the Medical and Sanitation Department is under the experienced direction of Colonel J. Norman Walker, I.M.S. (Retd.), a number of schemes for the improvement of the Department have been formulated, and Government express the hope that most of these will be brought into effect in the near future. The total population of the Nizam's Dominions, as revealed in the census of 1931, was 14,438,148, an increase of 1,964,378 during the decade, making the density per

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square mile 175 against 151. Colonel Norman Walker has not hesitated to point out that the sanitary condition of the districts in Hyderabad is far from satisfactory and calls for immediate radical changes. As in British India, progress in public health work is slow. Sanitation in each district and particularly in the smaller towns needs organization and development. The notification of epidemic disease and the record of vital statistics are particularly weak points, consequently the efforts of the Sanitary Department to cope with outbreaks of epidemic disease are seriously retarded. A scheme for the inauguration of a Public Health Department to remedy the existing evils in the districts and to devise measures for prevention of disease with efficient control of epidemics by qualified Health Officers is under the consideration of Government. In Hyderabad City the supply of water is of excellent quality, but Colonel Walker records: "Further extensions are necessary to parts of the city not yet fully supplied. It is very desirable to close practically all the enormous number of wells existing in the city. This is particularly necessary as all these wells are breeding the most dangerous form of malaria-carrying mosquitoes. This necessary work can only be taken up gradually as piped water supply becomes available. . . . At present conservancy arrangements leave very much to be desired, but this will be corrected under arrangements to be made between the Drainage Department and the Municipality. Relieved of all these extensive and important functions, the Municipality should have ample time and money to bring the sanitation of Hyderabad City up to a very high standard."

At the beginning of the year 1340 Fasli, the city of Hyderabad was in the grip of plague, and Colonel Walker describes the activities of the Special Plague Department established to counteract the outbreak. It may be of interest to afford a few glimpses of the work such a campaign involves. By the end of the previous year 4,900 rat-traps were in regular use in the whole city, and during the year under report 300 new traps of an improved pattern were ordered and 200 old traps were repaired and brought into use. At the end of the year the number of traps in actual service totalled 5,400. Six campaigns were launched, each lasting eight weeks. The numbers of traps set and rats caught were 1,736,474 and 235,063 respectively. In the areas dealt with: "Each house was trapped for three days successively and then the traps were moved to the next locality. Where the rat density was found to be high, the period of trapping was increased till the rat density fell. We were able to trap each house once every six weeks. . . . What this reduction in the density of rats has meant to the city of Hyderabad is well seen by the fact that the infection which was first imported into Noorkhan Bazaar this

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year from the neighbourhood of Vikarabad, remained localized for nearly three months, and even when the other localities were infected later by the importation of human cases and their attendants . . . the disease failed to attain the same magnitude as in the previous year." Two important points noticed during the rat campaign were: when the number of rats decreased, the mice increased; and areas where houses were being demolished yielded an immediate harvest of rats in exceptional numbers. To quote Colonel Walker's comment: "Literature about mice and their habits is very scanty and there is no previous record of this interesting observation: rats undoubtedly kill and eat mice. With considerable reduction in the rats, mice evidently increase and breed freely. This problem will be studied in the laboratory next year. Mice, though susceptible to plague to a certain extent, are not infected as easily as rats, and for this reason are not so dangerous as rats." It is also of interest to record that, owing to incessant propaganda by the staff, there was very little opposition to baiting or trapping, and many people applied to the Section Offices for traps and baits for use in their houses. By means of trapping, baiting and other processes, including the fumigation of rat-holes and subsequent closures, it is calculated that one million rats were destroyed in Hyderabad City during the year.

In order to complete the picture of rat hunting as conducted in Hyderabad City, Colonel Walker observes that every infected house and the adjacent houses are first fumigated and then completely disinfected. All the houses within a circle of not less than 200 yards diameter are fumigated. This wide control is necessary and is found to be efficient. Whenever timely notice of a new infection was received the disease failed to reappear after disinfection and fumigation. A large number of localities were attacked by this method and freed of plague. The method is to fumigate all rat-holes seen in the house by Clayton F. Type fumigation machine. Sulphur fumes are evolved under pressure and kill rats (especially young ones) and all fleas. The nozzle discharging fumes is placed in a rat-hole and closed with clay, all subsidiary holes from which the smoke escapes are closed tightly with clay or mud and the machine worked in the hole for ten minutes. Hole after hole is attacked in a systematic method. It is surprising, but no exaggeration, that when fumes are blown by the machine into a rat-hole the sulphur smoke escapes from crevices throughout the house. The *katcha* walls in Hyderabad are literally honeycombed with rat burrows. With this method young rats run inside the fumigation tube and also out into the open air in a dazed condition and are easily killed. After fumigation the disinfection staff use sprays which fill all nooks and corners with a disinfecting solution which has the

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advantage of being a penetrating larvæcide. It has been possible by the combination of the two methods to stop plague in all those localities where a new infection was promptly reported. Combined disinfection and fumigation of a house cost Rs. 1-7, and fumigation only 11 annas. "In the published literature," Colonel Walker writes, "generally it is recorded that rat plague precedes human plague and disappears before the disappearance of human plague. In Hyderabad our observation of rats is very complete and shows that plague in rats continues for some time after the epidemic is over. The large number of people protected by inoculation probably has a bearing on the earlier immunity among human beings. It is an interesting speculation whether and how far the rat population develops immunity to plague and this we propose to make the subject of experiment in the coming year." It is pertinent to add that of 55,991 rats examined 534 were infected with plague, but of 55,867 mice examined only 41 were infected. "This is in keeping with experience elsewhere and it may be accepted that in natural conditions rats are ten times as susceptible to plague as mice." It is testimony to the efficacy of the measures adopted that Colonel Walker concludes his survey with a statement of fact and an expression of hope: the former being that "the year closes with no case of plague in the city," and the latter that there is reason to anticipate that the capital of the Nizam's Dominions has been "freed of the serious epidemic which has ravaged the city for the last nine years."

With regard to malaria the efforts of the authorities in Hyderabad State to strike at the root of the trouble have made a good deal of headway during the past year.

It is inevitable that the difficulties which stand in the way of this important work are stupendous. However, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government have systematically been carrying on research work through a specially constituted Malaria Department, and all areas of water are now under their supervision. Breeding places of the malaria mosquito (*A. Stephensi*) have been traced almost entirely to wells which in most cases lie within private compounds. These wells are being kept under strict supervision wherever possible. Unfortunately this work is much hampered by the lack of co-operation and understanding on the part of the owners of the houses in which the wells are situated. The whole efficacy of the paris-green treatment depends upon its regularity and the importance of leaving the water surface undisturbed for at least six hours. In some cases this can be done, but when the owners of wells raise difficulties and obstructions the department receives a severe setback. The people are difficult to convince that the use of water from clear wells may be in any way dangerous, and it will only be by enforcing the byelaw authorizing the

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closing of all infected wells that malaria in the State can be fought on level grounds. With this in view, and taking into consideration the personal difficulties with which the department is faced, the Government have recently sanctioned the sum of Rs. 150,000 —Rs. 30,000 for the filling and covering of wells, and Rs. 120,000 for the extension of a free water supply to replace wells it has proved necessary to close.

In regard to the River Musi the work has been more straightforward, and with the help of additional labour provided by the Government, seven miles of this river have now been cleared of hyacinth.

Of another Indian State, Jammu and Kashmir, the Census Commissioner concludes an analysis of the relevant statistics with the comment, covering the decade 1921-31: "To sum up it may be safely concluded that the decade has been exceptionally fortunate and propitious as compared to its predecessor on account of its enjoying complete immunity from the hellish visitation of influenza which carried away about 45,000 souls, or other curses like the war or the big famines. The attacks of plague and cholera enumerated above have also been fewer and of lesser intensity, and much loss of life was averted by the prompt and effective measures taken by the Medical and Health Departments." The Kashmir Commissioner, however, discussing the pressure of population on the means of subsistence, contrasts economic conditions in India with those in Western countries, observing: "England produces a negligibly small proportion of its food requirements and still it is one of the richest countries in the world, while India even producing its entire requirements might still remain the lowest in the standard of life and comfort, and even experience starvation if the income of the people per head does not undergo an increase. According to the most optimistic estimates of Findlay Shirras the average income of India per head was computed at Rs. 116, which at the then prevailing rate of exchange came to less than £8, while the corresponding figure for Great Britain was £95—*i.e.*, twelve times India's income (*vide* Simon Commission Report, Volume I., Para. 374). In 1926 the income of United States of America was placed at about Rs. 1,925, that of Britain at Rs. 1,000 per head, Australia and Canada Rs. 550 per head, whereas India's income has been estimated variously from Rs. 67 to Rs. 116. The above figures present a glaring contrast between the incomes of agricultural India and the industrial West, and it does not need a very vivid imagination to estimate the standard of comfort in which the Indians pass their lives at present. From intensive enquiries made, Dr. Mann (formerly Director of Agriculture in Bombay) came to the conclusion that out of 103 families only 36, or just

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near 35 per cent., can pay their way on the standard they themselves lay down. The others are living below that standard, and this conclusion shows an exceedingly serious state of affairs. What is true of India as a whole applies with equal force to this State, where on account of backwardness of communications, irrigation, and agriculture the condition of the masses is similar if not poorer. Just as in India the remedy to counteract the evil effects of over-population predominantly lies in the systematic development of the economic resources of the country, similarly the solution of the population problem of the State has to be found in the scientific exploitation of the State resources. In the West the industrial development may be said to have attained its zenith, and consequently with further increases of population the 'optimum' will soon be crossed when the law of diminishing returns would effect necessary adjustments by cutting down the numbers or materially reducing the standard of comfort. The tendency is already visible in the daily increasing figures of unemployment, the general fall in prices, and the great economic depression. To repeat, we may premise that while in the West the exploitation of economic resources has reached its maximum, the process has not seriously commenced in India, much less in the State, which consequently will be able to support its increasing population through industrialization of the country redounding to great improvement in the material welfare of the people whose present low standard of life will also be appreciably raised."

Further industrial development is undoubtedly necessary in India, not only to afford employment and increase its financial resources, including the amount available for expenditure on such essential purposes as public health, but also to facilitate the consumption of a considerable part of India's existing agricultural produce for which the oversea demand has recently so sharply declined. The cotton industry, for example, is the largest single consumer of Indian cotton, the Indian jute mill industry is the largest single consumer of jute, and one of the chief incentives to the high protection accorded to sugar manufacture in India is the fact that no other available outlet exists for absorbing the increasing yield of the improved sugar-canes now so widely cultivated. Nevertheless, if India is ever to possess a well-staffed Ministry of Health, and is to be in a position to finance the many other social welfare schemes which her growing population so urgently require, the resources required will not come from the development of industries alone. Over three-quarters of India's population reside in her villages, and are dependent on agricultural activities, and it is impossible to conceive that, within any calculable period, that very high percentage will show any appre-

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ciable decline. Indeed, in the last decade, the percentage dependent on agriculture, despite the encouragement given to industrial development by recourse to protective tariffs, has actually increased. It is necessary therefore to face the indisputable fact that unless and until the economic conditions of the vast rural population are greatly improved no substantial advance can be looked for either in their own physical condition or in the ability of the public authorities, federal, provincial, and local, on whose financial resources the country must depend for all outlay on schemes of common interest, to raise the taxation thus required.

In the West the establishment of expensive social welfare organizations *followed* the intensive economic development of the last century and did not precede it. As a matter of financial necessity, it is probable that the same sequence will be witnessed in India. It would be advantageous to possess Health Departments in India on the Western scale, but the necessary funds are not at present available, nor is there any early prospect of securing them. That is not to say that any opportunity should be missed to allot larger grants to the Medical and Health Departments than are now at their disposal; but it is also important to adhere to the rule "First things first." The promotion of public health in India is not only the affair of the departments whose primary functions is to cure or prevent disease; it is also the responsibility of the departments, especially of Agriculture and Co-operative Credit, whose task it is to increase the income of the rural population by increasing crop outturns, improving the breeds of cattle, reducing the stranglehold of the moneylender, etc., and so raising their standard of living generally. This admittedly is a slow process in Indian conditions, but it is also a vital pre-requisite to any general improvement in the physical well-being of the population concerned, and to any increase in the taxable resources available to finance simple, but essential, measures, such as efficient sanitation, the provision of pure water, etc., of common concern. The recurring complaint of every Director of Public Health in India is lack of funds, but what is the explanation? Not that the Executives or Legislatures are callously indifferent or antagonistic to giving the Health Departments all the funds they require, but that the taxable capacity of the people is too low to enable the funds required to be secured. That difficulty, it need hardly be emphasized, has been immensely increased by the economic events of the last four years. Especially in the villages, one of the few opportunities of securing a progressive expansion in the resources available for village improvement is the further extension of co-operative credit. A few figures will suffice to illustrate the position. Rural indebtedness is estimated to aggregate approximately £750,000,000, involving an annual levy on the

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cultivators of probably not less than £200,000,000 a year, which finds its way into the hands of the moneylenders. On the basis of the interest rates charged by the majority of co-operative credit societies, that levy would be reduced by at least half, so releasing approximately £100,000,000, a great deal of which would, sooner or later, become available for expenditure on health promotion and social welfare generally. Subject to pursuance of that line of action, I am prepared to agree with Major-General Graham, that "the future will see a Ministry [of Public Health] just as there is little doubt that its creation is desirable for the best development of Indian public health on modern lines."

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FEDERATION AND THE STATES

By N. Madhava Rau, B.A., B.L.
(Revenue Commissioner in Mysore)

In the recent debate in Parliament on the motion to reconstitute the Joint Select Committee, the Secretary of State stated that "The first offer of Federation came not from the Government here but from the Princes themselves. No pressure was put upon them of any kind and no pressure has been put upon them since that time. They have been perfectly free to consider their advantage from every conceivable angle, and they have come to the conclusion in the great majority of cases that it is wise for them to enter a Federation, if a Federation is set up, and so far from receding from that position, time after time in the course of the last six months they have affirmed clearly and definitely their adherence to that view."

The Princes have thus made their bed and will doubtless lie on it uncomplainingly. But is it a Spartan couch that has been devised for them and their subjects or one of tolerable comfort? Now that the outlines as well as the details of the new constitution have crystallized in a practically final form, it is possible to estimate with some degree of exactness the position which the States are likely to occupy in Federal India and the extent to which the new régime is likely to fulfil the anticipations with which its advent was welcomed.

The Princes had made it a *sine qua non* of their adherence to Federation that the Federal Government is limited to specific subjects assigned to it by the free consent of the States. It is a point gained, therefore, that the form of Federation adopted in the White Paper is one which gives the Federal Centre certain enumerated powers, leaving the residuary jurisdiction to the State Units.

The same sort of arrangement, it may be noted, was advocated for the Provinces also by the Muslim leaders and others, but, owing to differences of opinion, the Third Round-Table Conference was unable to make any recommendation on the subject. It contented itself with expressing the hope that if the lists of Federal, Provincial and Concurrent subjects were laid down in sufficient detail, the undefined or unforeseen residue would not prove to be extensive. It also indicated the desirability of leaving the allocation of this residue to the Governor-General, who would, as occasion arose, determine whether the Federal Legislature or

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the Provincial Legislatures might best deal with a particular subject outside the schedules. This plan has accordingly been adopted in the White Paper.

The States will therefore differ from the Provinces in the fact that they will retain residuary powers. Further, the subjects in which they will be bound by Federal Legislation will be more limited in range. But it must not be inferred from this that their legislative competence will not be substantially curtailed by their adherence to Federation.

Some doubts arose at one time, and are not yet fully dispelled, in connection with the proposal that the Federation will exercise only such powers and functions in relation to the States as the States-Members of the Federation will formally accept as being of full force and effect within their territories. This does not evidently mean that a State can pick and choose at will the subjects in respect of which it will agree to be bound by Federal Legislation, that it can contract itself out of any of the common obligations and participate only in the common benefits. Were that the case, as a British Indian politician remarked, not altogether in jest, the political association of the Provinces and the States would be the sort of partnership in which one party brings rice and the other brings chaff and the two proceed to divide the mixture after blowing out the chaff. There is nothing so cynically simple in the arrangement now proposed. Some of the States are enjoying privileges which, for financial or sentimental reasons, they cannot be expected to give up and which can well be left to them without serious prejudice to the Federal plan. It is to protect such long-standing privileges that the provision in question could be implemented, not to support arbitrary claims for immunity from Federal jurisdiction in the appointed sphere. The statement in the White Paper that "full liberty will be reserved to the Crown to refuse to accept the accession of any State to the Federation if it is sought on terms incompatible with the scheme of Federation" could mean nothing less.

Subject, therefore, to a few special exceptions of this kind, the Federation will exercise a uniform range of legislative power over all the State Units, extending, it is understood, to the subjects mentioned in entries 1 to 48 and 64 of List I. It is true that some of these subjects are of a purely formal character (*e.g.*, Federal services, Federal pensions, Federal properties) or are designed to effectuate the transfer of Central Institutes of Research and Education to Federal control. In respect of certain other subjects the States have already parted with their powers, though not without protest, in favour of the Crown, and their enumeration in the list is intended to give a quietus to these protests and formally to vest the powers in question in the new Federal State.

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But after making allowance for all this, there still remains a field of effective or potential jurisdiction, by no means exiguous, which will pass from the States to the Federal Centre under the new constitution. This field will comprise not only such subjects as common defence and external affairs, in all their varied aspects, but railways, shipping, and air navigation, a wide range of commercial law including the incorporation of companies for banking and insurance, inventions and designs, development of industries in cases where such development is declared by or under Federal law to be expedient in the public interest, and, more important than all, the imposition and administration of various kinds of taxes.

In effect, and speaking in a very general way, the activities of the Federal Government will not be dissimilar in scope to those of the present Government of India, but they will extend to a wider territory, comprising the States as well as the Provinces. In respect of the former, a frankly constitutional regulation will take the place of political influence reinforced, as is sometimes complained, by a strained use of the powers of paramountcy.

It is interesting to note the comprehensive nature of some of the subjects which it is proposed to class as exclusively Federal. For instance, take Item I.—"the common defence of India in times of emergency declared by the Governor-General." The declaration of such an emergency, which does not necessarily imply the actual or apprehended presence of a foreign foe at the gates of India, would indefinitely extend the scope of Federal authority. Federal legislation imposing compulsory military service, restricting civil liberties, regulating the prices of foodstuffs, controlling newspapers, commandeering factories or motor conveyances and entering into a hundred and one details of economic and social life would become *intra vires* in such a contingency. As was observed by Justice Higgins of the High Court of Australia, "The power to legislate as to defence, although it shows itself on the same level as the other subjects, has a deeper root, far greater height of growth, wider branches and overshadows all the other powers. Defence is primarily a matter of force, actual or potential; the whole force of the nation may be required; and for the purpose of bringing the whole force of the nation to bear, the policy of the States may have to be temporarily superseded, the law made by the Federal Constitution prevailing."

It may be remembered that it was as Commander-in-Chief of the Federal forces in the field that Abraham Lincoln during the Civil War liberated slaves in America—a striking example of military necessity overriding constitutional limitations.

Another noteworthy item in the list is "Development of Industries in cases where such development is declared by or under

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a Federal law to be expedient in the public interest." The primary and professed object of this entry is to meet those cases "which often arise in which the Central Government may wish to grant assistance to an industry in connection with matters in which they are directly interested but are prevented from doing so owing to the technical objection that the particular industry or the particular case is not declared to be" a Federal subject. But "Development of Industries" is a very comprehensive expression and may conceivably include not only the grant of bounties, which, of course, would be welcome, but the imposition of quotas and other restrictive measures and even the reorganization of an industry as a Federal monopoly.

Not that we should deplore such a result should it ever ensue. The point is that though the Federal Government may be limited to specific subjects, as desired by the States, the content of these subjects is, in some instances, very wide, and that the apparently rigid framework of the new constitution will permit of its development towards a more unitary type.

With regard to the form of Federal Legislation, the representatives of the Princes were inclined to make certain stipulations at one time—viz., that Federal laws should come into force in a State only when they are re-enacted by the Prince and subject to such modifications as, in view of local conditions, he might see fit to impose, with an admission, however, of overriding validity in favour of Federal laws in certain contingencies.

The acceptance of these proposals would have made the Federation unreal. But it is understood that they have not been seriously pressed and the White Paper gives them no countenance.

Another demand made by the States is that, as far as possible, the execution of Federal law within State territories must be left to agencies appointed and controlled by the States themselves. This would seem to be based on sound instinct. The interference in petty details by Federal Directors, Inspectors-General and Advisory staffs of sorts does not make for smoothness of relations. At the same time, the Federation cannot leave the execution of its laws to State agencies without the assurance that they are competent and loyal. If a State, to quote an instance which I am told is not apocryphal, had a civil service in which the positions of Chief Judge and Superintendent of dancing girls stood on a par and were interchangeable, the claim for administrative autonomy in the Federal field would be preposterous. There is obviously need for some discrimination in the matter, which it will be for the Governor-General to exercise, as occasion may require, and more particularly in connection with the Treaties of Accession.

Our doctrinaire friends in British India need not raise their brows at the proposed administrative delegation in favour of the

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States because, firstly, this delegation will be subject to the condition that the Governor-General will be entitled to issue general instructions or make inspections for the purpose of satisfying himself that an adequate standard of administration is maintained.

Secondly, the proposed arrangement is based on approved practice in other Federations such as that of Switzerland.

Thirdly, the position of the Provinces in this respect will not be materially different from that of the States, except for the fact that the Provinces will receive instructions in Federal matters from the Federal Government of the day and not from the Governor-General and that any cost which they may incur for the purpose of executing Federal laws will be paid by the Federal Government. Apparently the States will receive no such compensation. If, for instance, a census were to be taken for Federal purposes, the Provinces would be paid for it, but the States would have to conduct it at their own cost.

From the outset, the Princes maintained that "the connection of the States with the Federation should be subject to the basic principle that in regard to all matters not ceded to the Federation their relations will be with the Crown acting through the agency of the Viceroy." This principle was readily conceded by the Prime Minister at the First Round-Table Conference. It has since been reaffirmed by both sides on several occasions and is now enshrined in circumstantial detail in the White Paper. But what does this basic principle really involve? So far as the Princes were concerned, it meant, firstly, that the Federal Legislature should not trespass on their internal affairs or make them a subject for discussion or interpellation in the Legislative bodies; secondly, that their rights and privileges under the Treaties would be guaranteed as inviolate and inviolable; thirdly, that the powers of paramountcy in relation to dynastic and ceremonial matters, questions of grave misrule, minority administration, etc., should be exercised by the Viceroy, to the exclusion of the Federal Government; and fourthly, that as a necessary incident of the new régime they would be emancipated from control in matters outside the spheres of Federation and of paramountcy in the sense just explained.

The first three points are secured by the new constitution. But as regards the fourth point, there are no signs yet of any possible relaxation of control in non-Federal subjects. On the other hand, the White Paper continues to give to the Viceroy, apparently without change or diminution, all the powers which the Crown has acquired or enjoyed by treaty, usage or sufferance, barring only those which are transferred to the Federation. For instance, the acceptance of new financial burdens under the constitution does not, it would appear, absolve a State of its treaty obligation to pay tributes. The Crown, as the head of the Federation, may

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acquire new powers under the constitution to establish and administer cantonments in the States, but will it give up the right of demanding cession of territory that it enjoys under treaty for the identical purpose? Plenary jurisdiction has been ceded to the Crown in respect of railway lands, but as the Federation requires and will secure definite rights for the regulation of railways under the constitution, will the Crown insist on retaining the residual jurisdiction in its own hands or will it make it over to the States wherever possible? These questions require close consideration if the obligations imposed by the Treaties of Alliance and the Treaties of Accession are not to become cumulative, the upper and nether millstones of a complicated subjection.

Perhaps the most tangible and the most immediate sacrifice that the States will be called upon to make in the cause of Federation will be in the financial sphere. In order to illustrate this, an attempt may be made to estimate the extent to which Mysore is likely to be affected by the proposals contained in the White Paper. In addition to import duties, export duties, coinage profits, salt duty, etc., to which the people of the State already contribute, the sources of revenue allocated to the Federation include tobacco excise and other excise duties except those on alcohol, drugs, and narcotics. Having regard to the probable needs of the Federation and the avowed intention of developing Federal excises to satisfy these needs, it is fairly certain that excise duties on tobacco and matches will be levied almost from the outset. The contribution of the Mysore State under these heads may be estimated at Rs. 9 to 10 lakhs.* Sugar will probably be the next article to be selected for the imposition of excise duty on the ground of this industry having established itself under the shelter of tariff walls. What this would mean to Mysore, which, having spent crores of rupees on irrigation, is endeavouring to develop the production of sugar, need hardy be emphasized.

Then there will be surcharges on income-tax, which, if they are retained at the level which has prevailed since 1931, will mean another 3 or 4 lakhs.

After ten years a further liability will arise in the shape of corporation tax, the definition of which has been extended so as to cover taxation not only on the income but also on the capital of companies. Assuming that this tax will be levied, as has been understood all along, as a super-tax on company profits at $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., the State's contribution will be some Rs. 6 lakhs. And it must be remembered that unless other adjustments are made, as seemed likely at one time, it will not be in this case a question of giving up a potential source of revenue but of diversion to the Federal Treasury of an existing source of State revenue.

* 1 lakh of rupees is about £7,500.

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The only financial advantage that is promised is the relief from payment of the tribute or subsidy. But this will commence only from the fourth year of the Federation and may even then be deferred by the Governor-General at his discretion. Thereafter it will be reduced by progressive stages and brought down at the end of ten years to a figure equivalent to the value of the postal concession which the State now enjoys. The accession of the State to Federation will therefore mean an immediate addition of at least 13 or 14 lakhs to the subsidy during the first three years of the Federation, and when the subsidy is, in the fulness of time, remitted, other forms of taxation of equal, if not greater, magnitude will have taken its place.

The States' population constitutes about 25 per cent. of the population of India. But the States are given 40 per cent. of the seats in the Upper House of Legislature and 33⅓ per cent. in the Lower. The weightage allowed to the States as a body might be thought to be sufficiently generous, but there are some States which still claim 50 per cent. of the seats in the Upper House, on the ground that this House will be, in a special sense, *the* Federal Chamber, in which the two component elements of the Federation—viz., British India and Indian India—are entitled to equal share. By an extension of the same process of reasoning, a demand has been developed for the individual and equal representation of all States irrespective of their size and population, provided they are members of the Chamber of Princes in their own right or are eligible for admission to that body. But this demand ignores the fact that many of the States within the charmed circle of the Chamber are really much too small to get individual representation, unless the strength of the Second Chamber is raised to fantastic proportions. Some system of grouping is inevitable, but some of the States which have come to regard the membership of the Upper Chamber as a place in the sun cannot easily reconcile themselves to this conclusion. They regard the prospect of group representation very much with the feelings of the Frenchman who, at one stage of the evolution of the triple theory of equality, fraternity and liberty, looked at himself in the mirror to find the reflection of one-twenty-seven millionth part of the sovereign of his country and the whole of a slave. The Federal *Nirvana* can offer no solace to these States.

But some of the larger States, too, are confronted with a problem which, though it is not so acute or insoluble, is not dissimilar in its nature. It is true that they will each have one or more seats. But what good will this do unless the number allotted to them is adequate to their population? They want no weightage, no favour, but ask that the legitimate interests of their people should not be sacrificed. A proposal according to which, it is said,

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five seats will be given to Hyderabad, while the Central Provinces get eight seats, or three seats fall to the share of Mysore, while North-West Frontier Province, Sindh and Orissa secure five seats each, would seem to lack a sense of proportion. It is permissible to hope that such inequalities will not be allowed to arise.

These are matters in which the States' Rulers as well as the States' people may be presumed to hold identical views. But there comes, as might be expected, a point at which a divergence of opinion between them begins to manifest itself. A reference to one or two important points in this connection will here suffice.

To the constitutional purist, the idea of nominated members from the States and elected members from British India to the Federal Legislature may appear to be incongruous. In fact this is one of the points on which some of the States' people and a certain section of political opinion in India consider a change in the White Paper proposals to be essential. But it may be argued that the fear is not so much that the Princes, if left to themselves, would nominate unworthy or unrepresentative delegates to the Legislative bodies, but that, under the influence of the Political Department, these delegates might act and vote according to the dictates of the Crown, becoming, in other words, a substitute for the present official *bloc*. But these fears are not shared by men like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. This is what Sir Tej says: "I do not wish to minimize or ignore the weight of this criticism or the anomaly of the position, but having considered it carefully and dispassionately, I have come to the conclusion that the risks of this *bloc* generally acting as an impediment in the way of British India are not by any means great. At any rate they are not of such a grave character as to justify us in rejecting the All-India Federation on that ground alone. In the first place I cannot believe—and there is no warrant for such an assumption—that all Indian States' representatives will think alike; secondly, I think that differences caused by regional and economic interests are bound to lead to diversity in policy and action among the representatives of the Indian States; thirdly, I would draw attention to the list of Federal subjects in Appendix VI. The Federation being limited to subjects 1-49 in List I. of Appendix VI., the Indian States' *bloc* cannot perform the functions of the present official *bloc* in respect of those matters in which Indian opinion and official opinion in British India are usually ranged on opposite sides."

It may be added that the activities of the Political Department will be practically co-extensive with those of the Viceroy; and as between them and the Federal Legislature, there will be no debatable margins of jurisdiction or influence. Moreover, the traditions of the Department, particularly since the war, make it certain that it will render unto Cæsar only those things which are

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Cæsar's and will have neither the desire nor the incentive to interfere in the composition or functioning of the Legislative bodies. At the same time, the States themselves are unlikely to submit to any such interference were it attempted. It may be recalled in this connection that some of the foremost advocates of the Indian cause at the present time are men who spent years of service in the Political Department.

It has been said that even if the Indian States' representatives did not form a separate *bloc* voting according to the wishes of the Crown, they would still be conservative elements in the composition of the Federal Legislatures. If this were all that could be said against the arrangement, it would seem to be a soft impeachment indeed.

In a memorandum submitted to the Round-Table Conference, Mr. Kelkar asks the question whether the British Indian member who "will necessarily represent the effective political consciousness of thousands of Indian souls"—"would he like to be vitally associated with any other member who bears on him the hallmark of the sufferance of undiluted autocracy?" And he answers the question by saying that it "would indeed be serious political misjoinder. Oil and water have never mixed well or at all." He considers that "both the British Indian members and the States' representatives in the Federal Legislature must have nearly the same sense of political status, the same sense of self-respect, independence and responsibility." Agreed. But if a State's representative votes under the instructions of his Government, every elected member votes under the instructions, more or less definite, of his constituency. And it is certain that the mandate of a Ruler will not be as peremptory as that of a special constituency, say, of labour or commerce or of land-holders. And as for equality of status and sense of responsibility, the States' delegates to the Round-Table Conference did not suffer by comparison with their British Indian colleagues and there is no reason to anticipate that their relative positions will not be maintained in the future Parliament of India.

Further, it is not clear that the States' representation will be composed solely of officials or that the non-officials included in the representation will not be chosen on the basis of some form of direct or indirect election. It is true that indirect elections will not have the same spectacular interest as direct elections, but they will at least have the merit of being inexpensive, open alike to the rich and poor, and immune from the tyranny of the party machine which kills the honest worker and promotes the chances only of the plausible and pliant demagogue.

Finally, there is the demand, which is often heard, for including a chapter on fundamental rights in the new constitution and

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making it applicable both to the subjects of British India and Indian States. In the White Paper, it is proposed that certa declarations, such for instance regarding the respect due to pe sonal liberty and rights of property, should find a place in th constitution and that other propositions, apparently of a le general or axiomatic character, might be given expression to the King's Proclamation. Assuming this is done, it is difficult see how the subjects of British India, or, if any Rulers were adopt these declarations, the subjects of Indian States, are like to profit thereby. As pointed out by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, th declarations of rights are "in most cases in the nature of mer moral or politico-ethical or legislative maxims which have n claim to be treated as rules of positive law," and being "devoi of legal content, they are merely illusory safeguards of rights." It is significant that France, which had originally set the fashio in regard to the declaration of fundamental rights, has dispensed with that formality in its present constitution.

So far as the States are concerned, the yoke of Federation is no likely to be easy nor its burden light. But it is none the less clea that it is only in some form of Federal polity that the States can look for their political salvation. This view, which is widely held, is not the acquiescence of the courtier or fatalist in what might seem inevitable, or the product of Faith which can believe where it cannot prove. One important consideration should here be mentioned which makes sacrifice worth while for the sake of Federation. As observed by the Davidson Committee, "the States remain without the means of guiding or even of effectively influencing policy at the headquarters of Government in regard to many matters in which they have a very direct and material interest. In recent years when a measure of autonomy has been vouchsafed to British India, it has become less easy for the Crown to discharge its responsibilities as trustee for all the conflicting interests under its suzerainty or rule, and it would be rash to affirm that the point of view of the States equally with that of British India has always been in the minds of those who have shaped India's economic policy."

The removal of this disability constitutes the chief advantage of Federation to the States, while the ideal of a United India to which it seeks to give concrete expression must make a powerful appeal to the imagination of Princes and people alike.

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EDUCATION IN HYDERABAD

By Stanley Rice

Those who fear that with the introduction of the contemplated reforms India will relapse into "barbarism," whatever is meant by that elastic word, and that she will soon forget and eventually discard all the precious heritage bequeathed by British rule, are apt to ignore, if not to forget, the fact that in the course of 150 years British ideas and methods of thought, to say nothing of the material contributions, have so woven themselves into the pattern of Indian life that it is almost impossible to disentangle them. To some of these ideas, it may be freely admitted, lip service only is paid; they are like the seed that fell upon stony ground. Others are not wholly understood, and in the exuberance of enthusiasm are so interpreted as to overstep all restraining bounds; but there are many others—and they are not confined to the sophisticated and the educated—which have taken such deep root that it is hard to conceive an India without them.

The system of education which has been evolved in British India is one of these last, and it has been transplanted, almost without variation, into Indian States. With the broadening of the Indian outlook which fifty years ago saw little beyond the confines of the Himalayas and the sea, with the extension of foreign travel, with the deepened interest in social affairs, and with the help of conferences, Indian education has striven to keep abreast of the times and to adopt the most modern improvements. The Report on Hyderabad Education bristles with all the familiar terminology. There are colleges and faculties and middle and high schools and training colleges and vocational courses. There are girls' schools and depressed classes' schools, medical inspection and physical training, Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, and all that the most ardent educationist of the orthodox school could desire. Even the form of the Report reproduces—here and there with exaggerations—the approved model of British India with its virtues and its shortcomings. The method appears to be this—and it is small blame to the States if they have adopted what many of them have learned elsewhere: when the material has been collected from the subordinate officers, clerks in the head office laboriously set to work to prepare columns of figures, to work out percentages, to tally this table with that, to explain away any apparent retrogression, and finally to prepare in a fairly readable narrative form a report stuffed as full with statistics as a pudding

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is with plums. This report is hurled at the head of the unfortunate minister, who, after struggling with about 100 typewritten pages, ends very little wiser than he has begun. If he is wise, he picks out a few salient points and confines his review to them; if he is apathetic or thinks the game is not worth the candle, he hands over the whole thing to the office who "prepare the review," and as in either case the result is read through, consigned to the record room, and forgotten, he may perhaps be accounted the wiser of the two.

That, it may be said, is altogether too cynical. There must after all be some record of the progress of a great department, and surely no department can have a more important effect on the welfare of a people than that which is instructing the youth of the State or province in good citizenship. There is much even in this mass of statistics from which the critic may glean the condition of affairs. You cannot invent a review, and if your review contains little of value, that must mean either that you have not taken enough trouble or that there is little to criticize. Judged by such standards as these, the Hyderabad Reports make interesting reading. One naturally turns at first to primary education because of the importance attached to literacy among the villagers, and the result would seem to be satisfactory enough. In three years there has been an increase of nearly 14,000 pupils and of over 200 schools; the number of boys alone attending primary schools is well over 200,000. Female education is making slow progress, here as everywhere else. A total of 45,000 out of a population of some $14\frac{1}{2}$ millions is a very modest contribution, and of these nearly 40,000 are in the primary schools. The obstacles to female education all over India are, however, very great, as everyone knows, and one must not grudge praise to the effort which is being made in a sphere of peculiar difficulty and of comparatively recent origin. Everywhere, it may be said, education is progressing, and a Government which spends about Rs. 100 lakhs out of a total revenue of Rs. 750 lakhs cannot be accused of neglect.

And yet the Reports, for all the apparently satisfactory progress, leave one in doubt. Here as elsewhere, both in British India and the States, rural relapse into illiteracy largely thwarts the best meant efforts. That this should be so is not at all surprising. The agriculturist, whose preoccupation is with the land and who has not advanced far enough to feel the need of scientific advice to help him, has little use for reading and writing; he has not even the stimulus which might come from the superior attainments of his wife. He is rather in the position of the boy who, having no desire to learn the piano, is nevertheless taught his notes. Later he has not got a piano and does not want one; for lack of oppor-

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tunity and lack of initiation he soon forgets the little he knew. The urban dweller is in a different position. To an industrial pursuit some reading and writing are essential except perhaps to the unskilled worker; the facility for getting newspapers and books, and the sights and examples all about him continue to keep alive and to develop the elements which he has learned at his primary school. This phenomenon is not peculiar to India, but from the nature of the case, from the general illiteracy and the lack of adequate communications it is perhaps more marked there.

Educationists are aware of the difficulty and have tried to meet it. Attempts have been made to give education a "rural bias"; at any rate there has been much talk on these lines, but nobody has yet, so far as I am aware, been able to translate this alluring phrase into practice. At one time small patches of land were attached to schools, which the boys could cultivate, but the patches were too small, and the cultivation was very far removed from agriculture proper. The whole thing was too like a game; it was as though you gave a girl a doll's house to fit her for her duties as a mistress of a home. On the other hand, it was found in Baroda State that where the excellent system of village libraries had brought literature within easy reach of the villagers, the relapse into illiteracy was far less marked. Environment and opportunity proved a stimulus; some at least of the young men would drop into the village library to read a newspaper in a leisure moment, and example is infectious. The remedy was, it is true, very partial, but it was not without its effect. Something, too, may be hoped from the plans put forward by Sir Akbar Hydari, and now under consideration by the Hyderabad Government, for a scheme of rural broadcasting.

One cannot assume that Hyderabad is any exception to the rule which obtains everywhere in India. The Director of Education is well entitled to our congratulations on the increase in schools and scholars, on his attempts to introduce vocational training, on the creation of new forms of activity, and on the steady, if slow, progress in female education. But the critic is entitled to ask, not by way of disparagement of a praiseworthy effort but in a friendly spirit of interest, What does it all amount to? So much space is devoted to quantity, so little to quality, that the outside reader, having no knowledge of the conditions of Hyderabad, is tempted to ask if the State is getting full value for the large expenditure of public money.

The same criticism—if it be fair to criticize on these lines a Report which is only meant to be an official record of the year's working for the information of local authorities—applies to collegiate education. It is disquieting that in the Report of 1930-31 we read

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that "the question of unemployment amongst the graduates and undergraduates of the Osmania University has become very acute." Hyderabad is by no means alone in finding difficulty in obtaining employment for its educated sons. Nor is it just to blame the system of education for this result. It is a common, but rather superficial, criticism of Indian education that it is too literary. Thousands of youths are turned out every year with a fair degree of literary knowledge, but who cannot find a job. The original assumption was, however, that education was primarily intended to supply general culture and a training of the mind: the education at an English public school was purely literary and sufficed to fit a boy for any career. If it was a question of a special examination, such as that for the Army or the Civil Service, there might be for the last year or so tuition directed to that object. Otherwise you went on to the university or into business or eventually took special courses in medicine or theology. India was handicapped in two ways. Anyone reading the Reports with care will notice that the fees charged are ludicrously low compared with an English standard. The fees per head work out to just under Rs. 32 a year for all colleges—that is, about £2 10s. This is but a trifle when compared with the expenditure on the Osmania College alone of Rs. $8\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs. But in all probability any attempt to raise the fees substantially would not only cause resentment but would actually drive away many of the poorer scholars. The sacrifices which parents make to give their sons a decent education are too well known to require comment. Hence it is that very many boys have no capital with which to start a career. They cannot afford to wait: they cannot afford to take risks.

Moreover the occupations open to such youths are more restricted than they are in England. The evolution of modern India under the British necessarily involved the assumption by the State of many duties which are ordinarily left to private enterprise, since ideas foreign to the country could only be carried out by those to whom they were familiar, and these duties of course included such social services as medicine and—to a greater extent than is found in England—education and engineering. It was almost inevitable that the State, which thus undertook social enterprises, financed with the people's money, should enter into competition with the private practitioner. There was, of course, no deliberate intention to do so. Government were faced with the awkward dilemma that they must either leave these services to a non-existent private enterprise or carry them out themselves. They chose the obvious course.

Caste, too, with its occupational tendency to some extent stood in the way. It took some time for a boy to realize that he could do other than his father and grandfather had done before him;

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and the feeling has not altogether passed away, though it seems to be passing, that it is derogatory to a boy of good birth and high caste to soil his hands with the dirty work in the lower grades of a profession, especially of a commercial profession. It is, however, possible to exaggerate this difficulty. Caste, under the stress of progressive ideas and of economic pressure, is losing much of its rigidity, at any rate in externals and amongst the intellectuals. Occupations are not now the monopoly of any one caste: the Brahman may keep a shop and the Sudra may be a lawyer or journalist and nothing said. The youths of today, when more extensive foreign travel has broadened their outlook and has shown them the "dignity of labour," are beginning to realize that to lay the foundations of success you must not disdain drudgery even if it involves soiled hands and mud-stained garments. There are signs that the professions of medicine and engineering, to name only two, are making some headway against the rivalry of the law. In the Osmania College there were 63 law and 60 medical students; the engineering college had 48. These all show small advances, but they are still insignificant in numbers when compared with the 477 in the faculty of arts and sciences.

What is Hyderabad State doing to correct this state of affairs? The Principal of the college calls on the authorities "to take immediate steps to improve matters." That is easy to say, but no one need envy the task of a Government who tries to put into practical shape this excellent advice. In the Department of Education alone an attempt is being made to combine vocational with literary education and a list of twenty-four trades is given. The idea has much to recommend it, but, while it may be unfair to criticize from the bald recital of names, there would seem to be scope for improvement under expert advice. We are told that this kind of training has been introduced into 13 high, 34 middle, 5 special, and "some" primary schools, but we are not told whether all twenty-four trades are taught in all the schools, and, if not, which are taught in which. It would certainly seem that such trades as cane and rattan work, tape-weaving and blacksmithery will not go far towards the solution of the "black-coated" unemployment and the amount of agriculture—a highly scientific study which is worthy of a separate college—cannot be so great as to be of any real value. It is indeed open to question whether vocational training is really suitable for boys of the age attending such schools as those named. It may well be argued that the primary object of education is to develop the mind, in order that a boy may bring intelligence to whatever career he may choose; the specialized training for that career may come later, both when the mind is more matured and when the age has arrived at which a choice should be made. There is some danger

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lest the reaction against literary education should swing too far to the opposite extreme, and that the training of the mind should be given the second place after the more material object of gaining a livelihood.

But in addition to this vocational training there is also a Technical Institute which contains departments concerned mainly with various kinds of mechanical engineering. It cannot be said that elsewhere the response has come up to expectations; Hyderabad may, however, be an exception in that possibly the people may to some extent take on the Islamic outlook of the Government, and in that part of India in which Hyderabad is situated Muslims incline by temperament rather to trade and industry than to agriculture. Recently Mr. John de La Valette told us that hand-loom weaving and the dyeing and printing of fabrics, cottage industries, the development of mechanized industry, and, above all, of cotton and textile manufactures are amongst the activities of the Government of the State. Agriculture, which is and probably always will be the staple industry, has its department with the usual equipment of experimental farms and research work. But he adds, in a felicitous phrase in which there is pregnant meaning, that, "Like all good farmers, those in Hyderabad have memories that recede too far into the past to take lightly to innovation." What applies to agriculture applies also to other callings. Tradition has hitherto proved too strong both for Indians and for their Governments. For the Government from which everything is expected can in fact do but little unless the response is adequate. All that it can do is to provide the fare and invite the people to partake. Once their imagination is caught the rest is easy. When the new education was first introduced, the rush for it exceeded all expectations. "Twice twenty years," says Trevelyan in 1876, "have brought into existence not hundreds or thousands, but hundreds of thousands, of natives who can appreciate European knowledge when laid before them in the English language and can reproduce it in their own." The rewards were adequate. The new learning gave access to a multitude of posts for which a knowledge of English was either essential or eminently desirable; the old profession of arms became restricted to certain races and classes, partly owing to the creation of a professional army and partly to the general pacification of the country: the Princes largely disappeared and with them the entourage of their courts. But new professions arose. The Law offered both attraction and reward to youths brought up in an atmosphere of subtle dialectics. The new learning required teachers and the beginnings were made of a Press which required journalists. But the posts were not vacated as quickly as the youth of India grew up to fill them, even though the growth of

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the administration and the creation of new departments offered a measure of compensation. More important still the population increased enormously: it had reached 294 million by 1901, and in 1931 it was nearly 353 million.

Unfortunately the development of other occupations did not keep pace with the spread of education. This, as we have already seen, was partly due to the want of capital. Doctors found it hard to compete with a Government service which might give inferior medical aid but at any rate gave it for nothing or at the most for very little. The great profession of commerce and industry, in which in industrial countries so many boys find occupation, was hampered not only by lack of capital, but also, it is to be feared, by distrust of the investing public, and also of would-be partners for one another. Everything was handicapped by the competition of foreign nations, who were better equipped and better organized. It would be wearisome to follow in detail a whole catalogue of professions in which these or similar obstacles are to be found; in the main it is broadly true that the growth of higher education has outstripped the supply of occupation and hence the present unemployment of the middle-class youth.

It is not, then, the over-literary nature of the instruction that is to blame so much as the lack of foresight, if that can fairly be charged to them, of those who, in their zeal for education, never noticed that a stimulation of enterprise was needed, and therefore were content to let things take their course. It is merely a counsel of perfection to ask the Government, be it British or Indian, to take the necessary measures to deal with this kind of unemployment. One asks oneself what was in the mind of the writer. Is it suggested that Government should legislate to force the people to do that which they have no intention of doing? or is it suggested that they should create superfluous posts and superfluous departments to absorb these youths? The suspicion remains that it is merely a form of words, which, while discharging the writer's responsibility, throws it upon the Government without meaning anything in particular.

I have dwelt upon this question of the unemployment of intellectuals at what may seem inordinate length, because it is one of the most serious problems which confront India today in the Department of Education. It is not merely that hundreds of youths are being turned out who are unable to make practical use of their education, but also that it is out of such disappointed material, left to brood over their disappointment, and the failure of the State to satisfy them, that disaffection and unrest are created. For the stimulation of careers propaganda and capital are required; and of these the first is a very uncertain remedy and the second the State can hardly be expected to supply. All that

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the State can do is to lighten the burden of taxation, to improve communications and marketing, and to withdraw as far as possible from competition. These things are easy to say but difficult to accomplish, and when all is said and done they do not provide any real solution so long as the spirit is lacking in the people. No Government can supply that: it must come from within.

The problem of the depressed classes is in the same category. They, it seems, do not freely avail themselves of the generosity of the State in throwing open the ordinary schools to them. This is not surprising; it would indeed be surprising if they did. The depressed classes, like the castes, cannot avoid at a bound the influence of tradition, whatever the State may do, and while the castes are strong in their opposition, which they base, with mistaken tactics, on religious scruple, the depressed classes do no doubt feel the strength of the custom which bids them keep apart from those higher in the social scale. It may be also that they are guided by more material considerations, for the higher castes have it within their power to make things uncomfortable. After all there is something to be said for their attitude. We ourselves might well avoid the great public schools which encourage the admission of those for whom they were never meant. There are only two alternatives. If the State wishes to force these people into the caste schools, it must close the special ones intended for them; or else it must keep open institutions which are an uneconomic burden.

These things, however, are beyond the control of any State and any Government. They can only be solved by the slow and steady change in public opinion and by the evolution of economic conditions. The most that any State can be asked to do is to provide the means by which these changes may be brought about. Education in India, it has been said, is in a "critical state"; if that be so, it is the system which is at fault and not the application of it. An Indian State for the most part follows the example set by British India, and it cannot be blamed if it has not struck out a completely new line for itself, the more so because it is not very clear what the critics would substitute for the existing system. Judged by these standards, Hyderabad is doing all that is possible for the people, and one can only hope that the Director will be able to point to further improvements in the future.

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WINTER SPORTS IN KASHMIR

By Lieut.-Colonel A. G. Dyce

It seems to be fairly widely known nowadays that a number of enthusiasts go up to Gulmarg every Christmas for winter sports. But there is an idea that, whilst the place is well enough for enthusiasts, snow conditions are not really good. In fact the idea lingers in the minds of many that there is something peculiar about Indian snow which makes it unsuitable for ski-ing. This is a mistaken notion. Snow conditions are every bit as good as in Europe, if not better. Three or four years ago, Mr. Harold Paumgarten, the Austrian ski champion, when touring through India, paid a week's visit to Gulmarg, and reported the snow excellent.

In Switzerland a "green" Christmas is not infrequent. So far we have not had one in Gulmarg, though last Christmas snow was very short, it is true. However, there was enough to keep fifty-four people busy, and enough to run off three races.

The terrain is good—excellent beginners' slopes all over the marg, delightful wood-running, and, above the woods, the long open slopes of Khilanmarg and Apharwat. The wood-running is a feature of Gulmarg. Woods in Switzerland are not popular with the average runner; the trees grow close together and get in the way, if one is not skilful; not infrequently you hear people allude to wood-running as "birds' nesting." At Gulmarg the trees, from a skier's point of view, are beautifully spaced, forcing one to turn, but not too often, and they make a pleasant change from the open snowfields of Khilanmarg. In fact Gulmarg has the makings of a first-rate winter sports centre. So far we have concentrated mainly on ski-ing, but skating and tobogganing are both possible and will find their adherents in time.

Another misconception about Gulmarg is that it is difficult to reach in winter. The writer has been to Gulmarg six times in winter, and found the journey easier then than in summer. This applies to Christmas and March—that is, before and after the really heavy snowfalls take place. The Kashmir State clear the Tangmarg road when necessary, while the Ski Club clears a pony track from Tangmarg up to the hotel.

For the last three years Mr. Willie Nedou has opened his hotel for the Christmas and March meetings of the Ski Club, and this has added considerably to the general comfort. But it must be understood that the hotel does not possess central heating, and the standard of comfort, at present, falls a good deal below that of

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Switzerland and Austria. But, as the sports attract more people, improvements will be made. In the hotel is a ski-shop, run by Mr. Pestonjee of Srinagar, where ski, skates, toboggans can be bought or hired; as also numerous other articles of equipment, from ski-wax to hotwater bottles and Gilgit boots. Those who wish to go up to Gulmarg when the hotel is not open—*i.e.*, from January 15 until March—can arrange to stay in the Ski Club hut on Khilanmarg.

Ski-running in India dates back quite a long time. In 1904, Major-General Kirkpatrick (Lieutenant Kirkpatrick as he then was) learnt to ski at Grindelwald. The following year he came out to India, bringing his ski with him, and used them crossing the Margan Pass, and in the Zaj valley, in the Wardwan, where he was shooting. Three years later he joined the Chitral Scouts, and got a certain amount of enjoyable running in the hills round Chitral, nearly coming to grief, however, one day in the Chiral Gol. The next person to ski in India seems to have been Major Kenneth Mason, who, in 1911, got out a pair of ski from home and Caulfield's *How to Ski*, and with these taught himself the elements of straight-running. He first used his ski in the Dachigam Rukh in Kashmir in April, 1911, and again in July of that year on the Kolahoi glacier, and on a number of other occasions up to 1913 in descending from his Survey stations. But the sport never really attracted him.

The war, of course, checked the development of ski-ing, and it was not until 1921 that experiments were again made. These continued at intervals till 1926, when the Ski Club of India was formed by some half-dozen enthusiasts, stationed in Northern India. The Club now numbers about 200 members, and Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Willingdon have honoured the Club by becoming patrons; as has H.H. the Maharajah of Jammu and Kashmir. H.E. Lady Willingdon has, moreover, presented us with a handsome Challenge Cup for the Ski-running Championship, which is decided on the results of a slalom and a straight race.

In recent years Razmak, Parachinar, Kulu, and Murree have all witnessed people on ski, but the terrain of these places is not very suitable. Gulmarg, however, is as good as one could wish; whilst the northern slopes of the Pir Panjal would be excellent for touring, as soon as more Alpine huts are built. The Club already has one on Khilanmarg, recently rebuilt and enlarged.

The Club holds two meetings a year, one at Christmas from December 18 to January 8, and another in March, the spring meeting, from March 7 to 20. There are five races at Christmas (one for complete novices) and two in March, when the principal event is the Services Team Race.

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Anyone interested, whether in ski-ing or tobogganing, or anyone who merely wants a pleasant holiday in the snow, and would like to know further details as regards expense, etc., should write to the Honorary Secretary, the Ski Club of India, c/o the Post Office, Rawalpindi, Punjab, or to the Manager, Nedou's Hotel, Srinagar, Kashmir.

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THE KRISHNARAJASAGARA RESERVOIR*

By H. D. Rice

The Krishnarajasagara Dam is built across the Cauvery River about 12 miles from Mysore City. The site of the dam is just below the confluence of the three rivers—the Cauvery, the Hemavati, and the Lakshmanathirtha. When the site for the proposed dam was being investigated, an old inscription stone was discovered on the banks of the Cauvery which had been placed there by Tippoo Sultan in about the year 1790, clearly indicating that he contemplated putting an anicut, or low dam, across the Cauvery at that point.

The reservoir above the Krishnarajasagara Dam is 50 square miles in area and is now the biggest artificial reservoir in India. It has naturally become the centre of attraction to all tourists and others who visit Mysore City.

The work on the construction of the dam was actually started in 1911. The dam itself is 130 feet in height and 9,200 feet in length. There are a number of sluices at different points for the purpose of drawing off water for irrigation and power.

The Krishnarajasagara scheme was sanctioned by Government in order to ensure a steady supply of water for the generation of power at the hydro-electric works at Sivasamudram as well as to irrigate about 125,000 acres of land. The construction of this reservoir has enabled Government to increase the amount of electrical energy generated at Sivasamudram from 10,000 to 46,000 horse power. The principal outlet for this power is the Kolar Gold Mines situated at a distance of 93 miles from the power station at Sivasamudram. This transmission line, when completed in 1902, was the first long-distance transmission line in India. Power is, of course, guaranteed to the various gold mining companies in the Kolar Gold Fields. It is also supplied to various industrial concerns in the State, as well as for lighting the cities of Bangalore and Mysore and many other important towns in the State. Latterly, power has also been supplied to the Madras Government for their Metur scheme across the Cauvery River, which, when completed, will be very much larger than the Krishnarajasagara.

With regard to irrigation, there is a network of canals below

* A picture of one of the fountains in the newly-constructed terrace gardens at the Krishnarajasagara Dam will be found in the Illustrated Section.

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the Krishnarajasagara Dam, the principal canal being the Irwin Canal. The most interesting feature of this is the Karighatta Tunnel, cut through a range of hills of that name in a dead straight line for over 9,000 feet in length.

A word on the subject of cost may be of interest to readers. The final estimated cost of the dam is 250 lakhs (£1,875,000). The Karighatta Tunnel cost nearly 46 lakhs (£345,000). The canals below the dam have cost 222 lakhs (£1,665,000).

The Krishnarajasagara Dam is built of masonry known as random rubble, hydraulic mortar being used for stone, the lime for which was obtained and burnt locally, a certain amount of Portland cement being used for the foundations. The stone for the masonry was obtained also from the adjacent hills on either flank of the dam. It will thus be seen that this magnificent reservoir has been built by local Mysore engineers from material obtained in the Mysore State, the only items purchased abroad—that is, from England—being such pieces of machinery as the portable engines, pumps, workshop fittings, and, of course, some of the sluice gates on the dam.

The capacity of the reservoir is 48,000 million cubic feet. The quantity of masonry in the dam is 30 million cubic feet. The cost of constructing the dam was 31 rupees per 100 cubic feet, or the equivalent of $5\frac{1}{2}$d. per cubic foot, which is interesting when comparing the cost of similar works in Western countries. The number of sluices in the dam is 16, and there are 150 sluices in the Waste Weir, or Escape.

The irrigated area submerged in the lake on which compensation has been paid, was 12,000 acres of formerly irrigated land, and 14,000 acres of unirrigated land. Twenty-five villages were submerged in the lake, for which new sites had to be found and compensation paid.

There are 200 miles of main canals, branches and sub-branches. The following crops are being raised on the land now irrigated from this magnificent reservoir: Paddy, sugar cane, mulberry, potatoes, tobacco, onions, garlic, fruit of various kinds, vegetables and other miscellaneous crops.

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SOME ASPECTS OF A CENTRAL RESERVE BANK FOR INDIA—II

By B. R. Shenoy, M.A., M.Sc.(Econ.), London

In the first article of this series we reviewed the abortive Central Banking schemes that were proposed from time to time. We shall now examine the present organization of the Indian Money Market.

The term "money market" is used to convey different conceptions. Sometimes it is taken to be closely bound up with the ordinary process of trade and industry in a country.* Others take a less comprehensive view of it, but, nevertheless, include the whole machinery of a financial centre and therefore the Stock Exchange and the instruments of company promotion.† More usually the term refers to the short-term credit organization consisting of banks, which make short-term loans; discount houses, which deal in bills; and acceptance houses, which provide trade with first-class bills by putting their name on them. Sometimes dealers in foreign exchanges are also included. In the parlance of the "City" of London the term refers to the joint stock banks, acceptance houses, bill brokers, and discount houses.

Most well-organized banking systems in the world have at their centre a Money Market, taken in the more usual sense of the term;‡ or, as in Canada and Ireland, come under the influence of a neighbouring Money Market like New York or London. The Reserve Bank of the country is at the head of the market, and the credit institutions, business and industrial firms have their head offices, branches, correspondents or representatives in it. Temporary surplus funds of the country are pooled into the market and from it are drawn the surplus requirements of the business community. The Government of the country, pending revenue receipts, draws upon the market by issuing Treasury Bills to meet current expenditure. The temper of the Money Market, therefore, in all normal times is a reliable index of the financial affluence or stringency of the country, particularly the banking system, at any given time. The Money Market also provides easy

* *E.g.*, The Outer Money Market of F. Lavington. See *The English Capital Market* (1921), p. 6.

† *E.g.*, E. E. Spicer: *The Money Market in Relation to Trade and Commerce* (1926), p. 18.

‡ The Swiss Banking System is an exception to this in that it has three Money Markets.

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and convenient machinery for connecting one banking system with another, and therefore is responsible in large measure for the susceptibility of a country to financial disturbances generated elsewhere.

It forms the nerve centre of the financial system and, although localized in a convenient place, modern means of communication have rendered its scope almost nation-wide. And in respect of centres like London and New York, owing to the standardization of money in terms of gold, their importance is international. Viewed in this light, the London Money Market is not confined to the "City," nor the American Money Market to New York. These two markets are singularly unified and national in scope, with international importance.

A well-organized Money Market is capable of division into two important sections: the market for long- and short-term money—long-term money referring to loans having a maturity period of several years and short-term money usually to loans which mature within six months. The short-term Money Market is also divided into parts concerned respectively with the discounting of bills and the making of loans upon first-class Stock Exchange securities. It is also usual to divide the market into the open Money Market and the customers' market. Open market loans are made irrespective of the past or the future relationship with customers, each separate transaction being dealt with on its own merits. On the other hand, loans in the customers' market are guided by personal relationship between the parties: they are an incident in a series of transactions. Whereas the banks find money for their customers even when money is scarce, the customers on their part remain with their banks even when cheaper money can be had elsewhere.

On the basis of the above two sets of distinctions the Money Market of London and New York can be divided into three main sub-divisions: the long-term open market, the short-term open market, and the short-term customers' market.

The above analysis does not apply to the Indian Money Market. In India we have not got a Money Market in the more usual sense of the term referred to above, but only a banking system. And not until after her banking system is well organized in the light of present-day experience can we hope for the formation of a Money Market as such in India. The term "Indian Money Market," therefore, has today to be taken as more or less synonymous with the term "Indian Banking System." Although there are in the country at least three great centres of financial activity—namely, Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras—none of these can be regarded as the country's financial centre in the sense that New York is such a centre for the U.S.A.

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That the organization of the Money Market (or, more appropriately, lack of organization) is defective is obvious. In the first place, it is without a Central Bank to co-ordinate, supervise and direct its operations. In this India is an exception among the civilized countries of the world. The Imperial Bank of India, although the most powerful among the banks incorporated in the country, lacks the primary attributes of a Central Bank and is incapable of exercising its functions under existing circumstances. It does not play the part of a banker's bank; its bank rate and Hundi rate are normally out of touch with the respective market rates: they merely give the appearance of controlling them during the busy season; the country's gold and currency reserves are not centralized in it; and it is not the currency authority.

In the second place, the control of credit is divorced from the control of currency. While the issue of currency is still a function of the Government, credit supply rests with the Imperial Bank, the other Joint Stock Banks and the "bazar" (the indigenous bankers and money-lenders). To this are attributed some of the greater evils of the Indian Money Market—namely, the inelasticity of money supply and the consequent seasonal fluctuation over a wide range in the money rates. The provision made in the Paper Currency Act of 1923 to issue currency up to Rs. 12 crores against bills of exchange has apparently failed to mitigate the evil. A mere extension of this limit, at present arbitrarily fixed, would not, however, go far to solve the problem, unless the control of credit and currency is vested in a Central Bank. The Central Bank would be in a better position to expand or contract currency to suit the requirements of trade than a Government Department, however well organized.

In the third place, partly for want of the unifying authority of a Central Bank and partly for historical reasons, the Indian Money Market is not an organic whole. It consists of two more or less separate parts: the *bazar*, consisting of the Indian bankers and money-lenders, and the *organized* section, consisting of the Indian Joint Stock Banks, the Imperial Bank, and the Exchange Banks. Apart from the difference in the structure of the two markets, the bazar for the great part of its functions is independent of the organized section of the market—it is almost outside the latter's influence. The bazar Hundi rates, or the rates at which the shroffs discount the Hundis of smaller traders, move practically independently of the Imperial Bank Hundi rate or the rate at which the Imperial Bank would discount first-class three months' Hundis.* The latter is out of touch with the former and is above it. This is so for two reasons: (1) The shroffs do not depend upon either the Imperial Bank or the Joint Stock Banks for even

* See Chart I.

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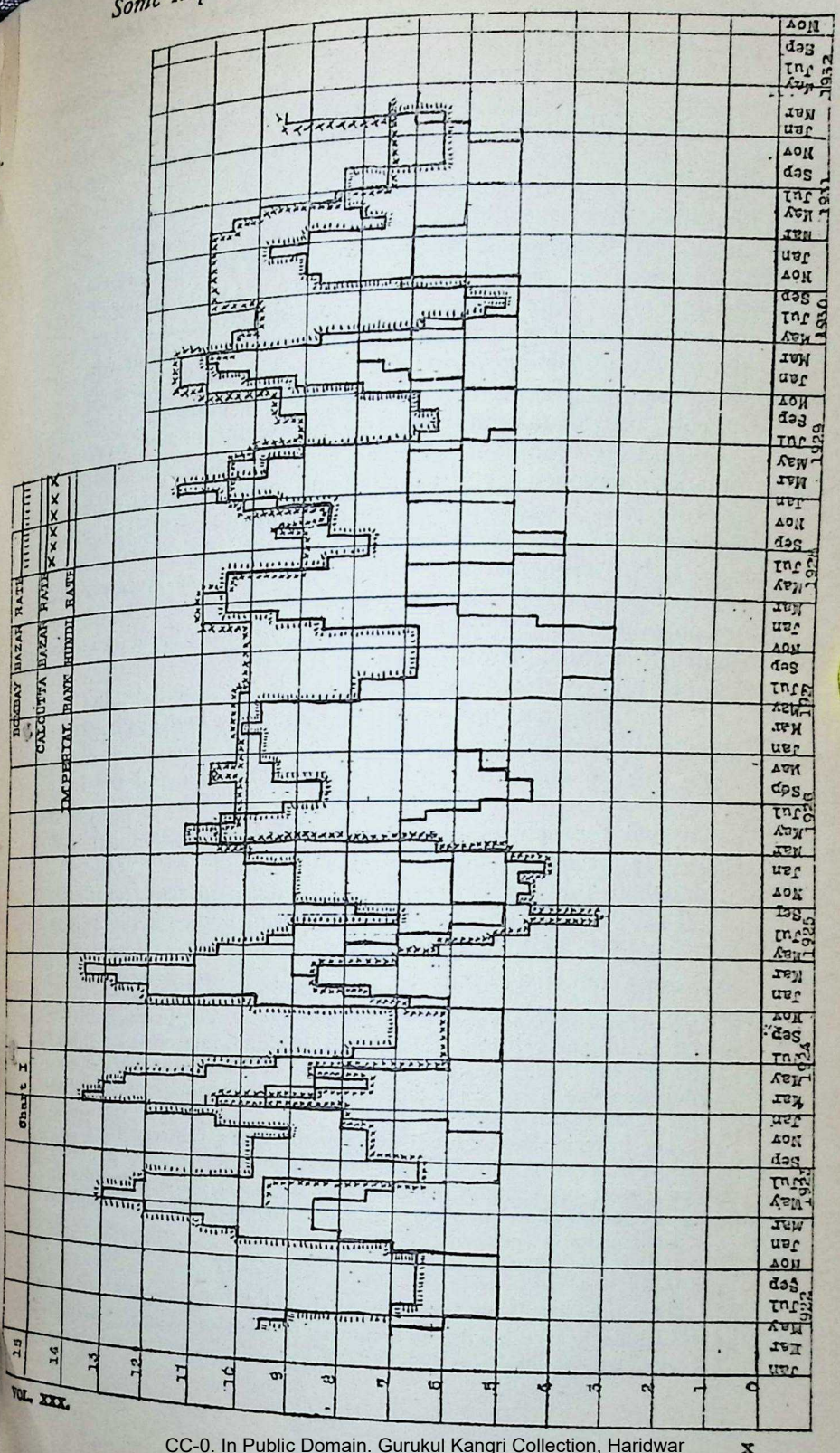

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a part of their resources, except perhaps on occasions of acute stringency, even when they first try their own brother shroffs before going to the banks.* (2) The Joint Stock Banks do not compete with the shroffs in discounting the Hundis of smaller traders.

The lack of connection between the two markets becomes apparent from the disharmony between their respective money rates. The bazar rate is usually 4 to 5 per cent. higher in Calcutta and 2 to 3 per cent. higher in Bombay than the Imperial Bank Hundi rate.† During the busy season, sometimes it is as much as 5 per cent. higher in Calcutta. Also there are occasions when the two rates do not move in the same direction.‡ Had the two markets been interconnected and formed parts of an organic whole this wide margin in the two rates would not have persisted.

The loan operations of the bazar resemble the customers' market inasmuch as personal relationship between the two parties plays a great part in their transactions, while the loan operations of the Joint Stock Banks (though not always) resemble more the "open market" of advanced monetary centres. The Joint Stock Banks, being commercial banks of the British type, supply mostly only short-term money, while the bazar deals both in short- and long-term money.

The organized section of the market, although distinct from the bazar, does not form an organic entity by itself, as incorrectly assumed by many writers on the subject. It permits of division into two sections: the Imperial Bank of India and the Indian Joint Stock Banks. This division is justified by the consideration that the control of the Imperial Bank over the latter is not only incomplete, but is absent during the slack season—*i.e.*, from about July to October. This becomes apparent from a study of the call money rates§ and the Imperial Bank rate.‖ Whereas the call rates both in Calcutta and Bombay show less disparity with the Imperial Bank rate during the busy season, this dis-

* *Bombay Banking Enquiry Committee Report*, Vol. I., p. 102.

† *E.g.*, in January, 1929, when the Bank Hundi rate was 7 per cent. the bazar rate in Calcutta was 12 per cent.; and in April, 1930, when the Bank Hundi rate was 6 per cent. the bazar rate in Calcutta was 11 per cent. Other instances may also be cited.

‡ The Imperial Bank Hundi rate remained at 5 per cent. from July to October, 1929. But the Calcutta bazar rate rose from 10 per cent. in August to 11 per cent. in September of the same year. Later, the Bank Hundi rate was raised to 7 per cent. in November, 1929, but the Calcutta rate remained at 11 per cent.

§ Call money rates are the rates charged by the Joint Stock Banks for call loans.

‖ The Imperial Bank rate, which should be distinguished from the Imperial Bank Hundi rate, is the rate at which the Imperial Bank will advance loans against Government Securities.

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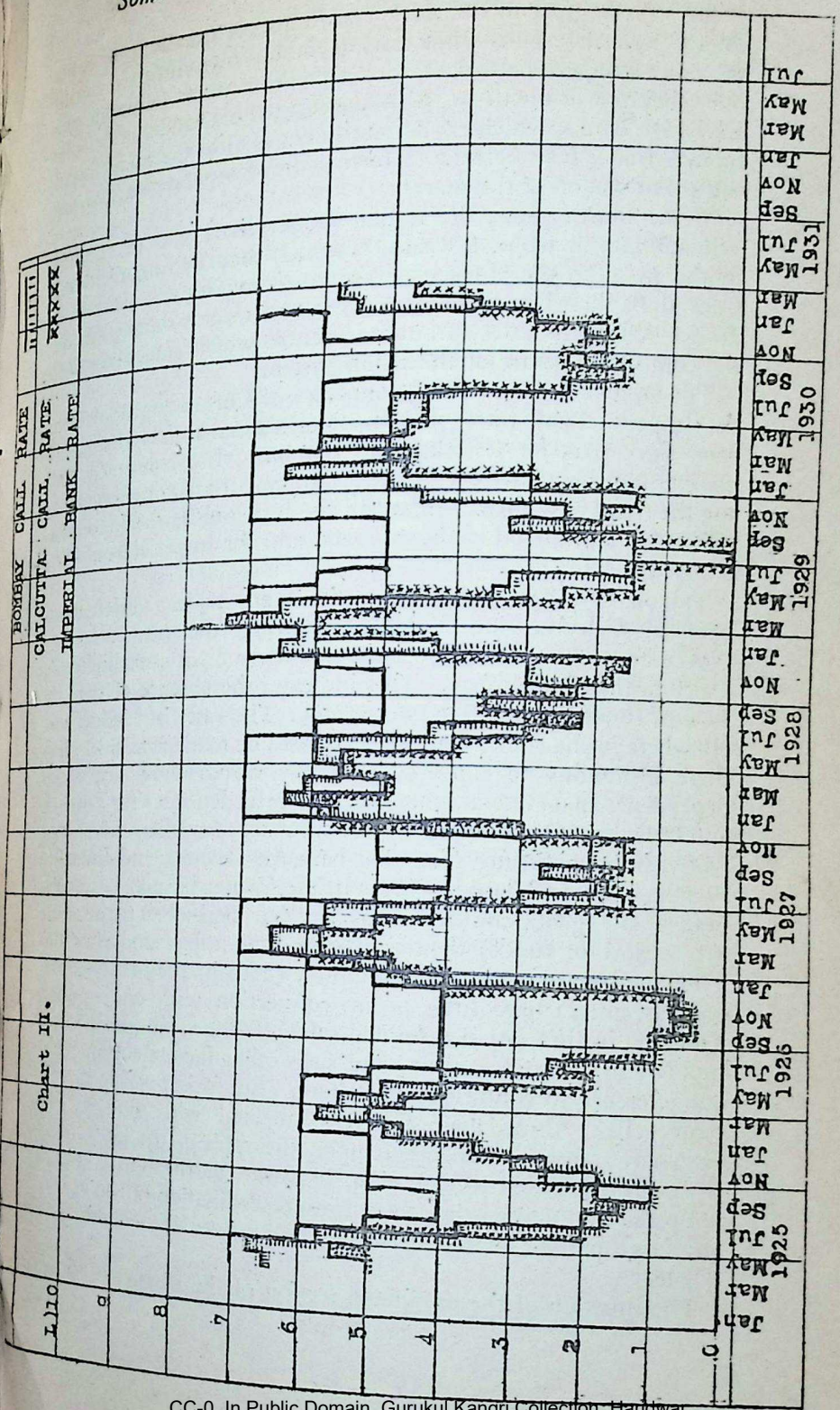

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parity is very great in the slack season and is usually 3 or more than 3 per cent. Thus while during the busy season, particularly the more stringent parts of it, the two markets seem to merge into one, they are distinctly separate during the slack season.* The Exchange Banks, which are primarily engaged in the financing of foreign trade, may be said to form a third separate part of the organized section of the market.

In the fourth place, the Indian Money Market is not unified and national in scope, a weakness which may also be attributed in the main to the absence of the co-ordinating authority of a Central Bank. The discount rates in the several money centres do not reflect the rates in any one centre which could be called the controlling centre of the whole system.

The annual Reports of the Controller of Currency give, besides the Imperial Bank rates, the bazar rates since 1921 and the call rates since 1925 for Calcutta and Bombay. For convenience of comparison these have been drawn into two charts, one representing the trend of the bazar rates and the Imperial Bank Hundi rate (Chart I.), and the other the call rates and the Imperial Bank rate (Chart II.).

Taking first the bazar rates, these are widely different as between Calcutta and Bombay. During the busy season—November to June—they are sometimes over 3 per cent. higher in Calcutta than in Bombay. This indicates the absence of the free flow of funds between the two bazars. The rates in Madras and elsewhere in the country are not recorded or made available. But there is nothing to suggest that these would show any more dependence upon one another than the recorded rates for Bombay and Calcutta. On the contrary, it is probable that their divergence would be even greater than that between Calcutta and Bombay. For the individual banking firms in the former have less, if at all, branch and agency connections as between themselves (to allow of a free flow of funds) than the firms in Bombay and Calcutta. Thus the bazar centres in the country (both in Presidency towns and elsewhere) have little or no connection with one another. The rates in these are determined solely by the local conditions of supply and demand, custom, and such other factors almost without reference to conditions elsewhere. But it is possible that in centres like Ahmedabad closely connected with Bombay the Hundi rate may be dependent upon the rates in the latter. For absence of recorded information, however, verification of this is not possible. Nevertheless there is no co-ordination of bazars over any large part of the country, much less over the country as a whole.

The situation of the organized section of the market is not far

* See Chart II.

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different from the above. Chart II. gives ample evidence of this. The Imperial Bank has one bank rate at all its branches all over the country. But since its bank rate is not effective during all parts of the year over the Joint Stock Banks, this tells us little or nothing concerning the rates charged by the latter. Also there are many centres in the country where the Imperial Bank is without a branch to be able to exercise its controlling influence, even during the busy season. The call rates in Bombay and Calcutta (see Chart II.) are indifferent to the Imperial Bank rate during the slack season. But during the busy season they seem to be less indifferent to it. How far this is evidence of the Imperial Bank controlling the Joint Stock Banks during the busy season it is difficult to say. For it is possible that both the Imperial Bank and the Joint Stock Banks are, in this period, controlled by the Government of India, which is the currency authority. The inelastic character of the currency supply makes it inevitable for both the Imperial Bank and the Joint Stock Banks to raise their rates of interest in periods of intense business activity. The call rates and the Imperial rate are alike high during this season only, owing to the common monetary stringency experienced by all the constituents of the Money Market. In itself it is no indication, therefore, of the Imperial Bank controlling the policy of the Joint Stock Banks.

But the Bombay and the Calcutta call rates are not indifferent to one another during any part of the year.* This cannot be said to be representative, however, of conditions as between any two centres in the country, which is the same thing as saying for the country as a whole. The close relationship between the call rates in Bombay and Calcutta may be attributed to a special circumstance which does not hold true of other parts of the country. Banking relations between Bombay and Calcutta are very close, and therefore allow a free flow of funds between them. Out of the thirty-three banks in Bombay as many as twenty-four have their branches or agencies in Calcutta.† The nine banks in Bom-

* This statement at first sight may seem to contradict the one made in the previous paragraph but one above. But it will be noted that the rate referred to is the bazar rate in one case and the call rate in the other.

† The following banks in Bombay have branches in Calcutta:
(1) Ajodhia Bank; (2) Allahabad Bank; (3) American Express Company Incorporated; (4) Bank of India; (5) Bank of Taiwan; (6) Benares Bank; (7) Central Bank of India (head office and four branches in Bombay and two branches in Calcutta); (8) Chartered Bank of India; (9) Crescent Bank of India; (10) Eastern Bank; (11) Frontier Bank; (12) Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation; (13) Imperial Bank of India (local head office and three branches in each centre); (14) Lloyds Bank; (15) Lyallpur Bank; (16) Mercantile Bank of India; (17) National Bank of India; (18) National City Bank of New York; (19) Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij;

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bay and the seven banks in Calcutta, which have neither branches nor agencies in the other centre, command only a fraction of the banking business. Other important centres also similarly connected with Bombay are Karachi, Lahore, Delhi, and Madras.* It is possible, therefore, that the call rates in these centres also closely follow the rates in Bombay and Calcutta. But in the outlying districts of the country, owing to the absence of such coordinating factors, the rates would depend upon the local conditions of supply and demand. And if statistics were available these would, perhaps, show variance with the rates ruling in Bombay or Calcutta.

In the fifth place, the rates of interest in India are oppressively high and are subject to a wide range of variation as between the busy and slack seasons. Taking the bazar Hundi rates first, these vary from 8 to 11 or 12 per cent. in Bombay and from 10 to 11 or 12 per cent. in Calcutta during the busy season. During the slack season in Bombay they are between 6 and 7 per cent., and in Calcutta between 7 and 8 per cent. (1930-31), 8 and 9 per cent. (1927-28), or even 10 per cent. (1926-27). (See Chart I.) There is little chance for trade and industry financed at such high rates. Even the Imperial Bank Hundi rates—*i.e.*, rates for first-class three months' Hundis—are as high as 7 per cent. during the busy season (it went up to 8 per cent. during March and April, 1929, and also during the last quarter 1931 and January, 1932) and 5 per cent. during the slack season.† Even these rates would be considered abnormal in advanced monetary centres. In England, except on occasions of severe strain on the gold reserves, the Bank rate does not usually rise above $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

The call rates of the Joint Stock Banks and the Imperial Bank rate are also embarrassingly high. The Imperial rate, like the Imperial Hundi rate, usually varies between 7 and 5 per cent. The call rates in Bombay and Calcutta are somewhat below the Bank rate during the busy season. During the slack season they

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(20) Nederlandsch-Indische Handelsbank; (21) P. and O. Banking Corporation; (22) Punjab National Bank; (23) Thomas Cook and Son (Bankers); (24) Yokohama Specie Bank (two branches in Bombay). Australia and China: See *Tables Relating to Banks in India* (1931).

* In Karachi out of the fourteen banks thirteen have branch or agency connections in Bombay; in Lahore twelve out of sixteen; in Delhi twelve out of sixteen; and in Madras nine out of fourteen. See *Tables Relating to Banks in India* (1931).

† Ignoring the abnormal conditions of the present world depression, only in three seasons since 1921 did the Imperial Bank Hundi rate come below 5 per cent.—*e.g.*, August and September of 1925 and 1927, and July to December, 1926. Even during this depression it was only since August, 1932, that the Bank Hundi rate was lowered to 4 per cent. from 5 per cent. and subsequently to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in March, 1933.

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fluctuate between 1½ and 3 per cent. in Calcutta and between 2 and 3 per cent. in Bombay. The average for 1930 comes to 3·44 per cent. in Calcutta and 4·02 per cent. in Bombay. But the burden on industry is much more than this average may suggest, for more business is done at the higher rate than at the lower.

Coming to the extent of variation in the money rates, this is both wide and (in the post-war world) peculiar to the Indian Money Market. The range is almost equally wide in the bazar as in the call rates. It is sometimes as much as 5 and 6 per cent. A range of about 3 per cent. is considered normal. The width of fluctuations in the Imperial Bank rate itself is usually 2 and sometimes 3 per cent.* Curiously, this seasonal variation is regarded in the bazars as almost a natural phenomenon, and the idea that the fluctuation in the rates can be smoothened down by regulating the money supply to the requirements of industry and trade does not seem to have taken root. Reference has been made above to the inadequate provisions at present obtaining for rendering the currency system sufficiently elastic.

Though the lack of organization and absence of centralized control do play a part, the chief reason for the embarrassingly high rates of interest in India seems to be the inadequacy of funds in the Money Market, which in turn can be traced to several factors, among them the Treasury System of the Government and the age-long hoarding habits of the people. The first of these two factors is responsible for keeping away from the market a part of the Government balances. This has been appreciably reduced since the Government adopted the practice of maintaining its balances with the Imperial Bank in such of the centres as the latter has branches. But the amount locked up in Government Treasuries is still large. On March 31, 1933, this was Rs. 3.71 crores, the monthly average for the year 1932-33 being Rs. 2.20 crores.† If we add to this the Treasury balances left in England —namely, Rs. 13.22 crores—the total balances in Government Treasuries on March 31, 1933, come to Rs. 16.93 crores.

The real cost of this to the Money Market becomes apparent when we notice that the cash balances of the Imperial Bank on March 31, 1933, were about Rs. 26.44 crores. Thus the balances in the Treasuries were about 64 per cent. of the cash balances

* It is interesting to compare this with the variation in the Bank rate of England. Andreades, in comparing the situation as between England and the Continent, states: "What is still more serious is that the fluctuations in the English Bank rate are not only very serious, but are also very great. The Bank of England is the only bank at which the range of fluctuation during the same year has on three occasions amounted to 5, 6, and 6½ per cent." See *History of the Bank of England*, pp. 315-316.

† *Report of the Controller of Currency* (1932-33), p. 59.

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of the Imperial Bank. It is difficult to say what amount of credit the Money Market could create if the full amount of the Government balances were made available to the Imperial Bank. But some idea of it can be had from the fact that ratio of the deposit liabilities of the Bank (Rs. 82.36 crores) to cash comes to about 3·1. The relief to the Money Market would therefore be clearly great. But not until the establishment of a Reserve Bank would the Government find it convenient to abolish the practice of keeping some Treasury balances with itself.

Large as are the balances locked up in the Government Treasuries they appear trifling compared with the vast hoards of the people. Indian hoards have been variously estimated at Rs. 500 crores (£375 millions), Rs. 825 crores (£618·8 millions), Rs. 943 crores (£707 millions), and Rs. 1,333.3 crores (£1,000 millions).*

It has been attempted by some to show that these estimates are an exaggeration inasmuch as they seem to include the normal demand for ornaments; that they fall short of the *per capita* consumption of gold of some of the Western countries; that the Indians' fondness for ornaments should be regarded as only a type of misguided expenditure like that of the Western wage-earners on beer; and that therefore these should not be counted as hoards and so on. We need not enter into the validity of these explanations. They cannot, however, deny that India today can ill afford the ornaments her people indulge in, and that she should not compete in the *per capita* consumption of gold with the richer countries of the world even if she were capable of it. The misguided expenditure of her people on jewellery does relatively greater harm to themselves, by impoverishing them and their country, than the drinking habit of European wage-earners. The hoards are responsible in no small measure for the strain on the Money Market.

This reminds us of the poor provision of banking facilities in India, which is inadequate to the real needs of the country. Government statistics show that there are at present in India only about 162 head offices of banks, with 744 branches.† There are no banks at all in about 20 per cent. of the towns with a population of 50,000, and in 25 per cent. of the towns with a population of 10,000 and over. In these areas banking requirements of the public are provided for by the individual bankers, money-lenders, Co-operative Credit Societies, and Post Office Savings Banks. If we divide the total of bank deposits in the country into the total population we get the *per capita* banking deposits of Rs. 6.8,

* E. L. Price: *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, Vol. LXXVI., No. 3916, December 2, 1927; discussion on M. M. S. Gubbay's paper on "Indigenous Indian Banking."

† *Tables Relating to Banks in India* (1931), p. 3.

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or about 10·2 shillings. Even taking into account the abject poverty of the people, this sum in arithmetic shows that a large part of the liquid resources in the country are held by the people in cash rather than in bank deposits. To what extent this habit is due to the lack of banking facilities available or whether the backwardness of banking progress itself can be traced to it, it is difficult to say. One factor certainly reacts upon the other, and the influence of the former upon the latter should not be overlooked, as is done by some who seem to think that a mere multiplication of bank offices would lead to the desired goal. Though there is room in India for the extension of banking facilities, the spread of banking habits, more particularly the Savings Bank habits, through education and propaganda, should at least keep pace with, if not precede it.

The chief constituents of the Indian Money Market are the Exchange Banks, the Imperial Bank of India, and the Indian Joint Stock Banks. The Exchange Banks (eighteen in number) are incorporated outside India and carry on business in India through branches. At first they were primarily engaged in financing the foreign trade of the country and business in foreign exchanges. But latterly they have been taking an increasing part in the country's deposit banking business. Some of them are giant institutions with ramifications round the world or over the larger part of it. The capital and reserves of seven of them* taken severally are higher than the capital and reserves of the Imperial Bank of India, the biggest among the Banks incorporated in India.

The Imperial Bank of India, though smaller than the larger among the Exchange Banks, is the strongest among the banks incorporated in the country. Its capital and reserves equalled about 90 per cent. of the combined total of the capital and reserves of all the Indian Joint Stock Banks in 1928. Its deposits are more than the total deposits of the Indian Joint Stock Banks, and, with the exception of 1921 and 1922, also more than the total Indian deposits of the Exchange Banks. Except for the year 1922, this statement would hold true even if we exclude the Public Deposits —*i.e.*, Government of India Deposits of the Imperial Bank.

The Indian Joint Stock Banks, relatively to the Exchange Banks and the Imperial Bank of India, form the least important constituents of the Indian Money Market. Their deposits are less than those of the Imperial Bank, while their capital and reserves are only somewhat higher than the latter. The largest among

* They are: Lloyds Bank, Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij, Banco National Ultiamarins, Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, Comptoir National d'Escompte de Paris, National City Bank of New York, and Yokohama Specie Bank.

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them—namely, the Central Bank of India—has only about one-fourth the capital and reserves and about one-fifth the deposits of the Imperial Bank. In 1931 their total number was 159, but six of them* accounted for about 77 per cent. of their deposits. The Indian Joint Stock Banks (most if not all) therefore are diminutive entities as compared with their colleagues in trade—the Exchange Banks and the Imperial Bank of India.

To summarize our conclusions, the Indian Money Market makes a poor comparison with the leading money markets of the West. Its present state of disorganization is reminiscent of the American Money Market before the establishment of the Federal Reserve System.

It is not unified and national in scope. There are almost as many Money Markets in India as there are centres of industrial and commercial activity. Even these individual monetary centres are not organic in character. They have their "bazar" and "organized" sections which are more or less distinct from one another. The "organized" section of the market does not form an organic entity. The Imperial Bank, the Indian Joint Stock Banks, and the Exchange Banks form three sub-sections of it.

There is no Central Reserve Bank to co-ordinate, supervise, and control the operations of the market. Control of the currency is divorced from the control of credit. The system of currency is notoriously inelastic. Money rates in the several monetary centres of the country do not seem to show signs of interdependence. The Imperial Bank rate is out of touch with the rates in the "bazar" and the "organized" section of the market. The rates of interest are oppressively high. They fluctuate over a wide range during the active and inactive seasons of the year. The Banking System has failed to attract the vast hoards of the people and banking facilities at present available are inadequate to the real needs of the country.

* They are: The Central Bank of India, the Allahabad Bank, the Bank of India, the Bank of Mysore, the Bank of Baroda, and the Punjab National Bank.

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PERSIAN WOMEN

By Mrs. O. A. Merritt-Hawkes

(The author has just returned from an extensive tour in Persia)

The Chadar

Persian city streets are far from gay, for nearly every woman wears the black chadar, a long garment of silk or cotton, a part fastened round the waist in front like an apron and the rest draped over both body and head and held close around or over the face with one hand. The most conservative of the poor also wear, to cover entirely the face, a long white cloth called the rabendeh, which is fastened at the back of the head by a jewelled clasp and which has a small piece of fine, drawn threadwork opposite the eyes through which they can, rather mistily, see the world. This is called, poetically, "The eye of the nightingale," but a truer name would be "The eye of the prisoner."

The better-off have replaced the rabendeh by a semi-transparent, stiffened, square eye-shade, the piché, which is more or less pulled down over the eyes and suggests the beak of a grotesque bird. This was introduced from Iraq about twenty years ago to the western town of Kermanshah and has gradually made its way eastwards until it is found in every Persian town. The costume is completed among the poor or the excessively conservative by a pair of gathered gaiters, which make the legs quite successfully unattractive.

The coloured chadar, which has no apron front, worn by some but not all village women, is made of thick cotton material, frequently home spun, which does not fall in pleasant folds and so gives the women an unpleasantly lumpy appearance.

None of the tribeswomen wear a chadar, but look confidently out at the world, swinging along alluringly in their twelve skirts, each made of twelve yards of gay material. Their walk is one of the loveliest things in Persia.

Persian cities are often 200 to 300 miles apart, and, until recently, there has been little communication, so that each has its own character. The women of Shiraz are comparatively gay and progressive, a few even have permission from the head of the police to go into the street without a chadar. In that charming city many do not wear a piché or make any effort to hide their faces. In Bushire, women are more conservative, wearing a black rabendeh and hiding even their eyes. The women of

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Ispahan are indeed well hidden, chadar, piché, and leggings making the streets very crow-like, for that city is one of the most difficult and backward, on account of the enormous influence of the 10,000 Mullahs of four years ago and the 1,000 who are there today. There, unveiling is illegal, only one woman having permission to go unveiled in the summer of 1933. Near Ispahan is the large Armenian town of Julfa, whose Christian women go uncovered, so that the stranger who does not know the district might think that Muslim women were unveiled.

The chadar is the symbol of the segregation of the sexes, of woman's imprisonment, of man's aggressiveness; many of the younger men and women wish to abolish it, but some of the more thoughtful and serious believe that the majority of men and women, both in "civilized" Tehran and in the more backward provinces, are not yet ready for so radical a change. "Women who only have a social life with husband, father, and son know not how to do with strange mens. And the mens is the same with the ladies. If the chadar go off now, then men and women are as savages in their life together. We must educate still some years." That is what a beautiful, educated young Persian woman said time after time. She was unhappy at the delay, but she wanted the women of Persia to arrive at their goal without too many tragedies by the way. She had the patience of a child of an old culture.

At present, in many towns and many families, the chadar hides the girl from the man until they are actually married, and he sees her for the first time in a looking-glass. Many young men now dread the day when their family will expect them to marry, knowing they will have no choice, for in the freest present conditions they have to guess at the real nature of their future wives.

It is possible that the passing of the chadar may ultimately be due to the refusal of the men to marry a woman they have never seen properly. To marry is an essential part of the life of every Persian woman, so that even the very conservative families are willing that it should be dropped if it is the only way to get a husband.

"Civilized" Tehran and the Chadar

Tehran in its attitude to the chadar, as in many other ways, is far more progressive than the provinces. Today there is a secret understanding that if women like to go unveiled they may do so, and if annoyed by any Mullah or ordinary citizen the police will protect them, but, in spite of this potential freedom, it seems astounding to us Westerners that only about 1,000 out of the 60,000 women in the capital go about unveiled, wearing a hat;

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and a number of these, in order not to be conspicuous, talk French or English so that they may be regarded as members of the foreign colony. The reasons for this are many and complicated. The chadar was at first used only by the nobles and was gradually adopted by the other classes, and today the fact that the upper-class women cling to the chadar gives it a social status which is difficult to fight; even in a village where the women usually go unveiled the richer peasant will buy the all-enveloping black garment as a visible sign of his possessions.

Only wealthy women can afford good clothes from their skins upwards, for good materials are expensive and good dressmakers are scarce and their charges exorbitant. Although cosmetics are extensively used there are few well-groomed women. A hairdresser trained in Paris said that many women would not have their hair cut often enough to look smart as they begrudged the expense.

There are many women, even young ones, so used to the chadar that they like it, and other young people who regard it as a national costume and therefore to be preserved as part of the new nationalism. There are men who like it "because it gives a certain mystery and excitement to every walk down the street; each woman in a chadar is a possible beauty until you have looked well to find the contrary, and, of course, it is most useful for intrigues."

People in the provinces frequently have an idea that the majority of the women in Tehran go unveiled. The provinces don't know Tehran, and Tehran is not typical of Persia.

Certainly whilst women's clothes, particularly in the provinces, are so inferior, the chadar plays a merciful part, for it has simple lines, at times really beautiful lines, and is held with considerable grace by some women.

Marriage

Many Europeans imagine that the black of the chadar is the external sign of black despair and unhappiness, but they are mistaken: the average Persian woman is no more unhappy than the average woman in the West, because their demands are so few, their aspirations non-existent; they are brave, often gay in the present and hope for paradise in the future. More than one man has said, "If my wife has a full stomach, a new pair of shoes now and then, especially if they are red, and I don't beat her, she is content." In spite of the arranged marriages, some turn out very well. There are happy marriages in Persia; that must not be forgotten.

Persia has a Shah and a Government which, as a whole, want

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to modernize the condition of the women, so early in 1933 a law was passed which greatly improved life. The law does not exactly state the age at which a girl may be married—that would have brought the law into serious conflict with religious law—but it is generally interpreted as being sixteen. Few people have any birth certificates, so age is a matter of guessing. The larger the town the more carefully the marriage age is controlled, but even in small villages, where interference from Tehran seems rather impertinent to the peasant, many of the mothers are glad to have the backing of the law in protecting their girls.

Marriage now has to take place in the office of a registered Mullah, where official papers are kept, and in the presence of a civil representative of the department. The ceremony is in Arabic.

The new law also makes it compulsory for the man to get the permission of the first wife before he takes a second wife or sigheh (temporary wife), and a woman has to receive a legal statement from a prospective husband as to whether he is already married and see it in the presence of a Mullah, when the man must give evidence that he can keep two wives at the same standard as the first. Theoretically this means that polygamy can only take place with the consent of the women; hence a young and ardent believer in monogamy who wanted Persia to develop quickly, stated with complete conviction that polygamy had been abolished, but on his identity card there were spaces for four wives. It is said by many that not one woman in a thousand will accept polygamy, but the husband can and does sometimes say to the wife, "Consent to a second wife or I will divorce you," and, for social or economic reasons, she has to accept the position; he can and also does persuade a woman to become a second wife on the grounds that he will divorce the first whom he no longer loves, and then he keeps the first woman because it may be cheaper than to pay her dowry or because he has scruples about turning her adrift.

There is no doubt that the tendency among the better educated is towards monogamy. "Only because they can no longer afford to be polygamists," said a cynic, but the truth is that those who have tried the experiment, find the monogamic household, not necessarily monogamic life, more peaceful, more satisfying.

Marriage is, on account of easy divorce, far less certain than in Europe, but the woman has some protection. On marriage all but the quite indigent have a dowry provided by the man; at times a part is paid her on marriage, but usually it is kept for her in case he divorces her or on his death. Too much is said about this dowry, for it is rarely large enough to support a woman for more than a few years.

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Divorce takes place because people wish it, but if the woman divorces the man she loses her dowry, so, unless very rich, she is actually tied economically.

It is now illegal to deceive either about the age or looks of the other, so that the old scandal of a man being married to a hag, described as a houri, or girl to a dotard who has been impersonated by a handsome young man has almost disappeared.

The Sigheh or Temporary Wife

By paying a sum to the parents, a man may make a temporary marriage for any time from a day to 99 years: at the end of the arranged period the wife goes, but the man is responsible for their children, who have the same status both socially and economically as the children of the ordinary wife. The man is also responsible for the sigheh for three months after she is dismissed. Usually they are women of a lower class, and amongst the tribes must be women of another tribe. There is now a strong sentiment against this marriage, and no doubt in a short time it will become illegal.

A Muslim cannot, at present, contract a permanent marriage with a non-Muslim woman, so the Persian marries the European for the longest possible sigheh marriage—that is, 99 years. Muslim women also enter voluntarily into sigheh marriages.

Childbirth and Illness

Puberty begins about the age of twelve. Until the new law, marriage was often completed before puberty and girls were mothers at a very early age. Apart from the physical harm done to girls married to men much older than themselves, the first birth was frequently painful and dangerous.

Birth control methods are now being used in Tehran and to a much smaller degree in other cities, but some women complain that their husbands will use certain methods to prevent disease but not to prevent conception. With the disappearance of the large family, women may wake up and try to do more to educate themselves and help the unfortunates.

The infantile death rate is appalling. Hygiene is now taught in some schools. The missionary schools are doing splendid work, and if the Government would copy the English Welfare Centre at Kerman the death rate would go down.

A woman is expected to have a baby at the latest after she has been married a year and a half, and if she does not do so, the husband and both families are deeply chagrined, and preparations may be made for a divorce or a second wife.

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Probably there are a number of fertility rites. I met one in Agda, a ruined town in the southern desert. When at last, after walking for a quarter of an hour, I met some women, they invited me into their tumble-down rooms, asked me to sit on a cheap rug and offered tiny green grapes and pomegranates. There was much conversation before they learned I had only three children. They then pulled me up from the ground; a woman began to drum out a rhythm on my empty camera case and the other women danced round me singing an incantation for a large family. Suddenly they stopped, the chief woman slapped me and said I would now have ten children. Perhaps I ought not to have protested, for there may have been a further ritual. I can find no one who has had a similar experience. In that remote place they had no knowledge of anti-foreign feeling; we were just women together, had had a pleasant friendly half-hour, and they were sorry for my misfortune.

There is a good deal of illness among middle-class women because their lives are so unhealthy. The chadar plays an unhygienic part, being the cause, some doctors think, of the large amount of tuberculosis among women. They are now generally quite willing to go to a doctor, but they do not have nearly enough medical attention when it is available, as the average Persian objects to paying doctors' bills.

Daily Life

When the weekly holiday begins on Thursday the poorer women go to the cemeteries and the men to the tea houses. That about sums up the position of the majority of the women in Persia. It looks depressing to us, but the Persian gets a lot of satisfaction out of weeping, and still more out of her tea party round the samovar.

No one can make a general statement about Persia, for, being in a state of rapid change, there are, side by side, survivals from the early centuries as well as the most modern conduct. But what needs emphasis is that the best and most advanced women do not want to pretend that all is well when so much is bad, and they are, individually, doing their best to improve things within their small circle. Because of their inability to unite they fail to get beyond that small circle. The Westerner, burdened by the squalor, hopelessness, and sorrow, too often forgets to tell of efforts being made to abolish them or the great difficulties in making any change. It is almost impossible for a new race like ours to realize the strength of an enormously old tradition. Human inertia in Persia is unbelievable until you have lived some time in its enervating climate.

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There is even greater contrast between the rich and the poor than in Europe; the poor woman works incessantly, the rich does nothing incessantly, for normally she has a very simple social life—no sport, no time spent on charity, and no travel. One man said, "They simply wish to sit or lie, eat sweetmeats and receive the salaams of the men. Some are no better than statues." There are exceptional women who administer their estates with great ability and masculine firmness. Europeans who have had business relations with them are often impressed with their good brains. In Tehran the rich now have large bridge parties and "at homes," when they are the most charming and gracious hostesses, showing that genius for hospitality for which the Persians have had, for centuries, world-wide fame. A beautiful, graceful, self-possessed Persian woman is worth going far to see, but as yet they are few, the majority being painfully awkward with strangers.

Other wealthy women spend some time in the kitchen, at least making sweetmeats and preserves, and all women, if their houses are to be clean, must spend a good many hours walking after their army of lazy, careless, and inefficient servants in their great, wandering houses.

Then there are children, who, being badly brought up, take an enormous amount of time and energy; they begin life by being fed whenever they cry, are always being nursed, and go on in that disorderly manner, the girls shy and the boys, whilst shy abroad, are little beasts of aggression to the females of the house. Even in wealthy families the children are constantly in evidence, the well-behaved ones sitting silent when there are guests.

There is one women's society in Persia, Vatan Khahan (The Wellwishers of the Fatherland), but that has lately had its numbers reduced from 200 to 40. A pity, as it was doing good work in giving its members lectures and running a night school for adult women. There are two women's papers doing useful work in emphasizing the need for more education and for intelligent and responsible mothers. The editor of *Ayandeh Iran* (The Future of Iran) is an interesting woman, Fakhe Adel Kheiatbau, who leads a full life, for she has five children, and teaches in a girls' school as well as running this paper with her husband. She is content with a simple life as long as she can work to push her people forward.

The Cinema

The cinema has made an enormous difference to the women of the towns. In some districts they sit on one side, the men on the other, but in Tehran may, at times, sit together.

By this means the many women who cannot read—even in

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Tehran not more than 10 per cent.—can see a new and wonderful life, and, being very observant, little escapes them. The cinema more than anything else is making the women discontented, and from that alone will come change: ten years hence there will be more unhappy women in Persia than today, but fifty years hence perhaps the Persian women will be happier than the Europeans.

There is romantic love in Persia, although with the chadar it is rare and difficult to attain. To the vast majority of town dwellers, who did not read, it was unknown until the cinema came. The cinema in Persia, though its effects may be dangerous to the thoughtless, has popularized and made comprehensible the idea of romantic love with its essential qualities of self-sacrifice, devotion, and fair play. Out of the welter of the murders and vice of the oldest, cheapest, worn-out, cut-up Hollywood films, the Persian sees men and women who are ready to lay down their lives for one another. The effect on the Persian is both startling and surprising. The cinema has struck a great blow at the chadar, which makes the woman the possession of her family first and her husband second, rather than an individual with her own needs for self-expression. No European could have foreseen such a result.

The poems of Firdausi and Nizami both have stories of romantic love, but, except to a few, those stories are so far away that they have no effect upon modern life, but the cinema is of today.

But this happened only a few years ago: A man of noble family saw on the street, and fell in love with, a woman of a lower class. He had followed her because there was a charming grace about her movements, and when she saw him, attracted by his good looks, she opened her veil a little that he might see her. They had many clandestine meetings in covered carriages outside the town, and he decided to marry her. The family was very opposed to such a marriage and thought they could put an end to the romance when it was discovered that the girl was a consumptive, but he said, "Better love for a few years than the marriages I have seen, and if I do get ill, well, I shall at least have lived." The two went off to Tehran, to be away from their families, and there had some years of happiness. She died, and he was heartbroken. A few months later he developed the disease, but refused to do anything to help himself; life had no longer any attraction, and he, too, died.

By chance, I sat one evening by his tomb with a group of mourning friends. "He died young, but he loved," said the man next to me. "One of our poets wrote, 'A life of misery is perhaps not too much to pay for a moment of love.'"

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Education

The education of the women is far behind that of the men because their schools are more recent, less numerous, and the standard is lower.

The work which the English and American schools have done for Persia is beyond praise: without the influence of the splendid women at their head, Persia would not be nearly as far along the road to progress, for they are teaching the girls to think, to be practical, to develop their characters. In many Persian schools dressmaking, cooking, and domestic science are taught, but practice takes a second place. The Singer sewing machine plays a big part even in small schools, not only for making dresses, but for machine embroideries. To do fine embroidery is very genteel, and in a land which has produced some of the world's loveliest designs the modern woman spends hours producing pussies sporting with bunches of violets or pansies marching in Victorian disarray over a square of satin! A little piano, a little violin, and much playing of the Persian guitar is the finishing touch to the rich girl's education. Who would expect to meet the Victorian age in Persia?

To speak either French or English is the ambition of many women, but such knowledge is playing an enormous part in the progress of the women, for modern books in Persia are few; but give a girl a European language and she begins to see a new world.

Occupational Opportunities

Educated women can be teachers, nurses, and midwives. Persia lacks facilities for the proper training for teachers; the so-called Normal Training College in Tehran is only an ordinary school to which are added lessons on pedagogy and psychology, but there is no experimental teaching. In most cases you become a teacher because you want to, but even of such people there are not nearly enough.

Nurses are properly trained at the missionary hospitals and possibly at two hospitals in Tehran. The best training is in the Military Hospital, where there is one woman doctor, a curious phenomenon in a Muslim country.

Midwives have an adequate training only at one hospital in Tehran, and there, when the new doctor tried to introduce modern methods, half the students left, for they wanted to attend hospital in street dresses; to learn to make a bed was below their dignity, and to empty a bed-pan was, according to their point of view, quite out of the picture. But the head will succeed in

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a few years and send out midwives who will be an untold boon to Persian motherhood.

There are about a dozen women working as clerks in the National Bank at Tehran.

A few women, generally not of good class, are actresses and singers, but in no case is it a full-time job on which anyone could live.

Two Muslim women have shops in Tehran.

Monogamy must make a radical difference to the future, and with increased medical service women are going to live instead of die. Something will have to be found for them to do. During the next few years thousands will be needed as teachers and nurses, and when the chadar goes there will be an enormous demand for good dressmakers and beauty specialists.

Religion

In Persia, as everywhere else in the world, women cling to religion more than the men, but only a few have an intelligent knowledge of their faith, as the majority cannot read the Arabic Koran. Many of the educated are ceasing to be devout, but only a few have become freethinkers. The new religion, Bahaism, has a great attraction for women, as it accepts them on an equality with men, gives them education, a place on its councils, and an opportunity for social intercourse. This body is doing splendid work in starting girls' schools all over the country. In their schools I found a number of intelligent and earnest-minded women who were modest about their learning, but anxious to do their best for the students, inspired by the hope that in this time of national change they were playing a worthy part. When talking to these women I felt that neither race nor nationality was any barrier between us.

The Future

What has happened in the West will happen in the East, but the Persian woman will probably reach her freedom without so many women having to pass through the stage of unscientific feminism which was founded upon an effort to become men rather than to be free women. There will be struggles, there will be unhappiness, greatest in those marriages between an advanced woman and a man who thinks he is advanced.

An unusually able man, aged only forty, said fiercely, "We of the East will keep our Eastern ideas of women, the chadar, complete obedience, no contact with other men," and then quoted with gusto this proverb: "A wise man has copper dishes that

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they may not break, strong carpets that they may not wear out, but he keeps each wife a short time and finds his pleasures in the bazaar." But that man will die, and those who take his place will have a different point of view.

Undoubtedly if conditions were improved the women of all classes would get much more out of life than they do today, and, what is of equal importance, they could add their share of ability, energy, and care to the development of the nation.

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STEAM NAVIGATION TO THE EAST INDIES

EARLY EFFORTS—THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEDERLAND LINE—RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

By John de La Valette

By reason of their strategic position at the mouth of the Rhine and the entrance to the English Channel, and their great commercial development, the "Low Countries" have occupied an important place in Britain's political and commercial policy. Somewhat similar has been the position of Java, and of the Dutch East Indies generally, in relation to Britain's Eastern Empire, both as a trade rival and as lying athwart Britain's communications with Australia and China. The development of the Netherlands and of their Eastern Colonial Empire are therefore matters of direct interest to Englishmen in many parts of the Empire. Since this development ultimately rests on the means of communication between the East Indies and the "Motherland," as the colonial Dutch call Holland, a short account of the principal factor in the development of these communications, the *Nederland Royal Dutch Mail Line*, may not be without interest to readers of the Asiatic Review.

Early Voyages

The speed and comfort of modern means of travel have within living memory improved with such startling rapidity that it is often hard to realize how slow and comfortless the voyage to the East Indies used to be, even not very long ago, or how little improvement there had been until the middle of last century. My grandfather, for instance, recorded with satisfaction the comfortable passage he made as a boy from Java to Holland, in 1820, in a bark of not quite three hundred tons, which took only 121 days. Yet as long ago as 1639 the good ship *Haerlem* had performed the reverse journey in 115 days, and the *Nieuw Amsterdam* in 114 days.

Such passages were, however, somewhat exceptional at that time. The average time taken about that period by 26 ships, of which detailed records are available, works out at 185 days, that is to say, about half a year. In fact, when the *Gouden Leeuw* made the voyage in 1621 in 126 days she thereby secured a reward of twelve hundred guilders for her captain and officers. Fully two hundred years later, however, voyages of 100 to 120 days were still considered normal.

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From the middle of last century on a good deal of attention was devoted to the question of improving the communications between Holland and Java, partly by the improved construction of the ships themselves, along lines based upon the experience of the American clipper ships, and partly by the issuing of improved sailing directions, which enabled masters to make a better use of the prevailing winds and currents at different seasons. The Royal Dutch Meteorological Institute took a leading part in this scientific research, and in 1870 its director issued a report showing the improvement achieved about that time in the average duration of the voyages to Java. According to his figures, the average duration of a number of voyages from the Lizard to Strait Sunda had, prior to 1857, been 110·3 days. For the whole of the period from 1857 to 1870 that average had been reduced only to 102·7 days. But it was claimed that, largely as a result of the new sailing directions, the average for voyages during the last couple of years had actually been brought down to 91 days.

Even this figure had, however, been beaten by the three Dutch "express sailers," *Noach I*, *Noach II*, and *Noach III*, which maintained a regular service to the East Indies. One of these swift vessels had actually anchored in the roadstead off Batavia to the thundering salute from the guardship's guns on the eightieth day after sailing from Rotterdam.

All these voyages had, naturally, been made by the Cape route, for the Suez Canal had not yet been constructed. Nevertheless, for mails and passengers a speedier route had, as the result of Lieutenant Waghorn's persevering efforts, been opened up "overland," as it was called, since it meant crossing the Egyptian Isthmus from Alexandria to Suez. By this route the voyage from Holland to Java had been reduced to 59 days in 1840. It was still further brought down—namely to 50 days, by 1848, and by 1859, after completion of the railway through Egypt, it only required 42 days.

Although this represented a substantial advantage in mere duration over the direct sea route, and the overland voyage lacked the monotony of the former, it was not without its difficulties, even its hazards. For travellers from Holland there was first the long journey by stage coach, and partly by train, to either Marseilles or Trieste. Then came the passage by French or Austrian paddle steamer to Alexandria. From here followed the overland trek via Cairo to Suez, a somewhat primitive undertaking, at any rate until the completion of the railway in 1859.

From Suez passengers would take the "Calcutta Line" as far as Point de Galle, thence continuing by the "Hongkong Line" to Singapore, from whence the final lap to Batavia would be accomplished by the local connection. Apart from being on the whole

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comfortless, this route was expensive. The through fare of between 2,500 and 3,000 guilders (about £200 to £250 at the par of exchange) was about three times as high as the passage money demanded by direct sailing vessel. But there was a saving of some 40 days in time—and even in those days time frequently meant money.

Steam and the Suez Canal

Meanwhile two events were profoundly affecting the situation: the application of steam to ship propulsion, and the plans of Ferdinand de Lesseps for the cutting of a canal across the Isthmus of Suez. In the matter of steam navigation, attempts had early been made in Java, but with little success. In 1825, a paddle steamer, the *Van der Capellen*, had been built at Sourabaya to maintain a regular service between that port and Batavia. Although she actually reached the latter place early in 1826, she gave scanty satisfaction thereafter, and the service was abandoned.

Nor were the attempts made in Holland more successful. In 1826 the *Netherlands Steamboat Company* of Rotterdam completed a paddle steamer, the *Atlas*, intended to run in the East Indies service. She was 239 feet over all, had three engines, and was arranged to carry 200 passengers. Unfortunately her engines proved so inefficient that she never started on her journey, and in 1832 she was scrapped.

After that a couple of "pirate ships" were ordered to be built for the account of the Dutch Government, the curious name being that given to Government vessels intended for patrolling service against local pirates in the Archipelago. They were ordered from the same company, and their fate was equally unfortunate. The *Orestes* was never able to start on her first voyage at all, while the *Plyades* foundered as soon as she reached the open sea.

A rather more successful attempt was made next by the *Amsterdam Steamboat Company*, which built the *Willem I* so that she could proceed to Java as a fully rigged ship, there to be converted into a paddle steamer. After completing the transformation in 1836, she was put into commission, but while transporting the Governor of the Moluccas to Amboina in 1837, she ran aground on the Lucipara rocks and became a total wreck.

Notwithstanding all these failures, there remained those in Holland who pinned their faith to iron ships propelled by steam. About the middle of last century quite a number of plans were submitted to the Dutch Government in regard to the establishment of regular mail and passenger services to and from Java by steamships, but none of these ever materialized, and in 1855 three prominent Amsterdam merchants put forth another plan, this

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time based on clipper ships, which were to maintain a monthly service, each single journey being calculated to average sixty days, and, of course, to be undertaken around the Cape.

Meanwhile, however, Ferdinand de Lesseps had secured his concession for the construction of the Suez Canal, and consequently suggestions for regular services round the Cape ceased to be of interest to the Dutch Government.

Steam navigation under the Dutch flag had, however, been most unsuccessful during the years which preceded the opening of the Suez Canal, and by 1869 there was still no apparent prospect of any satisfactory service being organized under Dutch auspices. Had it not been for the intervention of Prince Henry of the Netherlands, brother to King Willem I, and the consequent establishment of the *Nederland Steam Navigation Company*, it is probable that British ships would have largely ousted the Dutch from their trade with their own colonies.

A Scottish Shipowner

Curiously enough it was a Scottish shipowner and shipbuilder who took the steps which were ultimately to result in the founding of the premier steam navigation company of Holland, the *Nederland Line*. In the summer of 1869 John Elder, a shipowner and builder on the Clyde, approached, through H. S. van Santen of Liverpool, an Amsterdam shipbroker by the name of G. J. Boelen, who was the senior partner in the firm of de Vries and Co., with a scheme for a regular steamship line to the East Indies via the Suez Canal. Elder was to supply the bulk of the capital as well as the ships, while Boelen was to find the cargoes. For this latter purpose the support of the Netherlands Government was essential, as under the "culture system," then in force, the Government was the principal shipper of homeward cargo from the Indies.

By the end of July Boelen was able to put a concrete proposal before the Dutch authorities to which, in a surprisingly short time, he received a reply, but only to the effect that "no decision could be taken for the present," on the ground that the matter had to be considered "in connection with other proposals that had been received."

Boelen thereupon found a way of approach to Prince Henry of the Netherlands, who at once became keenly interested in the scheme and promised his active support—provided the undertaking were turned into a Dutch national enterprise having the support of leading business men in Holland. In August, 1869, there was consequently formed at Amsterdam a "Commission for the

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promotion of Steam Navigation to our East Indian Possessions." Its members were Boelen himself, Julius Bunge, of the well-known firm of Bunge and Co., and Jan Boissevain, who, although the son of an Amsterdam sailing-ship owner, had long taken a keen interest in the possibilities of steam navigation.

The Commission immediately reported its formation to Prince Henry, pointing out that the two main problems to be solved were on the one hand to secure a definite agreement with the Government for the conveyance of a minimum quantity of cargo at a suitable rate of freight and for the carriage of Government passengers, and on the other to raise the requisite capital. Towards the achievement of these aims it begged the Prince's support and assistance. A favourable reply couched in most cordial terms was received which inspired the *Amsterdamsche Courant* of August 28, 1869, to remark that, "whereas there are frequent complaints about the sleepiness of the Dutch, great interest will be aroused by the information that the initiative has now been taken towards a new development, and that once again a Prince of the beloved House of Orange has placed himself at the head of an effort calculated to have important consequences for the trade with the East Indian Colonies."

Three days later the Commission had an interview with the Prince at his country seat at Soestdijk, which lasted from half-past ten until one o'clock, when the Commission took lunch with His Royal Highness. The Prince formally accepted to become the Patron to the Commission, the King's approval to this step having previously been obtained.

On the following day the Commission was received by King Willem III, who also showed a keen interest in the scheme, and expressed his gratification that a Prince of the House of Orange should be at the head of a movement which he considered as of great national importance. It is interesting in these days of national protection in economic matters to find a King of the Netherlands raising, more than sixty years ago, two questions which sound strangely up-to-date: could not the new steamships, enquired the King, be built in Holland, and—apparently bearing in mind that he was also the Grand Duke of Luxembourg—could not Luxembourg iron be used for their construction?

Unfortunately, as Prince Henry subsequently had to explain to some of his disappointed countrymen, "both as a Prince of Orange and as a practical seaman" he could only confirm that at that time Dutch shipbuilders did not yet possess the experience required to be entrusted with the execution of so important an order. Tenders for the first four ships were therefore invited from the principal shipbuilders on the Clyde, those of John Elder, having been found most suitable, being eventually accepted.

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Founding the Nederland Line

Before matters had been advanced as far as that, a fair amount of opposition had to be overcome. Eventually, however, the new company was successfully formed, again with Prince Henry as its official patron. His Royal Highness at first favoured *Netherlands Lloyd* for the new company's name, but as there existed an insurance company with the same designation, the new concern eventually received the name of *Stoomvaart Maatschappij Nederland* (Nederland Steam Navigation Company), which has since, in its colloquial form of the *Nederland Line*, become known in all parts of the world.

The first capital issue was fixed at three and a half million guilders. The subscription lists were to be open on Saturday, April 2, and Monday, April 4, 1870. Up to the last moment there appears to have been some doubt about the success of the issue. Prince Henry, who had already applied for shares to the nominal value of 30,000 guilders, doubled his participation to show his confidence in the enterprise. The *Amsterdamsche Courant* published a last-minute appeal that has a curiously up-to-date ring about it. Although headlines were somewhat unusual at that time, it came out with the following ominous warning in large letters:

MONDAY IS THE DAY OF THE DECISION!

It will then be decided [it continued] whether there will be a national or a foreign steam navigation service to Java; . . .
It will then be decided whether 150,000 guilders of annual wages shall be earned by Dutchmen or by foreigners;
whether 170,000 guilders' worth of provisions shall be bought in this country or abroad;
whether 50,000 guilders shall be paid in commissions to Dutch or to foreign firms;
whether repairs to a value of 120,000 guilders per annum shall be executed in this country or abroad.

There was a good deal more in the same strain, all of it on lines with which post-war economics have made our generation familiar, but which seem to have been equally effective then.

For the issue was a complete success, the amount being fully taken up by the public. On May 13, 1870, the deed certifying the foundation of the *Nederland Steam Navigation Company* was executed. Full details and the names of the 981 shareholders were published in the Government Gazette of June 18, 1870.

Such was the origin of the *Nederland Line*, the premier Dutch

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navigation company to establish a regular service between Holland and her Eastern Empire, and still the principal link in the chain that binds the two together. A few sidelights on some of the changes that have occurred during these sixty years in the service and the ships may not be without interest, seeing that British travellers form a substantial part of the passengers carried by the company, and that British shippers are prominent among the supporters of the company's cargo vessels.

Modern Developments

The size of vessels using the port of Amsterdam has, until comparatively recent times, been somewhat affected by the depth of water available, not so much within the harbour itself as in the fairways leading to it. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries access to the Y, which lies on the north side of the town of Amsterdam, was exclusively via the Zuyder Zee. Ships entered this inland sea through the Texel, and passed all the way down to the approaches to Amsterdam. Here they had to cross a bar which, when the size of vessels grew during the early part of the nineteenth century, was found rather too shallow to admit the bigger ships, until they had reduced their draft somewhat. For this latter purpose a contrivance was established consisting of a couple of barges which were placed on either side of the ships and used to raise her in a manner still practised in salvage operations. Colloquially the two "humps" on either side of the ship had come to be known as the "camels." My grandfather, who studied law at Amsterdam in 1834-35, told me that they were still in use at that time. I imagine that they must have gone out of use soon after, for about 1824 the North Holland Canal was constructed which linked Amsterdam with the open sea at Den Helder, the port at the entrance of the Texel.

It was by this route that the first ships of the *Nederland Line* arrived at Amsterdam, and the late Charles Boissevain, the well-known editor and proprietor of the *Algemeen Handelsblad,* tells in his Memoirs how, when he was a boy, his father, who was one of the founders and managing directors of the company, used to take him and his brothers "to the other side of the Y there to see, drawn by twenty horses, the tall ship slowly coming nearer, contrasting darkly with the green meadows. As soon as those on deck saw 'the boss,' the flag was hoisted and the crew shouted a loud hurrah from the rigging." About 1875 the new canal from Amsterdam to Ymuiden was constructed, and since then this has been the route by which ocean vessels have found their way into the port of Amsterdam. Since 1930 the lock that gives admittance to this canal exceeds in dimensions not only the locks of the

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Panama Canal, but also those of the Kiel Canal, hitherto the largest in the world.

But at first both the limits of the Suez Canal locks and those of the lock at Ymuiden greatly restricted the size of the *Nederland's* steamers. Of the first four vessels, built by John Elder on the Clyde in 1871, the *Willem III* and *Prins van Oranje* measured only 2,600 tons gross register. The next two, the *Prins Hendrik* (1871) and *Conrad* (1872), were lengthened by some thirty feet to 352 feet, and registered 3,000 tons gross. In 1874 the *Prinses Amalia* was built to an overall length of 371 feet and 3,480 G.R.T., and for twenty-five years she remained the biggest ship of the company's fleet.

These early ships were constructed to maintain a speed of not less than ten knots in practice. In 1874, however, the *Prins Hendrik* beat the record "of all steamships known to us," as the Board expressed it, "for a voyage between Northern Europe and the Indies" by maintaining an average "speed of 11½ knots during 34 consecutive steaming days." It was in the *Conrad* that my father sailed to Java in 1873, and, although she had been equipped according to the best ideas of those days, he was unpleasantly impressed with her appointments. Many of the cabins were inside ones in which there was no ventilation of any kind. The dining saloon was long and narrow, and, running all the way between the cabins, had no portholes. Passengers sat on benches at long tables, and the plight of those unfortunate enough to be "bad sailors" and who suddenly found the mixture of engine-room and galley smells somewhat oppressive, was unenviable, for they had to make their way as best they could past the long row of diners that separated them from the stairs. Not until the three vessels of the *Koning Willem* class, that were built in 1898 and 1900, was an extra deck added to the ships' hull and with it the opportunity to raise the passengers' quarters higher above the waterline, thus enabling portholes to be kept open more frequently. By this time first-class passengers had also been placed amidships, instead of right aft, and the dining and smoking saloons had become far more comfortable. To me, at any rate, the *Koning Willem III*, then the latest liner of the *Nederland*, in which I travelled in 1901, seemed most luxurious, although she only measured about 4,500 tons. In addition, the vessels of this class were the first to give up auxiliary sails, which made them look very businesslike. Even the *Koningin Regentes*, completed in 1894, still had a square rigged foremast and a fore-and-aft rigged main and mizzen. Thereafter, however, sail was dispensed with altogether.

Just before the world war the race in size began in the eastern trade, partly as the result of the opening up of Sabang as a port of

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call. For by having to touch here, the *Nederland Company's* ships were brought into the international shipping lanes that lead not only to Singapore, but also to China and Australia, and began to carry increasing numbers of British passengers. Both in size and speed the company's vessels increased out of all recognition. By 1900 all ships were still well below 5,000 tons, while the voyage from Genoa to Java took about 28 days. In 1905 three ships of 5,800 tons were put in hand. By 1910 one of 8,055 was commissioned, and the last two to be built before the war measured almost 10,000 tons. At present the *Marnix van St. Aldegonde* and the *Johan van Oldenbarnevelt* not only measure 19,000 tons, but their equipment and decoration is in accordance with the latest notions of today. An interesting feature in this respect is that the interior decoration is not a mere outburst of blatant luxury, such as one has seen on certain ships. Every vessel of the *Nederland* is entrusted to some eminent artist of Amsterdam, such as Monsieur Lion Cachet, for instance, and under his guidance the whole of the interior decoration is thoroughly adapted to the character of the ship and to the needs of the passengers for whom it is intended.

For power raising, coal has, since 1925, been superseded by crude oil, and steam-engines by Diesel motors of the Sulzer type. The speed has been increased so as to enable the passage from Genoa to Batavia to be completed in just under twenty days. One of the little fetishes of the company, which it amused me to find being strictly observed, is the prescription that on departure from Amsterdam and again upon the vessel's return there, the last hawser must be cast off and the first rope made fast ashore exactly between the first and the last stroke of the appointed hour.

It is little things like this, enforced throughout the extensive ramifications of a vast organization, which make for precision and perfection—and for that apparent absence of fuss and worry which the spoilt passenger of these days is so apt to take for granted—and which a wise shipping company provides by a skilful combination of past experience and imaginative foresight.

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THE FUTURE OF SHANGHAI

By O. M. Green
(Late Editor *North China Daily News*)

Among many questions that must vitally affect China's future relationships with the West, none is more important than the destiny of Shanghai; nor is any Power so well fitted as ourselves to take the lead in its determining. The foreign settlement, when Shanghai was opened to trade in 1843, was at first an area set aside for British residence (though others were swift to push in and glean where we had opened the way); the immense development and good administration of Shanghai are admittedly due to British guidance in subsequent years; in spite of competition, our interests there are still much greater than those of anyone else; and, without conceit, it may be said that both China and certainly European nations still look to us to take the lead in great international matters of the Far East.

For those unfamiliar with local conditions, the question of Shanghai may perhaps best be understood by means of a simile. Suppose, let us say, Southampton were owned and entirely controlled by fifty or sixty thousand foreigners, further inhabited by about a million Englishmen, but the British Government had no authority within its circle and could not send a single policeman into its area to execute its orders even among the resident English. Suppose also that, while the rest of Great Britain had been a prey to civil war and anarchy, Southampton had grown to be the wealthiest city in the country, the centre and guardian of all its finance, commerce, and industry, until the strange paradox had arisen that the stability of Southampton, under its foreign control, was even more vital to the British as a whole than to its foreign owners; and lastly, suppose that an English nationalist party had arisen, which declared that they must be masters in their own house (Southampton included) and that others sympathized with them, yet felt that great caution must be used in meeting their aspirations, lest more harm might be done to England as a whole than good: there, *mutatis mutandis*, is the issue of Shanghai between Chinese and foreigners.

One further point must be stressed. Just two years ago, owing to the peculiar position and imperfect powers of its Administration, Shanghai was caught in a frightful conflict between China and a foreign Power, in which it might easily have been wiped out, as in fact large parts of it were. Nothing whatever has been done to remedy the imperfections which were the direct cause of

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that catastrophe. "Feeling," as we say, is better. But all the old inflammable materials are lying about awaiting some possible new spark to start another holocaust. No attempt has been made to sweep them away and substitute more fire-proof foundations for the enormously important organism that Shanghai has become both to foreigners and Chinese.

To show how Shanghai has attained its unique position, and to make the problems of today intelligible, a brief retrospect is necessary. When Shanghai was opened to foreign trade, the Chinese officials allotted a stretch of land on the riverbank, northwards of the old native city, whereon the traders were to be free to acquire land, build their houses, and manage their own affairs by their extraterritorial rights and under their consuls. By 1854 the community had grown to such an extent that a Municipal Council was created, annually elected by the ratepayers, with the right to impose taxation and maintain a police force—the essential features of self-responsive government. Since then the consuls have never taken any share in the administration of Shanghai. Not the least extraordinary feature in the settlement's constitution is that, although it is under the protection of the Powers, it does not belong to them, nor can they jointly or individually give any orders to the Council (I am speaking of the International Settlement throughout; the French decided in 1863 to administer their section as a separate Concession, when the British and American Concessions were amalgamated into the International Settlement: of course, both sections work in close co-operation, though administratively they are distinct). The Council's charter to govern is the so-called Land Regulations, first drawn up in 1854 and revised in 1866, but never again since then. It is easily imagined that many of today's difficulties are due to the very natural inability of the draftsmen of 1866 to foresee what Shanghai has since become.

During the Taiping Rebellion, in the fifties and sixties, thousands of Chinese took refuge in the settlements and, under the benefits of foreign protection, the Chinese community inside the foreign settlements has continued to grow until today it numbers nearly 1,000,000. The foreign community amounts to about 50,000, made up of forty-six nationalities and others whom the census, unable to identify them, describes as "sundries." This Chinese population, never intended when the ground was first reserved for foreigners, is the cause both of the growth of the Council's powers in the past and of its perplexities today.

First, a court was needed in which to try Chinese cases, as the practice of sending them to the native city soon proved really unworkable; and thus the Mixed Court came into existence, with Chinese magistrates and foreign assessors sitting together.

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Then it was obviously unfair that Chinese in the settlement should pay double taxes to the Council and their own officials. Moreover, it was found that the yamên runners (Chinese officials' emissaries) were mercilessly "squeezing" Chinese who lived in the settlements. The Council, therefore, claimed and eventually obtained the right to exclude the runners and preserve the Chinese under their control from the double impost.

For similar reasons, it was further agreed that no Chinese official proclamations could be posted in the settlement; also that no Chinese could be arrested and taken out of the settlement without a proper charge and a *prima facie* case made out against him in the Mixed Court, the warrant for his arrest being executed by the Council's police. It may be said that this safeguard against political terrorism or financial extortion by Chinese politicians and officials has been proved absolutely necessary again and again.

If the extension of the Council's powers seems excessive—and it has undoubtedly been great—two countervailing facts must be clearly remembered. First, the Council is the sole authority responsible for law and order in the settlement; they could not tolerate interference in their domain which might easily breed a riot. Sir Frederick Bruce, an early British Minister in Peking, with that sublime indifference for realities which the remoteness of Legation Quarter from Shanghai has so often produced, wrote on one occasion that it was no part of the foreigner's duty to protect Chinese from their own officials. Theoretically true, no doubt; yet in fact that is precisely what the Council had to do—in the general interest they could not do otherwise. And this obligation has grown ever more pressing, as all the centres of Chinese wealth have gradually been gathering in Shanghai, and, in the recent years of chaos and civil war, it has been the one place where Chinese business and finance could be pursued without let or hindrance.

In the second place, while the Council are an elective body, responsible at every step for all they do and all they spend to the ratepayers; moreover, able to be sued by any ratepayer in a court set up by the consuls, the surrounding Chinese Government is wholly arbitrary, responsible only to itself, beyond reach of any litigant. In such circumstances, as Mr. Justice Feetham has well pointed out, the elected Government must protect itself by all available means against the arbitrary, or it will be swallowed up by it, by a sort of constitutional Gresham's Law. Since 1916 the Chinese districts surrounding Shanghai have begun to develop a form of municipal government, and in 1927 they were amalgamated into one "Greater Shanghai" (containing well over 2,000,000 people, attracted by the growing wealth of the port) under a mayor. Now by common accord the present mayor,

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General Wu Teh-chen, is a most high-minded, public-spirited official, between whom and the foreign authorities relationships are very cordial. Furthermore, the administration of Greater Shanghai has developed considerably in recent years. Yet the plain fact remains that both municipality and mayor do not, in any real degree, correspond with our sense of the word. Neither of them is amenable in any respect to the ratepayers from whom they collect taxes. They are responsible only to a distant Government and, from the ratepayers' point of view, are absolutely autocratic.

This point is to be emphasized very particularly, because the day is coming when the Chinese will argue that their municipality is as good as the foreigners', and therefore the latter must be merged in theirs. A new civic centre has lately been built in the country north of Shanghai, with elaborate offices, and a huge scheme of avenues and parks radiating from this centre. There is no practical doubt that the ultimate intention is to produce something in imitation of foreign municipalities so outwardly imposing that the Powers may be cajoled into agreeing to the merging of the foreign area into the Chinese. But the insuperable barrier (or so it ought to be) remains that the Chinese municipality is a purely arbitrary government, subject to no law but its own pleasure; and, until that system gives place to a genuinely representative government, no alteration of the present status of the foreign settlements could be allowed without grave danger to China's prosperity as well as the foreigner's. The fact that the present mayor and the people under him are good fellows counts for nothing. They might be superseded at any moment; and it is still, unfortunately, beyond power of prediction who might remove them or who might be put in their place.

One example may be given of the uncertainties against which the foreigner must guard himself. Several months ago the Chinese Government promulgated a law for the registration of all companies. Nothing, on the face of it, unreasonable in that. Most countries do the like. But the Chinese law conferred upon officials the powers of very inquisitors. The most searching revelations of their business, such as no firm could reasonably be asked for, were demanded; and Chinese officials were not only empowered to enter business premises whenever they pleased and demand any information, but even to remove the firm's books and keep them for investigation. The dispute that has naturally arisen over the proposed registration is still unsettled.

With the growth of Nationalist sentiment in China during the past ten years, it is not surprising that the mere existence of Shanghai under foreign control has become an increasing grievance to the "politically minded." Its enormous wealth (British

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interests alone in Shanghai are very conservatively estimated at £100,000,000, probably they are much more) is a continual temptation to the large predatory class who have looted their own cities pretty thoroughly and hunger for the vastly richer spoils of Shanghai. To the better class, its admirable government and the rule of law it has maintained through all the years of surrounding lawlessness and slipshod inefficiency are a continual reproach. In 1926 Marshal Sun Chuan-fang, the last and ablest of the old Tuchuns of Nanking, said publicly that he was ashamed, every time he passed in his car from foreign into Chinese Shanghai, "to contrast their efficiency with our inefficiency." No other Chinese has had the frankness to speak out in this manner, but many must have had the same miserable feeling.

The result has been a series of petty obstructions and encroachments on the Council's authority, which do not materially advance the Nationalist cause and certainly damage the interests of the masses of the Chinese population. All sorts of petty political organizations have sprung up, nominally champions of "popular rights," actually for the most part in the hands of the least worthy of the citizens; and such is the power of the tail to wag the dog in China, that the Chinese officials are not infrequently stopped from coming to agreement with the foreign Council on some measure which they know to be for the general good, simply from fear of the clamour raised by irresponsible bodies. Three examples may be mentioned.

By agreements with the Powers in 1926 and 1930, the functions of the old assessors in the mixed court have been whittled away until now the Chinese judges sit alone, the only foreign check on the court's management being that the Council furnish its police, who execute its warrants. In the boycott of Japanese, in the autumn of 1931 (following the quarrel in Manchuria), many boycott agents and anti-Japanese rioters were brought before the court, but the Chinese judges either would not or dared not convict them. The Council were thus unable to keep order, and, as all the world knows, the Japanese eventually lost patience and invaded the Chinese district, in order to do what the judges would not do, with the result of six weeks' furious fighting and the destruction of vast quantities of valuable property. Calmer days have ensued. But it is the simple truth that nothing has been done to prevent a recurrence of the same trouble. Under similar conditions, exactly similar disasters might recur.

Next the question of factory inspection. Since 1925 the Council have been trying to impose regulations on child labour in the mills, but these broke down because, of the 118 big mills in the Shanghai area, considerably over a hundred are outside the settlement and the Chinese would not co-operate. In February last

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year there was a shocking explosion, with over eighty deaths, in a Chinese rubber factory in the eastern district of Shanghai, and the Council decided to amend their licensing by-law so as to enable them to enforce safety and hygienic precautions. The measure was approved by the ratepayers and by the Consular Body (whose sanction to changes in the by-laws is necessary). But the Chinese officials refused to agree. They declared the Council's proposals to be *ultra vires*, and, having recently promulgated a Factory Law themselves (which, by the way, is so highly idealistic that it would not be workable in any country in the world), they demanded that their inspectors should be admitted to the settlement to supervise all factories and industries. The Council could not give this permission even if they would, because foreign-owned industries are protected by extraterritorial rights and would quite legally shut their doors against the Chinese inspectors. That, of course, they could not do against the Council's inspectors, if the by-law amendment had become operative. Thus, for want of a little reasonableness, much-needed reforms and precautions for general security remain wanting.

Lastly, the very complicated question of what are called the outside roads. To put this matter as briefly as possible, the Council have from time to time for many years bought land (as by the Land Regulations they are entitled to do) outside the settlement for the construction of roads. Since the beginning of this century—with the increase of population, the tendency of foreigners to seek homes in the country, and the multiplication of industries—more and more roads outside the settlement have thus been built to the total extent of a little over forty-nine miles. Necessities of hygiene, light, water, and policing extended the Council's activities along these roads. For many years the Chinese raised no objection, but latterly, under the impetus of Nationalist sentiment, they have begun to claim the right to police the outside roads themselves and to supply the public services along them. The result has been much clashing of authority and several "incidents," always unpleasant, sometimes much worse.

The question is undeniably difficult. The roads are admittedly Council property, and are much appreciated by ordinary Chinese living alongside them, particularly landowners whose property has increased in value. On the other hand, one cannot deny some justice in the Chinese contention that the Council's police have no more right outside settlement limits than Chinese police are permitted inside them.

Eventually, in 1932, representatives of the Chinese and foreign municipalities met in conference and were on the point of arriving at a very fair working arrangement, to share the control of the roads between them, when, at the last moment it is said, and

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there is every reason to believe, that the Japanese claimed special rights in the projected arrangement, owing to the number of their people living outside the settlement. In the prevailing temper of the Chinese this was quite enough to hold up the proposed compromise indefinitely. It is reported that discussions have been resumed and one may well wish them success. But the incident is noteworthy in more than one way.

It cannot be concealed that there is now a Japanese as well as a Chinese "question" in Shanghai. The Japanese community numbers over 20,000 (the British, which is the next largest, is about 13,000) and their interests in industry, commerce, and shipping are very large. The upheaval of 1932 led them to look narrowly to their position, and, seeking backwards, they had no difficulty in attributing their misfortunes to the sentimental policy of England and America which, as it seemed to the Japanese, had merely aggravated the Chinese Nationalists' arrogance and high-handedness. They have built or are building barracks in Hongkew (the quarter chiefly occupied by Japanese) capable of housing 3,000 men; last New Year's day there was a review in Hongkew Park of 2,000 Japanese soldiers, sailors, and marines; they are building their own fire stations, the district is policed by Japanese, and all the Japanese cafés, cinemas, tea gardens, beer halls, etc., are licensed by their own national authorities. Hongkew really begins to constitute an *imperium in imperio*, with duplication of authority and inevitable dislocation of the Council's control. This is a much more serious matter than it is possible to explain in the space at command, its seriousness being accentuated by the teeming numbers of Chinese in Hongkew, who would quickly rebel against any substitution of Japanese for Council control, with reactions that would embroil the whole settlement.

Here, then, are great matters vitally affecting the welfare of what is perhaps the wealthiest, most active city of all Asia, not even excluding Bombay and Calcutta; nor, under present conditions, is there any visible limit to other equally irritating controversies that might be added to them. The futility of trying to grapple with each problem as it arises; the utter wastefulness and harm to the general good arising from the recent pull-devil pull-baker relations between foreign and Chinese authorities; the urgent need of fundamental reformation and of laying down such a constitution for Shanghai as would ensure its natural development on the lines it ought to follow: all these were frankly recognized by the Municipal Council when in 1930 they invited Mr. Justice Feetham from South Africa to draw up recommendations for Shanghai's future government, such as should meet the Chinese aspirations compatibly with due preservations of the vast interests centred in the city.

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Mr. Justice Feetham's report, running in all to over 730 pages, is unquestionably a most broadminded and statesmanlike document. To deal with it in detail is obviously impossible here, but the following main points epitomize his conclusions.

(1) That the Chinese desire to be masters in their own country is perfectly natural, and that the foreign settlements of Shanghai are an anomaly which no sovereign State could be expected indefinitely to tolerate. (Few people would dissent from this view.)

(2) That nevertheless Shanghai has grown to be what it is purely through foreign control and the rule of law thereby assured.

(3) That it would be impossible to hand over the settlements to the arbitrary rule that prevails elsewhere in China without risk of the gravest injury to China's material interests as well as to foreign nations'. The Powers, says Mr. Justice Feetham, are trustees to China for the great heritage built up in Shanghai, and would be false to their trusteeship if they relinquished control of it without most careful consideration and assurance as to its future.

(4) That Shanghai should be used as a training ground to educate the Chinese in municipal and representative government, of which they have no experience, by increasingly admitting them to share in the administration of the settlement, down to the time and the point at which the transition desired by China could safely be effected.

The methods by which (4) is to be attained are carefully planned in detail, and it may be added that for some years past the Council have actually been working on the proposed lines.

Considering that Mr. Justice Feetham's mission to Shanghai was benevolently viewed by the Great Powers beforehand, that Shanghai is admittedly a "world problem," and that his scheme is the only attempt ever made to find a solution for it—an attempt doubtless open to criticism, but nevertheless affording an admirable basis for discussion—it is extraordinary that no attempt should have been made to give it effect, or at least to examine it officially. Our own Foreign Office quite deliberately cold-shouldered it. The question of Shanghai remains where it did, only with some fresh complications added thereto.

On February 29, 1932, the League of Nations adopted a resolution which alluded vaguely to a future "Round-Table Conference" on Shanghai. It is not absolutely clear whether the League was thinking of the Sino-Japanese conflict then raging, or of the whole future of Shanghai. But there can be no question that such a conference is urgently needed, and indeed there is no other means by which Shanghai's constitution can legally be

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altered, except by joint unanimous agreement between China and the Treaty Powers.

But one proviso must be emphasized. Shanghai is a town in which a vast number of foreigners and Chinese have lived and worked and played together, in the main on very friendly terms, and, in recent years, with increasing appreciation of their common interests in the welfare of the great city. When the conference meets, it must not think particularly of a Chinese question, a foreign, or a Japanese, but of a question affecting all together, of a heritage in which all can share alike, with the resolve and certainty of making it ever greater and more splendid.

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HISTORICAL SECTION

AN ELEGY ON THE DEATH OF THE OLD EAST INDIA COMPANY

By Harihar Das

On September 5, 1698, a Royal Charter was sealed in favour of the "General Society," which was incorporated under the name of *The English Company Trading to the East Indies*. It contained important clauses. The subscribers to the New Company were empowered to possess lands and to trade to the extent of their capital on a joint-stock basis. They were the only body privileged to trade in the East Indies except the Old Company, whose term was to expire on September 29, 1701. The Company further received authority to control, govern, and defend their own forts and factories as well as to appoint Governors and other officers; but the sovereign rights over those places were reserved for the King. They were empowered to establish Courts of Judicature in order to determine all causes civil or criminal relating to trade and shipping, "according to the rules of equity and good conscience, and according to the Laws and Customs of Merchants," within the limits of the New English Company, as the Old Company had done. Within a few days of the granting of the Charter, the New Company proposed to send an ambassador to the Court of the Great Mughal, and subsequently nominated Sir William Norris, Bart., M.P.

The struggle between the two companies in England continued till their final amalgamation in 1708, and provoked violent recriminations both in England and in India. It is interesting to note that an anonymous writer composed a poem entitled *An Elegy on the Death of the Old East India Company*, which was published in London in 1699. It was evidently written out of propagandist zeal in order to advance the cause of the New Company, though the writer confessed that he had no personal interest in the New Company nor any animosity against the Old. He admitted that the great success attending the inauguration of the New Company, notwithstanding all opposition, was sufficient excuse to inspire the composition of the poem. He was even bold enough, now that the censorship had been abolished, to make a satirical attack on some members of Parliament connected with the Old Company with whose views and interests he was at

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variance. Considering the complete victory of the New Company over the Old, the writer expressed the opinion that it would have been a better policy if the two companies had arrived at some agreement before bringing their differences to the attention of Parliament. In the present day such an anonymous production would have provoked controversy in the Press, but towards the end of the seventeenth century (probably from the lack of regular newspapers, as the first daily did not appear till 1702) it escaped criticism. There were, of course, few trained pens and few writers who could even compose a pamphlet "in a day or night" as did their Elizabethan predecessors. The poem is typical of the artificial taste of the time, which assumed acquaintance with the classics, and relied entirely on the rhyme and on studied antitheses for poetical merit. The writer of these verses pictures the arrival in India of the New Company's fleet, and describes this expedition as being led by the "patriot" who is to bring peace and to restore amicable relations. The Mughal Emperor grants the petition with such grace and readiness that it would seem as though grant preceded request:

"How the fam'd Prince whose pow'rfull scepter sways
Where e'er the Eastern sun extends its Rays,
Shall rise with joy and run to his Embrace,
Reading his Master's Honours in his Face,
As He with fresh endearments Treats his guest,
And makes the grant precede his just request,
Preventing what he'll ask, by what he'll give,
His task too great, if only to receive.
Indians and English both alike shall share
The Monarch's favour, and employ his care,
And Brittain's wise Embassador obtain
Not only leave to Trade but almost reign.
Commerce shall spread itself along the coast,
And Norris shall regain what Child had lost.
These are the Truths the Tunefull God reveals,
And this the Man for whom he raptures feels,
Whose single worth might challenge all our lays,
And ever give employment to our Praise,
Should numbers follow, or should verse pursue,
The deeds which he has done and yet shall do,
But if he claims our wonder and esteem,
What should they have who made his worth our Theme?"

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WARREN HASTINGS AND THE GOVERNORS OF MADRAS

By A. Butterworth, c.s.i.

In 1774 Warren Hastings became the first Governor-General with a Council of four members, and he remained in office until the beginning of 1785. At the time of his accession the post of Governor of Fort St. George was held by Alexander Wynch, a man gifted, according to Orme, with "as small a share of understanding as can well be imagined." This popular, if unintelligent, administrator, having been unjustly removed from office, was succeeded in December, 1775, by Lord Pigot, in whose time occurred the *coup d'état* which resulted in the seizure of power by a majority of the Council and his own commitment to nominal confinement. The new administration obtained recognition by the Supreme Government and held office until John Whitehill arrived with the Directors' orders summoning the majority members home, restoring Pigot and, because he too had not been free from blame, requiring him to make immediate surrender of the Governorship. But meantime Pigot had died and his son-in-law, scornfully refusing an offer of military honours, had laid him under a slab of stone, bare of words, as in silent reproach. So Whitehill held charge until Thomas Rumbold arrived in February, 1778.

The capture of Pondicherry secured to this gentleman a baronetcy, but otherwise his office brought him little comfort. His conduct as Governor was approved to the extent that the Directors proposed to confer the Governor-Generalship on him in succession to Hastings, and in 1779 Sir Eyre Coote wrote to the chairman of the Company that the peace prevailing on the coast was a consequence of the "wise and spirited exertions of the Governor and Council here in support of the Army," which he contrasted with "the state of things in Bombay and Bengal, which had left Madras to bear the burden of the war and gone off on distant expeditions." Then, in April, 1780, he resigned office on medical advice and sailed for England. Three months after receipt of his resignation the Directors issued an order censuring and removing from office him and his Councillors, Whitehill and Perring, on the ground of oppression and corruption, and among the Resolutions put forward by the Secret Committee of the House of Commons appointed to investigate the causes of the war in the Carnatic was a proposal to censure and remove Hastings and the Governor of Bombay and to deal with Rumbold, Whitehill, and Perring for breach of public trust and other

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crimes by means of a Bill of Pains and Penalties. There are good grounds for holding that the charges against Rumbold were baseless, and, after he had been heard in his own defence, the Bill was silently dropped, nor, in spite of his importunities, was he able to secure a definite verdict. Thereafter there grew up a legend that Rumbold was responsible for the disasters of the war with Hyder Ali. This legend served very conveniently to distract attention from Hastings' neglect of warnings of impending disaster, but there is nothing to show that it originated with him. At the most we can cite this remark to show that he held Rumbold in no favour: "The evidence against Rumbold is strong enough to convict twelve felons, such as felons are of vulgar size, but he will surmount it all. There is not virtue in England for the punishment of wealthy villainy."

Rumbold having left in April, 1780, the reins fell again into the hands of Whitehill, who soon found himself embroiled with his superiors at Calcutta. By treaty made in 1768 with the Sûbahdâr, Nizâm Ali, the Guntûr Circar was to remain with his brother Basâlat Jang so long as he lived and behaved himself, and was then to pass to the English Company. In 1775 Basâlat's dealings with the French led the Supreme Government to authorize Madras to occupy the Circar, but the occupation was postponed. In 1778 Basâlat, moved by fear of Hyder Ali, himself offered to dismiss his French auxiliaries and to deliver the Circar into the Company's keeping subject to his continued enjoyment of the revenues. Madras, on the strength of the orders of 1775, accepted these proposals and obtained the assent thereto of the Supreme Government. Nizâm Ali and Hyder Ali were greatly annoyed, the former because he had not been consulted and had lost the chance of driving a bargain with the Company, and the latter because he was thus cut off from communication with the French through the port of Motupalli. They combined to frighten Basâlat into praying the Madras Council to reverse the arrangements made and into cancelling his application for an English force to take the place of his French guard. The Council, already in occupation of the Circar, refused to budge, but it happened at this juncture that the conciliation of Nizâm Ali was of consequence to the policy of Hastings, and he directed Madras to make over possession to Basâlat without delay. This order was issued in June, 1780, and it was repeated two months later. Madras took no notice until September 3, when objection was raised that the Circar had already been leased to the Nawâb by the Council; a further report was promised, but was not at once sent. In fact, there was a sharp contest going on in the Council whether to obey the Supreme Government or not. It was questionable whether the Regulating Act empowered the Supreme Govern-

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ment to order the surrender of territory already occupied by the Government of a Presidency; Nizâm Ali had no reversionary interest in Guntûr nor claim (save as a mere matter of politeness) to be consulted as to its disposal; Hyder Ali had no shred of title to make his voice heard, and it was of the utmost consequence to the Company and the Nawâb that the Circar should not be left open to the risk of occupation by Hyder Ali or the French. It was Whitehill who, by his casting vote, decided for obedience, and it was Whitehill who suffered for disobedience. The decision to obey came too late. On October 10, 1780, the Supreme Government issued its final orders. That authority argued, plausibly enough, that its assent to the occupation of the Circar had been given on the assumption that Nizâm Ali would be consulted, and that there was no justification for retaining a hold on the country after Basâlat had withdrawn his application for an English guard. But the real case against the Council was that it had put forward misleading reasons for its delay in carrying out orders, and by that delay had publicly flouted the authority of the Supreme Government.

The hesitation over the surrender of Guntûr was particularly galling to Hastings, because he had already committed himself to a promise to Nizâm Ali that the Circar should be restored. Consequently he moved, and his Council agreed, that Whitehill should be suspended from office. On November 5 Coote arrived at Madras bearing an order to this effect and charged with the duty of carrying it out. Whitehill challenged the authority of the Supreme Government to suspend him, and Coote was, as he wrote, "not a little difficulted how to proceed." In the end he got the Council to pass a motion that Charles Smith should take the chair, and Whitehill then withdrew, saying something about a suit. Hastings' account of the matter was that the order had been carried out "without trouble, though the creature made some show of resistance, and with the universal satisfaction and general joy of the settlement." Quite independently of this affair, and without knowledge of it, the Directors in May, 1781, dismissed Whitehill on the ground that he and Perring, as Councillors, must have been parties to Rumbold's alleged misconduct, and for no better reason.

Between November, 1780, and June, 1781, the post of Governor was held by the senior member of Council, Charles Smith, whom Hastings could not forgive for the "derision and resentment" with which Madras greeted the plan propounded, or supported, by the Governor-General to meet the Council's demand for European soldiers. The plan was that the Dutch in Ceylon should lend to the Company 1,200 Dutch soldiers in return for the cession to Holland (subject to the Nawâb's suzerainty) of the province

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of Tinnevelly and for recognition of the right of the Dutch to enlarge by force of arms their possessions on the Malabar coast and to exclude others from the pearl fishery to the southward of Râmêsvaram. The outbreak of war with Holland put an end to this remarkable project, which Hastings tried to justify later by describing it as "a measure extorted by the cries of despair and judged in the elation of a sudden return of success." His annoyance with, or disapproval of, Smith was manifested when, without consulting Madras, he came to terms with the Nawâb as to the payment of war-charges, and again when he appointed the Nawâb's agent, Richard Sulivan, to be "Minister" on behalf of the Supreme Government at the Nawâb's court. In both cases the intention was to belittle the Madras Council, and more particularly its president. So directly was Smith aimed at that, when he was about to be relieved by Macartney, Sulivan was told that if Macartney objected, as in fact he did, to the novel assumption by the Supreme Government of direct relations with the Nawâb, he should immediately resign his office of Minister.

Lord Macartney landed in June, 1781. In the Governor-General's opinion he was "a paltry fellow," but he was more than that: a personable man, urbane, diligent, intelligent, and even-tempered. The discriminating author of *The War in Asia* (probably the admirable Alexander Read) tells us that he was not free from a "spirit of domination and of hostile vengeance against all who in any respect opposed or interfered with the measures of his domination." A talent for making enemies suggests that he was wanting in tact. His verbosity on paper was dreadful. But perhaps his most annoying quality was his unctuous rectitude. He wearies us with insistence on his incorruptibility. He compares himself with his predecessors and avows his superior disinterestedness, but fails to mention that he was the first Governor to receive a fixed and adequate salary. He writes of himself: "I am of all men perhaps the most cautious, but at the same time the most decisive. I have no malignity in my nature. I have only that steadiness," etc.

The inevitable feud with Hastings developed in four principal directions, as set out below.

(1) *The Surrender of the Circars.*

The first altercation arose over a proposal that the whole of the immense area known as the Northern Circars should be returned to the Sûbahdâr, Nizâm Ali, in return for 150 lakhs of rupees, the remission of arrears due by the Company in respect of the Circars, the loan, if required, of 5,000 cavalry, a promise not to allow Continental Europeans into the Circars, and acceptance of the Company's guidance in matters of military policy.

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This plan had the full approval of Hastings, who was "most eager" to carry it out, declaring that the territory had practically no money value to the Company, and referring to an opinion expressed by the Directors in 1769 that the Circars were of no use except as a barrier against the invasion of Bengal. The Madras Council challenged Hastings' figures and, on this and other grounds, fought so strongly against the proposal that the Directors were convinced, and even thanked the Council for preventing the accomplishment of a project which later events proved to be exceedingly ill-advised.

(2) *The Deputation of Eyre Coote.*

After the defeat at Perumbâkkam Munro's supersession by Coote was a matter of clear expediency. It was unfortunate that the substitute should perforce have been one about whom Hastings had just written: "This man of caprice cannot long remain with us. His ill-temper or infirmities, or both in conjunction, will soon compel him to return home"; but he was unquestionably the best soldier in India. It was further unfortunate that Macartney should have come out with a plan of campaign in his mind and a conviction of his own skill as a strategist, because a Governor so equipped was not likely to rub along comfortably with a Commander of whom Hastings had recently said: "It is impossible for him to be on terms of peace with any man living who possesses a power either superior or equal to his own unless the former is for ever at his elbow and coaxing him into good humour." Macartney declared that he "courted him like a mistress and humoured him like a child," but, for all that, did not win his heart, although he managed to defer a rupture until 1782, when Coote complained to the Supreme Government that the Council was interfering with his plans.

The upshot was a letter in which the Supreme Government suggested, with "all the tenderness and delicacy" becoming such a subject, that Coote should have "entire and unparticipated" command of the forces and complete control and direction of all matters, even if not directly military, affecting the conduct of the war. This course was justified by Coote's "unexampled zeal and exertions" and by the confidence he inspired. The Supreme Government might direct this suspension of civil control, but preferred merely to recommend, and recognized that there must be reserved to the Council a certain final authority to be exercised in the gravest emergency. The latter reads very well, but Hastings was not behaving straightforwardly. Privately he wrote to Macartney of his anxiety to support the authority and honour of his administration, and to Coote that he had announced his views to the Council, and "it is at their peril if they refuse to

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conform to them," thus assuring Coote of his support in all circumstances.

The Council agreed to resign all authority over the army, but the position soon proved to be intolerable. Complaints and recriminations (set out on Macartney's side at great length) ensued, and continued until Coote, in September, 1782, amid mutual compliments, resigned the command owing to ill-health. The quarrel which developed between the Council and Coote's successor, General Stuart, filled the Supreme Government with such "dreadful apprehensions" for the fate of the Carnatic that it prayed Coote, ill as he was, to take on the command again. He made a gallant effort to respond, and this time the Governor-General and Council, discarding the pretence of advice, declared by a positive order that he should have "the absolute command of the forces." Madras, with previous experience in mind, was equally decided that Coote should accept a constitutional position of subordination. Hastings' reply of March 24, 1783, when cleared of mockery and vituperation, came to this: that the Directors had made the Supreme Government responsible for the conduct of the war throughout India, and that the constitutional powers of Madras must be exercised in subordination to the central authority.

The position taken up by Hastings, even if not legally impregnable, was a strong one, but the Madras Council had been so sharply stung by the flouts, sneers, and denunciations levelled at it that it persisted in a course which had become futile, and when Coote reached Madras in April he was met by an order warning him that his powers would be exercised under the control of the Governor and Council. Coote's death at this juncture pushed the question of authority on one side, but some notice had to be taken of this open defiance. The consequent reprimand produced fifty-four sheets of arguments from the Council, which had then the mortification of hearing that the Supreme Government would not waste time in arguing about "frivolous disputations."

(3) *The Negotiations with Tippu.*

Macartney seems to have come out with a fixed determination to make terms with Hyder as soon as possible, and at once wrote direct to him to propose a settlement, but the Mysore leader was not responsive. The Governor accordingly took a step in another direction. There was a feeling in Madras that the interests of the South were being sacrificed to the prosecution of the Mahratta war, and when John Macpherson was passing through Madras on his way to take his seat on the Calcutta Council, Macartney, Coote, and Admiral Hughes won him over to the view that

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Hyder would not be put down until peace had been made with the Mahrattas. The four then took the extraordinary course of writing to the Mahratta Government at Poona that the King and the Company had ordered the suspension of hostilities and that a similar desire for peace prevailed at Calcutta and Madras. This singular encroachment upon Hastings' diplomatic domain provoked his natural indignation. In June, 1782, Hastings wrote to Macartney warning him not to imperil the Treaty of Salbai, just accepted by Scindiah, by making any overtures for peace to Hyder. Nevertheless, Macartney opened negotiations with Hyder's successor, Tippu Sâhib, and in February, 1783, asked permission to enter into a treaty with him. The reply, which was in the usual offensive style, was somewhat evasive, but left it to be inferred that Hastings disapproved of the terms of the proposed treaty and of the establishment of direct negotiations between Madras and Tippu. This notwithstanding, an agreement of a sort was come to at this point between the Council and Mysore. Hastings was furious. He charged the Council with deliberately exceeding its powers and infringing the Treaty of Salbai, and put forward the amazing proposal that Coote should be entrusted with discretional authority to place Macartney and his Council under suspension. He failed, however, to carry his colleagues with him. Macpherson remarked, "We must consider the many difficulties under which the Madras Government are struggling and the sharp and immediate pressure of those difficulties," and most of the Councillors refused to find any deliberate infringement of the treaty, some even doubting whether there was any infringement at all or improper assumption of authority. So, although the proceedings of March 24, 1783, were richly spiced with gibes and upbraidings, it fell far short of Hastings' wishes, and in substance amounted only to a reminder that peace should not be separately pursued by Madras and a protest against any display of weakness towards Tippu.

But Macartney's appetite for diplomacy could not be stayed. No sooner had a truce between English and French been agreed in June than he sent to Tippu a proposal for an armistice and a promise to make no hostile move for a month. The Supreme Government, in language more bitter even than usual, denounced the "unwarrantable and disgraceful management" of the negotiations, the weakness which had prompted Tippu to insolence, and the folly which allowed one side to carry on hostilities while binding the other to abstain from them, and forbade the Council to make definite arrangements of any kind with the enemy.

The war with Tippu came to a close on March 11, 1784, when Macartney's "deputies" ended their ignominious mission by settling the terms of the Treaty of Mangalore. The document

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was sent to Calcutta for confirmation, and during the absence of Hastings on tour was accepted by his colleagues. Afterwards Hastings, with good reason, criticized the form of the engagement. He did not propose to decline to accept it in view of the sore need for peace, but so strong were his feelings as to the shape it had taken that he put forward the extraordinary proposal that Macartney and his Select Committee should be dismissed on the ground that they had studiously excluded from the treaty all reference to the Nawâb and the Mahrattas. The Councillors again saved Hastings from headstrong action, but they allowed the issue in August of an order requiring Madras to open up further traffic with Tippu in order to secure an admission that the Nawâb was a party to the treaty, and warning the Council that it would disobey this behest at its peril. By Macartney's casting vote it was decided not to comply with this order, and no ill-consequences followed. Hastings in January, 1785, announced his intention to retire, and as soon as the order of August came to the notice of the Directors, who had already nominated Macartney to succeed Hastings, they directed that if Macartney had in fact been suspended for disobedience to it he was to be restored to office.

(4) *The Nawâb's Debts.*

The financial position at Madras was so bad in Smith's time that even the civil salaries could not be paid. Sharp lectures were addressed to the Nawâb, who was told that if he could not or would not pay his debts it would be necessary to buy peace by the cession of part of the Carnatic. The ill-feeling arising out of this discussion gave Hastings the occasion to show his contempt for the Council in the manner already described. The "treaty" of April, 1781, regarding the debts due to the Company, which treaty Hastings had made with the Nawâb over the heads of the local authorities, broke down in the working, and fresh discussions were opened with the Nawâb. These resulted in the Agreement of December, 1781, the main features of which were that for a period the Carnatic revenues were to be paid by the renters and collectors direct to the Governor, by whom they were to be appointed (subject to confirmation by the Nawâb); that a fixed proportion of the collection was to be allotted for the support of the Nawâb; and that the remainder was to go in reduction of the debt due to the Company. For a time all went well, and then trouble arose between the Governor and the Nawâb. Macartney characteristically ascribed the Nawâb's animosity towards himself to a natural distaste for men of pre-eminent virtue, but there were other reasons, and the immediate ground of complaint was that Macartney had been appointing renters and

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collectors without the consent and approval of the Nawâb. This complaint was carried to Calcutta by two agents of the Nawâb, and it was dealt with in an unusual way. Hastings and his Councillors examined the envoys, and on the same day, January 8, 1783, without any reference to Macartney, they issued an order condemning him for a breach of the Agreement of December, 1781, and substituting for that measure a plan whereby the Nawâb again became responsible for making the collections and undertook to make certain payments therefrom to the Company. At the same time Richard Sulivan was reappointed to be "our Minister and Representative at the Darbar of the Nabob," and invested with authority to insist on the due observance of the engagements concluded between His Highness and the Supreme Government. Three weeks later Hastings wrote to Major Scott that if Macartney refused to obey these orders he intended to move for his suspension.

Before this order reached Madras the Council had received from England a despatch in which the Directors took strong exception to Hastings' "treaty" of April, 1781, censured the Governor-General and Council for appointing Sulivan as their representative with the Nawâb, cancelled that appointment, and declared their entire approval of the Agreement of December, 1781. Long experience had proved the futility of any arrangement which left it to the Nawâb to discharge his debts out of collections made by his own servants, and this despatch greatly strengthened the Madras Council in its resistance to the introduction of the new plan. After some intermediate correspondence, conducted from above with acrimony, or, as Barrow puts it, "with furious menaces," the Presidency, in June, 1783, definitely refused to comply with the orders from Calcutta unless and until they were confirmed by the Court of Directors; "we shall," the Council wrote, "be better pleased to see a dissolution of our Government effected by a vote of your Board than by the consequences which might result from a surrender of the Assignment." Necessity dictated this answer; with an empty treasury and an army unpaid for seven months, compliance with the orders from Calcutta would have meant the collapse of the Presidency.

The victory lay for the moment with the local Council. Hastings worked hard to induce his colleagues to take decided action against Macartney, but they refused to go beyond empty threats, and Madras retained control of the Carnatic revenues with the full approval of the Directors. At the end of the war the Board of Control ordered the restoration to the Nawâb of the right of collection, but the order to this effect reached Madras after Hastings had left India.

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INDO-CHINA UNDER GOVERNOR-GENERAL PIERRE PASQUIER

By Camille Fidel,
Member of the International Colonial Institute.
(*Translated by* C. E. A. W. Oldham.)

The Tragic Death and the Career of Pierre Pasquier

January 15, 1934, a memorable date in the colonial history of France, was in turn a day of glory and a day of mourning. While Paris, after Algiers, Marseilles, and Lyons, was honouring the squadron of twenty-eight aeroplanes which, under the command of General Vuillemin, had just accomplished in perfect manner, in the course of six weeks, a flight of 25,000 kilometres across French Africa, preparing the way for regular aerial routes of communication, dreadful news—also, by a tragic coincidence, connected with aviation—was to plunge Paris and the whole of France into consternation and grief: the splendid aeroplane *Émeraude*, when but an hour's flight from the capital, caught fire and crashed to earth, hurling to a horrible death the passengers it was carrying from Indo-China, and among them the Governor-General, Pierre Pasquier, who was coming to discuss with the French Government some important decisions that had to be taken in connection with the great colony in the Far East.

Pierre Pasquier, who for more than five years controlled the destinies of Indo-China, where all his previous service had been passed, was a worthy successor of the great Governors-General—Paul Bert, de Lanessan, Paul Doumer, Albert Sarraut, to name only the most illustrious—who wrought a transformation in the status of the colony, and whose enlightened administration rendered possible the results observable today. But the merit due to Pierre Pasquier is all the greater in that his task was a specially difficult one: he triumphed over political disturbances, and he coped with the economic crisis.

Born at Marseilles on February 6, 1877, Pierre Pasquier studied at the École Coloniale, which he left in 1898 with the title of *chancelier stagiaire* in the Residencies of Annam-Tonkin. From this time onwards his career was regular and brilliant, the principal posts held by him being: Provincial Resident, President of the Municipal Committee of Hanoi, Director of the Governor-General's Cabinet, Resident-in-Chief in Annam, and Director of

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the Economic Agency of Indo-China in Paris. On August 28, 1928, he was appointed to be Governor-General, the functions of which office he was admirably fitted to perform by thirty years' experience of Asiatic administration. It would take too long to enumerate the measures carried out during his Governor-Generalship in the political, administrative, social, economic, and financial departments of government. It will be better to recall the chief features of this period of five years in the history of Indo-China, fertile in events of importance, which bear the deep impress of Pierre Pasquier.

Political Disturbances in Indo-China in 1930-1931

Indo-China is subdivided into several countries, the bond between which is formed by the Indo-Chinese Union, with the Governor-General at its head. Among these countries Cochin China, which was the earliest to come under French domination, is a colony with a Governor in charge. The population, more advanced than in other parts of the Union, includes educated classes who more nearly resemble Europeans in their ways of living and thinking, and who enjoy greater political liberty. The colony sends a deputy to the French Parliament, and more recently a native delegate to the *Conseil Supérieur des Colonies*.

The other countries in the Union are the protectorates of Cambodia, Annam, Tonkin, and Laos, at the head of which are Residents-in-Chief. To these must be added the territory of Kwang-Tcheou-Wan, on the coast of the Chinese province of Kwang-Toung. There are three protected sovereigns—namely, the King of Cambodia, the King of Luang-Prabang (Laos), and the Emperor of Annam. In Cambodia and Laos the situation has all along remained quiet, and in them there are, properly speaking, no political problems: these concern only the Annam and Tonkin protectorates. The events of 1930-1931, which have been termed "the disturbances in Indo-China," were, moreover, confined to certain elements of Annamite society, and, dangerous as they might have been, they have not been slow in bringing about a salutary reaction.

Although the Annamites are as far removed as possible from communistic doctrines, subversive of the idea of the family, of the traditions of the past and of the principle of monarchy, the Viet Nam Quoc Dan Dong, the Annamite national party, joined up in 1925 with the Than Nien, the Annamite revolutionary party. The Than Nien and the Cong San, the Indo-Chinese communist party, of which the object was "to destroy French imperialism," and to set up by violent means a proletarian dictatorship, committed many excesses in 1929, and the drama of Yen Bay was the pre-

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mature outbreak, that ended in failure, of a wide-planned scheme. On February 10, 1930, at the Yen Bay (Tonkin) post, some French officers and non-commissioned officers were killed or wounded by civilians of the Annamite nationalist party and some native sharp-shooters who had been drawn into the conspiracy. The position was re-established by a counter-attack by some French troops and some Annamite sharp-shooters. At the same time some sudden attacks launched by rebels on other points, and marked by cases of assassination, were energetically repressed. Other grave incidents were brought about by leaders in the Vinh (North Annam) area, where, in consequence of the murder of some native residents, the militia had to use their arms. Similarly in some rural districts of Cochin China, a series of incidents occurred which formed part of a movement of protest, outwardly of a social character, but of communist inspiration. Bodies of thousands of demonstrators, mostly peasants, proclaimed their demands, which were principally for the abolition of taxes and the distribution of land, and became involved in acts of rebellion.

The authorities had to protect the people, who were driven wild by the methods of terrorism employed to make them join the revolutionary movement. The tribunals had to try some hundreds of persons who had taken part in the disturbances, and besides numerous sentences of penal servitude and deportation, a fairly large number of death sentences were passed, some of which were afterwards commuted and others carried out. It should be noted that these death sentences were imposed, not for rebellion, but because the culprits had committed murder or other offences against the common law.

The judicial measures taken were effective, and the disorderly elements were suppressed. Annamite society reacted of its own accord against the propaganda of the leaders, condemning not only the nationalist revolution, but also the destructive communistic tendencies that were subversive of its own traditions; the call of the revolutionaries no longer finds an echo from the working classes of the people, and for more than two years now nothing has happened to disturb the public peace.

The Political Reforms of H.M. Bao Dai, Emperor of Annam

The Government of Indo-China no longer meets with any political opposition on the part of the natives, who take more and more part in the affairs of their country. Towards this goal are directed the important reforms introduced by H.M. Bao Dai, who was brought up and educated in France. Alive to the need for responding to the wishes of the younger generation and of satis-

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fying the aspirations of the people, this sovereign, after touring through the provinces and noticing the decline in the national institutions, has deemed it necessary to change the personnel and the methods of his Government. He has abolished the post of the President of the Council, and has taken over the direction of affairs himself. He has done away with the Ministry of War, and created that of National Education. Young men, selected solely for their competence, have been called to form a new Government. The activity of this Government, which assumed office on May 2, 1933, has been very great: it has revised the judicial system, the mandarin statute, the department of popular instruction, the department of public accounts, and has reorganized the functions of the several ministries. This policy has tended to strengthen the authority of the Emperor and his Government over his subjects, and to place the initiative with the agents of the Protectorate, while preserving for the representatives of France the responsibilities and rights inseparable from the obligations accruing from the treaty establishing the protectorate.

Under this system the protecting Government entrusts more and more the administration of new departments to competent ministries of the protected Government: and so the department of native primary and elementary construction has been placed under the control of the new ministry of national education. Since it was decided to preserve intact the moral authority of the sovereign over his own people, it was proper to allow this authority to be directly exercised in the matter of the education of the young, with a view to creating an Annamite public spirit. We should also mention the promulgation of a new penal code and the changes which have been introduced in what was an archaic judicial system. Ere long the modernized institutions of the empire of Annam will have no cause to envy those of Cochin China and Cambodia, which have long since made great advances.

As regards Tonkin, the system of wide decentralization introduced under the treaty of 1884 will not undergo any change by reason of the return of H.M. Bao Dai, but will be maintained in its integrity. The protectorate of Annam-Tonkin is divided into two distinct parts, united nationally, since the native laws can emanate only from the sovereign of the empire of Annam, but falling under two distinct administrative systems: the Resident-in-Chief at Hué (Annam) is bound to support the policy of the imperial government in his views and in the exercise of his supervision, and only controls the functions of the Protectorate; at Hanoi (Tonkin), on the other hand, the Resident-in-Chief exercises a direct delegated supervision over the functions of the native administration, which are practically combined with the Protectorate's own functions.

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The Natives in the Representative Assemblies

Natives have been taking an ever-increasing share in the general and judicial administration. In this sphere the central government and local administrations have followed a programme that has been extended as a result of the progress made in the education of the people. The substitution of native for European personnel is being effected gradually. Another question, connected with this, but of far wider import, is that of the participation of the native element in the representative assemblies in Indo-China. Considerable development has occurred in this direction.

The constitution of the representative system in Indo-China, in pursuance of the decrees of November 4, 1928, prepared by Governor-General Pierre Pasquier, is as follows: At the base are councils of notables in the communes, and provincial councils composed exclusively of elected representatives of the native population. In the municipal councils of the large towns place has always been reserved for elected natives. Native chambers formed of representatives of the people, for the most part elected, having a consultative character, function side by side with the councils dealing with French economic and financial interests in each of the Protectorates—Tonkin, Annam, Cambodia, and Laos. The colony of Cochin China is provided with a complete assembly, the Colonial Council, deliberative in character, consisting of fourteen French and ten elected native members. Crowning the edifice, and by the side of the Executive Council of the Governor-General, is the Grand Council of Economic and Financial Interests of Indo-China, at the service of the Governor-General, composed of twenty-eight French and twenty-three native members, the majority of whom are elected, with consultative and deliberative powers: and in this council we have a body of qualified representatives of both French and native opinion.

Exports

If, from the political point of view, Pierre Pasquier played the leading rôle in the re-establishment of security, and perfected the organization of affairs in Indo-China, the part he played in the economic and financial spheres was not less important, since he weathered the crisis which, owing to the collapse in the prices obtainable for the chief products of the colony, threatened to nullify the great effort made, with the aid of large capital, to promote French colonial prosperity, and reduced to a disquieting extent the means of existence of the native population.

It is known that Indo-China is, along with Burma and Siam, one of the chief rice-producing and rice-exporting countries. The prosperity of the whole colony is founded upon the capacity

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of Cochin China for exporting rice; its economic activity depends upon the disposable surplus, the value of which, greater or less according to the market price, controls the buying power of the people and their ability to pay taxes, and consequently the balancing of the budgets. The quantities exported, though sensibly lower than in the record year 1928, have shown signs of keeping fairly steady in recent years: 1,121,593 tons in 1930, 959,504 tons in 1931, and 1,213,906 tons in 1932; and we find an absence of disposable stocks in the exporting countries and a persistent demand at a period when most of the raw materials quoted in the world markets are suffering to a crushing extent from overproduction. But rice is selling at less than half the price it fetched in 1930, so that the value of the exports has fallen from 1,200 millions of francs in 1930 to 623 millions in 1931 and 603 millions in 1932. The cost price comes near to that at which paddy is sold; hence the difficulties besetting the cultivators of rice, aggravated by the indebtedness of the landowners, who had been induced to spend in extension of cultivation the unexpected profits of six consecutive years of exceptional prosperity, and who had incurred obligations at usurious rates of interest.

It was in rubber plantations for preference that French capital was employed during the period of prosperity. The quantity exported increased from 10,381 tons in 1930 to 11,901 tons in 1931 and 14,600 tons in 1932. This increase, which has taken place in spite of the heavy fall in the price of the commodity, testifies to the efficacy of the help rendered to the planters by the Government. The cultivation of tea, still in its inception, gives very encouraging results. Maize, the export of which steadily increases, is beginning to play an important part in the economy of the colony.

The value of mineral production has sensibly decreased. Coal mining, however, continues to show activity, the quantity extracted having only decreased from 1,972,000 tons in 1929 to 1,726,000 tons in 1931. The local consumption tends to increase, and the closing of markets in the Far East has been compensated to some extent by the increased sales of coal from Tonkin in France.

The Maintenance of Production and of Credit

While in the surrounding countries the planters were left to themselves, in Indo-China since 1930 advances have been allowed to owners of young plantations of hevea to enable them to hold on till the time of production. By 1935 the total value of this assistance will have reached 100 million francs. As far as the plantations already operating are concerned, the French law of March 31, 1931, created a compensation fund allowing for the

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payment of a premium to exporters of rubber, maintained from the proceeds of a special tax on importation into France and by advances from the treasury in Indo-China. An office has been established for the support of agricultural production, which will replace the administration of Indo-China in the matter of all further loans to rubber and coffee planters.

To remedy the precarious condition of rice cultivation, the Colonial Office has had a law passed by Parliament which will enable help to be given to the cultivators who have imprudently incurred debt. The Government in Indo-China has been authorized to guarantee up to a limit of 100 million francs the loans contracted by private agencies with the object of granting long-term loans secured on landed property to the owners of rice lands. As a result of arrangements with the *Crédit Foncier de France*, a sum of 50 million francs has been placed at the service of rice cultivation. A system of long-term loans on the security of landed property has been established, which constitutes a link between the cultivators and the private lending agencies. The object is to enable the debtors to meet the payments falling due according to their capacity to pay, by substituting a long-term debt at a moderate rate of interest for a short-term debt at an usurious rate of interest. A department of rural colonization has been created to contend against excessive deterioration of the rice lands, and to foster the growth of small proprietorship by subdivision of large estates and the establishment of colonizing villages.

As the indebtedness of property, however, calls for a permanent solution, steps have been taken, by the fusion of the European credit-on-mortgage societies in Indo-China, for the establishment of a *Crédit Foncier Indochinois*, which will grant loans on urban and rural immovable property upon advantageous terms of interest. Nevertheless, the indigenous institutions of agricultural credit have, concurrently, a part to play so far as small rural estates and unimportant or seasonal loans are concerned, and a department will be set up in Indo-China to deal with such agricultural credit and to control the administration of provincial banks and funds, both French and native.

The Monetary Question

Along with the problems of production and credit there is still the monetary question, which plays a leading part in the economy of Indo-China. By the decree of May 31, 1930, the piastre, the value of which formerly varied with the price of silver metal, was stabilized at ten francs. The introduction of a fixed currency on a gold standard ensured stability and security of exchange,

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kept up the purchasing power of the country, and facilitated relations with the metropolis.

On the other hand, in Asia and the Far East, where most countries have a depreciated silver currency, a rise in coinage values can prove disadvantageous to the export trade. This is the reason why delegates from select bodies and economic groups in Indo-China and representatives of the rice cultivators of Cochin China —these latter attributing their growing troubles to the stabilization of the piastre—appeared before the monetary commission established at the Colonial Office and asked that the system of a silver metal basis be restored.

Public Works

In spite of the economic crisis, the programme of public works has been carried on with the greatest activity, chiefly with borrowed funds. In Cambodia the railway from Pnom Penh to Battambang and Mongkolborey has been constructed and opened for traffic: its completion will enable the Indo-Chinese and Siamese networks of railways to be linked up. In Annam the construction of the line from Tourane to Nhatrang, the last section of the Trans-Indo-Chinese Railway, has been taken in hand, and should be completed at the end of 1936. Still more important than the ways of communication are the irrigation works of Cochin China, Cambodia, Tonkin, and Annam, which complete the extensive works of like nature already carried out in the course of many years past, the chief object of which is to enable a larger area to be cultivated with rice, whether for purposes of export or for improving the food ration of the people.

The employment of credit reserves from loan funds for expenditure on measures of sanitation and for demographic purposes has enabled an extensive programme of sanitary measures to be given effect to, and the struggle against disease to be developed. Social questions also receive solicitous attention from the authorities—the protection of workers, regulation of free labour, and the development by suitable measures of small proprietorship.

Budgets and Retrenchment

It has been all the more difficult for the authorities in Indo-China to carry on their agricultural, economic, and social measures in that these require permanence of financial resources. Now, the economic crisis, which so deeply disturbed the equilibrium of private concerns, reacted directly upon the colonial budgets. It was for this reason that one of the principal tasks imposed upon Governor-General Pierre Pasquier was the restoration of the finances.

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The fall in receipts was all the more violent because the last years of the preceding period had benefited by the activity—partially at least fictitious—in the exchanges; on the other hand, expenditure rose owing to the increased payments of interest on loans taken for the execution of public works. From that time a deficit in the Budget became inevitable: this deficit amounted to 11,154,954 piastres in 1931, 13,864,785 piastres in 1932, and about 5 million piastres in 1933. Wholesale retrenchment was called for, and this has been successfully carried out, since the estimates have been reduced from 108,046,530 piastres in 1931 to 86,756,210 piastres in 1932, 72,164,190 piastres in 1933, and 60,953,940 piastres in 1934.

The decrease in public expenditure that has enabled these results to be obtained has been achieved by progressive reduction in the staff of certain services, and also—following the example of so many other countries, and particularly of most colonies—a reduction of 10 per cent. in the salaries and emoluments of all French and native officers. Thus the cost of administration, swollen during the period of prosperity, has been gradually reduced to modest proportions, and adapted to the curtailed resources brought about by the crisis.

The New Governor-General

It follows from the above brief survey that Governor-General Pasquier succeeded in piloting Indo-China through a very delicate situation of affairs, not only economic and financial, but also political. But it does not follow that the great French colony of the Far East has emerged from all its difficulties; and a heavy task rests with the distinguished successor of the lamented deceased. M. René Robin is, like his eminent predecessor, an old official of high standing in Indo-China. He has held the post of Secretary-General for Indo-China, and of Resident-in-Chief of Tonkin, where he had constructed the immense system of dykes that has often saved the country from destruction by floods. He has already acted as Governor-General temporarily, and that during the time of the political disturbances, when he showed the greatest energy in quelling the threatening insurrections.

The appointment of M. Robin has been received with practically unanimous approval, both in Indo-China and in French colonial circles. Grave problems call for his attention, especially those concerning the agricultural and monetary situations. After fully studying these and making suggestions for the decision of Government, he will go back to Indo-China to continue Pierre Pasquier's policy of economic reform. May he achieve the same success!

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THE INDIAN PROBLEM: A SIMPLE PLAN

By J. S.

Now that the Joint Select Committee is nearing the completion of its labours, and will be indicating final decisions for a democratic constitution for India, we may for a moment pause and consider the prospect of its working harmoniously and efficiently in these difficult days.

It does seem strange that, while some countries of the world have been running away from democracy abdicating in favour of dictatorship, India is preparing itself for its realization. Germany, Italy, and America, and even Russia, are now governed by dictators. It was declared that even England had no alternative to a dictatorship except a coalition Government, which took the place of a dictator.

What are the special reasons which have led India and England in these changing days to concentrate their best minds in designing a new plan for establishing a democratic system of government in this vast continent? The answer will be that India demands it. Can anyone specify this demand and harmonize it with the proposals contained in the White Paper? How did the people of India as a whole endorse the demand and accept the proposals?

The new constitution is to be a compromise between democratic principles and Indian conditions. It aims at conferring the right of voting on a mass of ignorant population, male and female, who have yet to learn the meaning of "responsibility." It has been decided to perpetuate separate communal electorates which have already undermined the foundations of good government. It is proposed to entrust the Governor with the power of intervention in opposition to the decisions reached in the Legislature and the Cabinet. The constitutional structure is to raise fissiparous foundations without any attempt at consolidation, and is to be buttressed with well-defined safeguards. It is hoped that this arrangement will satisfy Indian aspirations and at the same time provide all the essentials of good government. It is like pushing a leaking boat on stormy seas and leaving it to weather the storm.

It may seem late in the day to strike a note of warning, but is it wise in this changing world to adhere to theories and ignore the realities? At a time when democracy seems to have served its use-

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fulness in countries where it was born, is it wise to enter upon this great adventure amidst a world in chaos.

So much has been said and written on the Indian constitution that a simple plan may seem ridiculous. Yet a simple plan may meet both the demands of India for self-government and the fulfilment by England of its pledged word.

Is there any reason why existing Provincial Councils and Cabinets, as at present constituted, should not be given full provincial autonomy? Is it right to alter this arrangement without the consent of the existing Councils? Would it not be wise to give the present Councils the power by a two-thirds majority—

(i.) to enlarge or restrict the franchise,
(ii.) to keep communal electorates separate or make them joint,
(iii.) to increase or decrease the number of members of Councils,
(iv.) to set up a second House?

At the centre again the present Legislative Assembly and the Council of State could be left untouched, modifying the constitution only so far as to transfer to Ministers, responsible to central legislature, subjects transferred in the provinces. This arrangement will automatically exclude Army, Foreign, and Political Departments.

It may be necessary to provide for a joint session of the Cabinet elected by the Chamber of Princes and the Central Legislature as the first step towards federation.

Government may go further to redeem its pledge and frame a Federal Constitution, but leave its attainment to the Provinces and the States by mutual agreement, by surrendering such powers to a Federal Government as have been surrendered in other countries.

The Central Legislature may also be empowered:

(i.) To enlarge or restrict the franchise.
(ii.) To keep communal electorates separate or make them joint.
(iii.) To increase or decrease the number of members of Councils.

If this is done India can begin to work for its moral and material well-being and then the constitution can be moulded in the light of experience and in response to popular demand.

The best course is to allow the Indian constitution to grow in an atmosphere of freedom from external influence in response to the wishes of the people rather than superimpose it from outside. Give India the power to alter the Constitution and leave her to plumb her own weakness and strength.

In so doing the Government of India will have fulfilled its pledge of giving to the Provinces full provincial autonomy and the power to alter the Provincial constitution by the consent of

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the people. It would have made Central Government responsible to legislature in all departments transferred to the Provinces with the power to alter its own constitution.

It need hardly be said that India at present needs a good and forward-looking Government, and the proposed constitution cannot give it. Economic conditions are deteriorating with such rapidity that only a wise, far-sighted, and courageous Government can save the country from ruin. Let us work together to give India such a Government immediately and without hesitation, and all may yet be well. What the people need is bread, and we offer them words or confused designs of a complex constitution.

INDIA,
March 2.

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THE GAUDIYA MISSION IN LONDON

On the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of the birthday of Paramahansa Bhakti Siddhanta Sarsaswati Goswami, Spiritual Master of the Gaudiya Mission, Swami B. H. Bon, preacher-in-charge of the London Gaudiya Mission, gave a reception at Grosvenor House on February 2. Lord Zetland presided and, after a cordial speech from the Maharajah of Burdwan, Lord Zetland said that India had always been the home of spiritual movements, and history was only repeating itself in the formation of the Gaudiya Mission. Some 450 years ago there was born at Mayapur, in the Nadiya district of Bengal, Sree Krishna Chaitanya, who, like Saul of Tarsus, underwent as a young man a great psychological transformation, and became a tremendous spiritual force in the life of India. As time went on his teachings were misunderstood or neglected, and, consequently, the Gaudiya Mission took its rise half a century ago. During his time in Bengal he (Lord Zetland) had visited the headquarters of the mission, and the scene of the *guru* (teacher) and his twelve *chelas* (disciples) around him seemed taken from ancient India. It might equally have been that of the Master in Galilee with his disciples. It could not conceivably have been that of professor and students of a twentieth-century university of India. Surely in an age like the present, when the minds of men were so directed to material considerations, it was good to have such evidences as the mission afforded that there were still great spiritual forces stirring the hearts of men.

In a brief speech, Swami B. H. Bon said that the Master was born at Puri, Orissa, in February, 1874. He was the fourth son of Thakur Bhaktivinode, who was at that time in charge of the temple of Jagannath in the capacity of deputy magistrate. Sree Saraswati Goswami was extremely fortunate in breathing a devotional atmosphere from his cradle. He was well educated and the early days of his scholastic career were spent in religious discourses and devotional activities with his father. From a very young age he was a powerful debater in literary as well as philosophical discussions. His proficiency in mathematics, especially in logarithms and the Indian method of trigonometrical calculations, was so great that at the early age of sixteen he was recognized as an authority in astronomy and astrology. He succeeded in pointing out the mathematical discrepancies of the influential leaders of the reformation of the Eastern calendar. But material art, science, or literature were not his life's work. He was destined for a higher mission which was spiritual and esoteric. He therefore renounced activities on the mundane plane, considering them to be of little worth in the eternal sense, and sought the realization of the *summum bonum* of mankind. From childhood he was imbued with the spiritual ideas and thoughts embodied in the life and teachings of Sree Krishna Chaitanya. At the age of seven he was initiated in the chanting of the Transcendental Name of God. He began to abstain from the luxuries of life and he would accept nothing which was not first offered to God.

He has been a vegetarian from birth and has always shown his spontaneous delight in the loving service of Sree Chaitanya—the Ideal of his life. As a lover of morality and as a sincere seeker of the Godhead he was blessed with the grace of a great Spiritual Master.

Since his initiation in 1900 by a great devotee of the Absolute Person he commenced his active propagation of the doctrine of divine love as preached by Sree Krishna Chaitanya. His manifold activities have included the estab-

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lishment of forty-two centres in various parts of India, the publication of six journals and many rare scriptural works in different Indian languages with annotations and commentaries of his own on the basis of a devotional standard of judgment, the provision of theistic exhibitions on a novel and original plan, the establishment of educational centres for spiritual training, and the sending out of itinerant preachers to all parts of the world.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

INDIAN LABOUR IN RANGOON. By E. J. L. Andrew. (*Oxford University Press.*) 10s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* F. BURTON LEACH.)

The importance of this subject is shown by the fact, realized by few people, that Rangoon is the largest port of immigration in the world, larger in recent years even than New York, the annual number of immigrants being over 300,000, who are nearly all Indians of the labouring class. The subject has two aspects—social, dealing with the status of the immigrant labourer; and political, dealing with the relations between immigrant Indian labour and indigenous Burmese labour, and Mr. Andrew deals mainly with the former. The book was completed as long ago as 1930, and the delay in publication is unfortunate, as both the economic and the political situations have materially changed in the interval. The trade depression has led to the Burmese, who previously scorned stevedore work, competing for it with the Indians, and this and the general financial slump has led to a decreased demand for Indian labour in Burma.

The social aspect of the question has not, however, changed to any extent, and the "maistry" system under which the labourers are engaged and paid through contractors remains, and the evils of this system are fully set out by Mr. Andrew. What strikes the reader is hardly so much that the labourer is underpaid as that the profits of the maistries are excessive, but the author does not sufficiently allow for the fact that the maistry takes all the risks, and that a considerable percentage of the advances given by him must be irrecoverable, owing either to the death of the labourer or to his clearing off and finding work in the mofussil. It seems unlikely therefore that the maistry makes in practice such a large profit as would appear from the figures given in the book. If the employers were to engage and pay their labourers direct on the system suggested by Mr. Andrew, they would have to face these risks, and would probably try to reduce the rates of wages. From the budgets given by Mr. Andrew it is clear that the careful labourer can live quite well and save out of his pay, and that their indebtedness is frequently due to extravagance, particularly on weddings, funerals, and festivals, the besetting sin of so many Indians.

The housing question is one of the most difficult, and there is no doubt that the accommodation of the labouring class in Rangoon is often deplorably bad. Here again, however, it must be remembered that most of the men have the most rudimentary ideas of domestic hygiene, and that until these have improved it is very difficult to design suitable quarters which can be constructed without prohibitive expense to the owners. Nobody will deny the undesirability of thirty or forty men with a few women and children, living in a single room, but nobody who knows the class in question will doubt that most of them would prefer this to better quarters and less cash

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to spend, which at least in the present time of trade depression would probably be the result of any attempt to deal drastically with the problem of housing.

The whole question is one of the most important with which the reformed Government of Burma will have to deal, and if Burma is separated from India it will assume even greater political importance. Mr. Andrew's knowledge of the subject is unique, and his book should be read by all who have to deal with it.

THE GAVIMATH AND PALKIGUNDU INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA. Edited by Dr. R. L. Turner. (Hyderabad Archæological Series No. 10. Published by H.E.H. the Nizam's Government.)

In 1930 a ryot of Kopbal, named Harappa, came across two inscriptions which he thought might furnish a clue to the "hidden treasure" that he was seeking. They proved to be in the Brahmi alphabet, one on Gavimath rock and the other on Palkigundu hill. At one time Gavimath was an important centre of Buddhist religion, but later, like Palkigundu, was occupied by Jains.

The Gavimath inscription consists of 8 lines with 211 *aṣkaras*. It is completely legible although the stone has weathered considerably. Of the Palkigundu inscription, only a few *aṣkaras* are now decipherable, and they are identical with parallel passages in the Gavimath inscription. Dr. R. L. Turner, who has edited these inscriptions, thinks they were originally identical and represent another version of the edicts of Asoka at Bairat in Jaipur, Sahasram in Bihar, Rupnath in the Central Provinces, Maski in the Deccan, and Brahmagiri and Siddapura in Mysore.

The Maski inscription, found in the Nizam's Dominions in 1915, is the only record which specifies the Emperor's personal name Asokasa. In the Gavimath inscription, as in others, he is mentioned as Devanampriya, and he says that he has been a lay-worshipper for 2½ years but has not acted very zealously. It is more than a year since he joined the community and he has acted very zealously. His message is that only a great man may not be able to mingle the gods with men, but wide heaven may be attained by a lowly man acting zealously.

Dr. Turner's scholarly editing, and the 16 excellent illustrations and 2 maps, make this monograph a useful addition to the list of Asokan edicts. There is an interesting note on the discovery by Mr. Yazdani, Director of Archæology in the Nizam's Government.

ARTHUR DUNCAN.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MANAGING COMMITTEE OF THE PATNA MUSEUM FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST MARCH, 1932. (Superintendent of Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa. Rs. 1.8.)

During the year under review the Patna Museum acquired, *inter alia*, several terracotta figurines found in 1927 at an ancient site near Buxar;

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a few bronze images; about 900 coins, mostly copper coins; and some interesting paintings and portraits of the Delhi School.

The bronze images, which were found at Kurkihar, date back about eight to twelve centuries when the Pala Kings reigned in Bengal.

The coins include some of that prolific coiner Wima Kadphises or Kadphises II., about 78-110 A.D., and his successor Kanishka; silver punch-marked coins from Teregna in the Patna district; a few Mogul coins; and fourteen gold coins issued by the Pathan Sultans of Delhi, between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Among the portraits are those of Omar Khayyám (seventeenth-century school); Baber and his Queen Hasina Khatun, Humayun, Akbar, and Prince Muazzim (all eighteenth century); and Chand Bibi and Ghyiasuddin Muhammad Tughlak (nineteenth century).

ARTHUR DUNCAN.

CONTRIBUTION A L'ETUDE DU CONFLIT HINDOU-MUSULMAN. Par Rahmat Ali. (Paris: *Paul Geuthner.*) 30 fr.

The book before us is a thesis submitted in French for a doctorate degree. Mr. Rahmat Ali is to be congratulated on his ability in expression.

The thesis is well divided and arranged. The author deals with the subject of blame as to the Hindu-Muslim troubles, and comes to the conclusion that the antagonism is chiefly of a political-economic nature. For instance, he makes the distinction between proprietors and money-lenders on the one hand and peasants on the other. He thinks that indigenous capitalism is longing to supplant the suzerain power.

Zo (THE ELEPHANT). By Etsujiro Sunamoto. Published in Japanese by the Seison Fuken Kai.

A monograph of such length and such magnitude has probably not been previously published. The work, which one must regret not to have been written in a European language, comprises over 2,300 pages, and is embellished by many illustrations and plates. There are several prefaces, one by Professor Ishikawa, of world reputation, and one by Prince Tokugawa. It is pleasing to note that the author is the happy son of a proud father. When fifteen years of age the father went to Osaka—so states the introduction—to learn the ivory trade; at the age of twenty-four he started business on his own account and manufactured ivory articles for export, and at his wish the first son, the author of this monograph, was sent to the university. It is right to assume that filial piety drove the son to justify the father's expectations. The work itself deals with the elephant from all points of view. The first part has for its subject the natural history, anatomy, ways, and habits, with stories showing the animal's intelligence, elephant hunting in various parts of the world, including Ceylon and Malaya. The use of elephants in war, in circus, and for work is explained

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in great detail. Symbolism and folklore form lengthy chapters. In order to complete his survey the author has devoted special study to ivory, again in all aspects, including sculpture and religion. If this enormous array of contents will not astonish the reader, he will find a list of literature of 38 pages and an index or 102 pages. And if ever an author deserves special praise for hard work, knowledge, and wisdom, Mr. E. Sunamoto will certainly receive it from those who are able to follow him. It should be added that the author will not rest on his laurels, as he is preparing a work on the Lion, while a younger brother is engaged on a publication on the Tortoise.

The Indian Theatre, its Origins and its Later Developments under European Influence. By R. K. Yajnik. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 10s. net.

In 1924 Professor Keith published a large volume on the Sanskrit drama and its origin. This work was much needed, but it dealt only with the classical side. Here we have a book considerably smaller in size, but the author, who is a Professor of English Literature in India, chiefly deals with the modern stage and the influence of European theatres—that is, he appeals to the wider circle of readers who delight in English literature and want to know about the more recent modern developments. The book is substantial and very ably compiled after long study of Indian and European literature, and every page gives testimony of most comprehensive knowledge. There are numerous notes referring to English works and Indian literature in various dialects on this subject. Finally, in Appendix C a seven-page list of renderings and adaptations of Shakespeare's plays is given, which alone entitles the learned author to special recognition by English literary institutions.

Saarda, the Tale of a Rajput Maid. By D. M. Gorwalla. (Bombay.)

The reader of this poetic romance will delight in the easy flowing rhymes and the charming tale they unfold. In a few introductory notes the poet-writer explains that the poetical form came more natural to him than the tale in prose. One may add that prose would have been less delightful than these verses. One is almost reminded of Walter Scott's *Lady of the Lake*. This Rajput tale is similar in treatment.

Indian Sculpture. By Stella Kramrisch. With map and 116 illustrations. (*Oxford University Press.*) 8s. 6d. net.

A pupil of Professor Strzygowski of Vienna, Miss Kramrisch went to India some fourteen years ago, and enjoys the twofold advantage of her efficient training and uninterrupted opportunity for studying on the spot. She has certainly made good use of it, and has already made a name for herself as a connoisseur of Indian art. The volume before us provides a

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good groundwork and a fine exposition of her subject. The divisions of the book are clear and decided. Sir John Marshall's work on Mohenjo-daro and the Indus civilization has perhaps for the first time been used as the earliest record of Indian prehistoric art. The next section has for its subject Classical Sculpture, and then comes Mediæval Sculpture. The numerous plates are explained in a scholarly and intimate manner, and a long bibliography reveals Miss Kramrisch's wide reading.

THE COINAGE OF SIAM. By Reginald Le May. With text illustrations and 32 plates. (Bangkok: *Siam Society*.)

Although English works of coins on most Oriental countries have attracted the attention of scholars and collectors, Siam had so far been neglected, and Mr. Le May has repaired this defect in a handsome manner. In the preface, Mr. Le May describes what has been done in this respect, generally in pamphlet form. The work is divided into two sections—the one dealing with the period A.D. 1350-1767, and the other called the Bangkok Dynasty from 1782 to date. It is worth while studying carefully the general survey which embodies the historical past, with special reference to numismatics of Siam and the neighbouring countries. We learn that the Tái were the first to introduce a standardized silver currency in the Far East. After a detailed discussion of the various types, the author comes to the technical part and describes the marks, upon which there has been no guidance. Sixty signs illustrate this part alone. A list of kings with their periods is quoted from Wood's *History of Siam*. Then the weights and values are examined. Mr. Le May has shown himself in this part to be a perfect scholar, all the more so as the task is pretty thankless in some directions. The second half of the volume is also treated in an able manner.

STORM CENTRES OF THE NEAR EAST. Personal Memoirs, 1879-1929. By Sir Robert Graves. With 27 illustrations. (*Hutchinson*.) 21s. net.

A residence in an official capacity of fifty years in any part of the world almost demands a memoir. Here we have one dealing with Turkey as it once was, and a most instructive volume is offered to a wide public. Reminiscences appear before us—many will be new to the younger generation—of Bulgaria at the time of Prince Alexander and Prince, later King, Ferdinand; of Armenia, Crete, Macedonia, and Constantinople, with the years of war and after. The whole history of the unfortunate Dardanelles campaign comes back to us, and we are reminded of the sinking of the *Triumph* and *Majestic* by enemy submarines. In his final chapter Sir Robert Graves regrets the too hasty change that the Government of the Ghazi has brought about. It is, perhaps, difficult for an outsider to judge the wisdom of this modernization. One naturally regrets provisions for defensive forces instead of for economic improvements. If heavy duties have been imposed on foreign goods, so they have elsewhere. The illustrations are very clear.

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THE GOLDEN BREATH. Studies in Five Poets of the New India. By Mulk Raj Anand. (*John Murray.*) 3s. 6d. net.

The author has selected for his delightful booklet five poets of today's India with the view to interpreting the values of their respective faiths. It is not difficult to search for these names, as their owners have earned a world-wide reputation. They are Rabindranath Tagore, Muhammad Iqbal, Puran Singh, Sarojini Naidu, and Harindranath Chattopadhyaya. These poets are indeed the representatives of Modern India and are already known in this country. The author gives their life story and samples of their English poetry and summarizes the main points of their philosophy. It should be mentioned that Muhammad Iqbal has done great service to Islam by reviving Persian poetry in a most elegant and vigorous style.

FAR-OFF THINGS. Treating of the History, Aborigines, Myths, and Jungle Mysteries of Ceylon. By R. L. Spittel. Illustrated. (*Colombo Apothecaries Co.*) 10s. 6d. net.

The title fully explains what the 335 pages of text contain. It would be difficult to trace another book of recent years on Ceylon which is so truly entertaining and informative. For him who is not a specialist the chapters on the history from the earliest days to the present offer more than sufficient text in readable form. Those on the Veddas are exceptionally worth reading. They deal with the ancient and still surviving race, their physical features, social system, religion, and ceremonial dances, etc., and include a Vedda tale. The chapters on sport are full of interest. The pictures help to make it illuminating.

THE HERALD WIND. Translations of Sung Dynasty Poems, Lyrics, and Songs. By Clara Candlin. (*John Murray.*) 3s. 6d. net.

Mr. L. Cranmer Byng deserves general acknowledgment for his efforts to popularize Oriental literature through the "Wisdom of the East" Series. The latest volume, *The Herald Wind*, forms a happy and novel addition, in so far as the volume introduces for the first time a monograph on Sung poetry. Miss Candlin reminds us of the charming intellectual life during that period when study circles were conducted hidden away in wooded valleys or along the banks of rivers. If anyone wishes to regain his soul, let him turn to this selection of charming poems and he will be richly rewarded. One of them which will appeal to many readers begins as follows:

Raindrops
Bid farewell to clouds and fall.
Flowing streams return not to their springs.
Sorrow that remains, when will it cease?
Bitter as the kernel of a lotus seed
Is my heart.

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THE SUPERHUMAN LIFE OF GESAR OF LING. The Legendary Tibetan Hero, as Sung by the Bards of his Country. By Alexandra David Neel and the Lama Zongden. Rendered into English by V. Sydney. (*Rider.*) 18s. net.

English translations from the Tibetan are very limited, and the existing ones relate chiefly to religion. We must therefore thank Madame Neel and her collaborators for having given us the story, taken from mythology, which is widely known in Tibet and in Mongolia. Having resided a considerable time in Tibet, she has been busy writing several works which are well known in England, and therefore it can be taken for granted that she has been careful in rendering in a popular form, though with numerous explanatory notes, the history of the great hero. Professor Sylvain Lévi has introduced the volume, a sufficient guarantee that the life story really deserves the attention of the modern reader. Professor Lévi compares the epic with the *Iliad*, the *Nibelungen Lied*, and Roland legends, and it can be stated that in parts it is more lively than the European classics. The story of Chief Todong of Ling wooing at the age of ninety-three a young damsel of twenty-five might well be told in a book of English fairy tales. Such literature, put before the reader in a pleasant style, will make a wider public acquainted with the thought of Tibet than the more difficult, purely scholarly works.

LEGENDS OF OUR LADY MARY, THE PERPETUAL VIRGIN, AND HER MOTHER HANNA. Translated from the Ethiopic, with 37 plates. (*Oxford University Press.*) 7s. 6d. net.

ONE HUNDRED AND TEN MIRACLES OF OUR LADY MARY. Translated from the Ethiopic, with 64 plates. (*Oxford University Press.*) 10s. 6d. net.

Both works have previously been published for scholars, and are now reissued in a cheaper form for a wider public. The prices are attractive, but one wonders whether, apart from booklovers, a sufficient number of readers can be found to warrant popular editions. This does not mean that the legends and stories are not interesting. Far from it. They form, indeed, a storehouse of Christian Ethiopian literature, and they are fluently rendered in a kind of biblical style. Ethiopian art, as represented by the illustrations, can hardly be of the best. There is a good deal of expression, symmetry, and conception, but the drawing itself is frequently crude and unreal. Of course, the illustrations serve to make the reading of the text more inviting.

IRAN IM MITTELALTER NACH DEN ARABISCHEN GEOGRAPHEN. Von Paul Schwarz. Vol. VIII., Nos. 5 and 6 (Stuttgart: *W. Kohlhammer.*) Mk. 2.40 each.

This valuable publication was begun in 1896, and in 1933 reached as far as page 1246. The learned author has spent forty years on what must be for him labour of love. He begins with the town of Usnuh. Everything that can be mentioned regarding this small town is given, and different

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Arab writers have been consulted, such as Istahri, Ibn Haukal, Ibn al-Athir, Jakut. We learn of the situation of the place, its products, and trade. The same applies to other towns in longer or shorter notices. On page 1178 Mr. Schwarz deals with the inhabitants, and everything possible that he has been able to gather from the originals has been collected. For instance, Mukaddasi mentions that the men have big beards. Throughout these details constant references are made to the wonderful fruit which is grown in those parts, and minute details are given of the food of the people, such as dates, rice, fish, bread. Their clothing is only occasionally mentioned by the Arab writers. We find the whole life during the Middle Ages passing before us, and on completion of the work everything worth noting will be found in this valuable book. The references could not be verified, as they will be given at the end.

Kettle Drums. By N. Ramabhadran. (Mangalore.)

The author is a police officer, and as such he has taken his opportunity of studying the ways of life. But he is also gifted with a vivid mind and a fluent pen. By uniting the three he has compiled a book of delightful short stories in an elegant style, which he now offers to the English reading public. The author deserves to be known in England, where there is a growing desire for better insight into Indian character and conditions. The stories are absolutely human and offer no difficulty whatever in the reading. For various reasons one can notice Mr. Ramabhadran's familiarity with English classical and modern literature, and this being so, let us return the compliment and take up this small book and agreeably spend a few leisure hours with him. No one will be disappointed. There is a useful glossary.

Gordon in China. By B. M. Allen. With maps and illustrations. (*Macmillan.*) 7s. 6d. net.

A fair number of books exist on the Taiping Rebellion, of which the best known is by A. Wilson, 1868, and pamphlets containing translations from the Chinese were also issued soon after the rebellion. Mr. Allen has evidently not made it his task to give an account in detail of the whole campaign, else he would have cited from the previous writers; but he has done more—he has supplemented that literature by material that has not yet been published. This is very important. The public is not merely interested in Chinese Gordon, it is entitled to be in possession of all the facts. It is not generally known that Gordon was acquainted with Mr. Robert Hart, with whom he discussed military matters. For his services he received from the Emperor the rank of General and with it the right to wear the Yellow Jacket. The book is compiled in a concise style, and every sentence is full of meaning.

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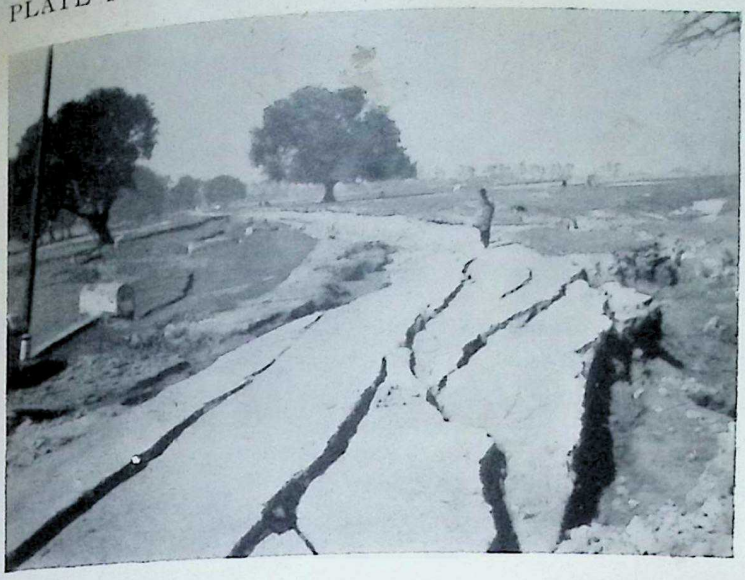
PLATE I



MUZAFFARPUR POLO GROUND.

The cracks extend down to as much as 10 ft., and are up to 6 ft. wide. The levels of the ground have been completely altered.

PLATE II

SUNK IN THE MIDDLE BUT STILL OPEN, A BRIDGE NOT FAR FROM THE NEPALESE BORDER.

Note the earthquake crack in the foreground.

To face p. 280

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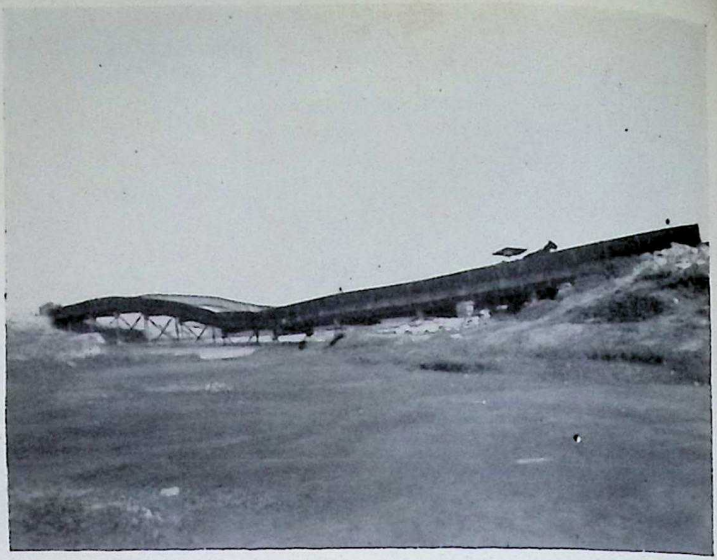
PLATE III



STILL OPEN TO TRAFFIC AS YOU WILL SEE FROM THE TICCA GHARRY ON THE RIGHT, A BRIDGE NEAR RYAM FACTORY.
In the foreground is sand which has covered large stretches of the country.

PLATE IV

MUZAFFARPUR DISTRICT COURT.
The damage illustrates the general effect of the earthquake on buildings. Whilst the walls are intact, floors and roofs have collapsed utterly.

To face p. 281

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PLATE V

WINTER SPORT IN KASHMIR.

1. Xmas Col.
2. Café des bien Fatigués.
3. Xmas gully.
4. Lillywhite slopes.
5. North Khilanmarg.
6. Catchment Flats.
7. Central Nullah.
8. Pig slope leading to
9. Gadarene.
10. South Khilan.
11. Lone tree gulch.
12. Pitz Punch.
13. Jhagra slopes.
14. Asharwat.
15. The Punch Bowl.
16. Hadow's gully.
17. North glade.
18. Dhobighat run.

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To face last page of text.

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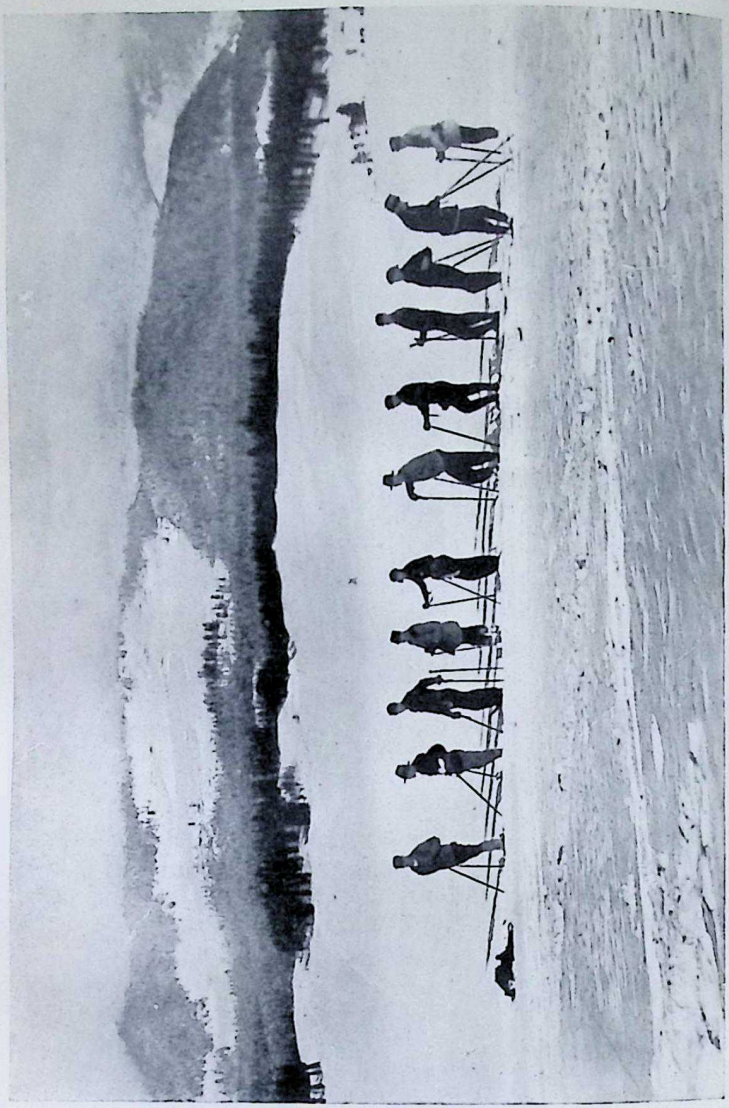

WINTER SPORT IN KASHMIR: START OF THE RACE FOR THE LILLYWHITE CHALLENGE CUP.

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ONE OF THE FOUNTAINS IN THE NEWLY-CONSTRUCTED TERRACE GARDENS AT THE KRISHNARAJASAGARA DAM NEAR MYSORE CITY.

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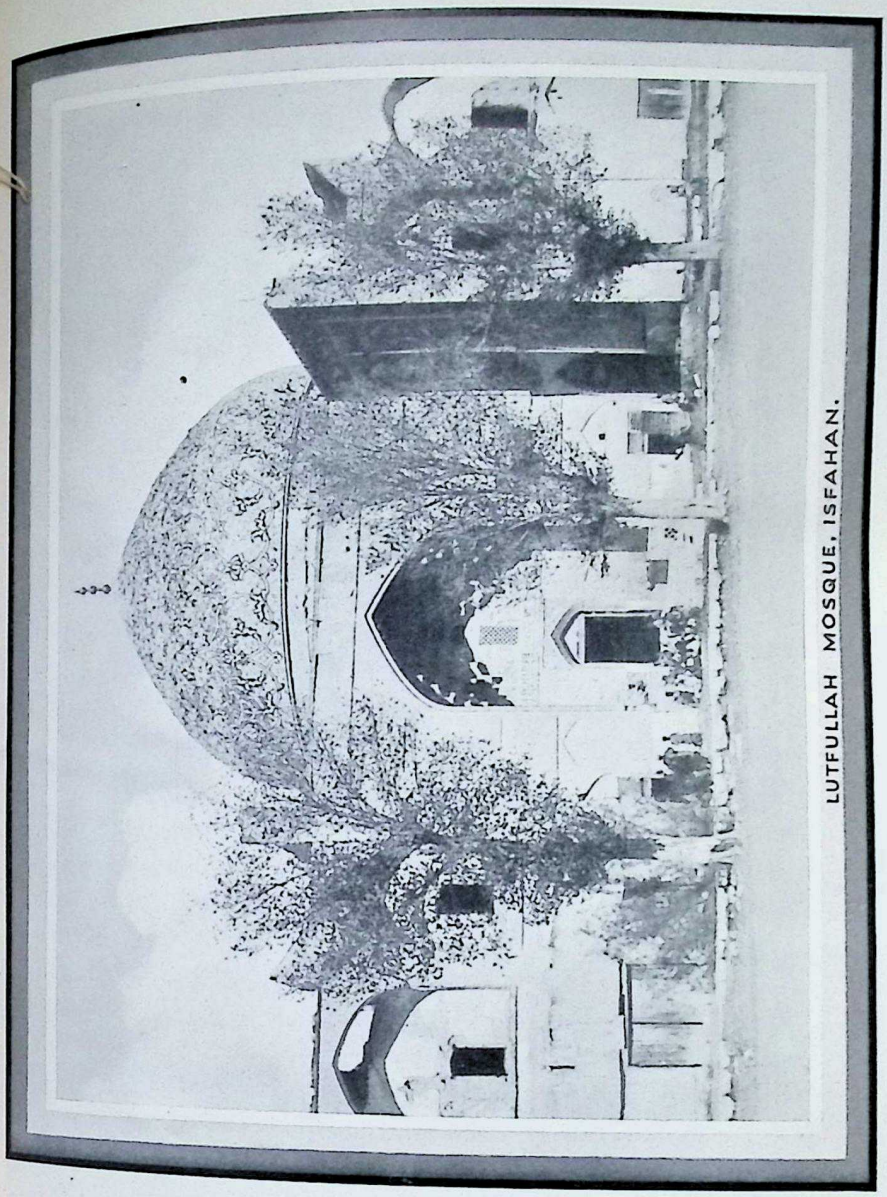

LUTFULLAH MOSQUE, ISFAHAN.

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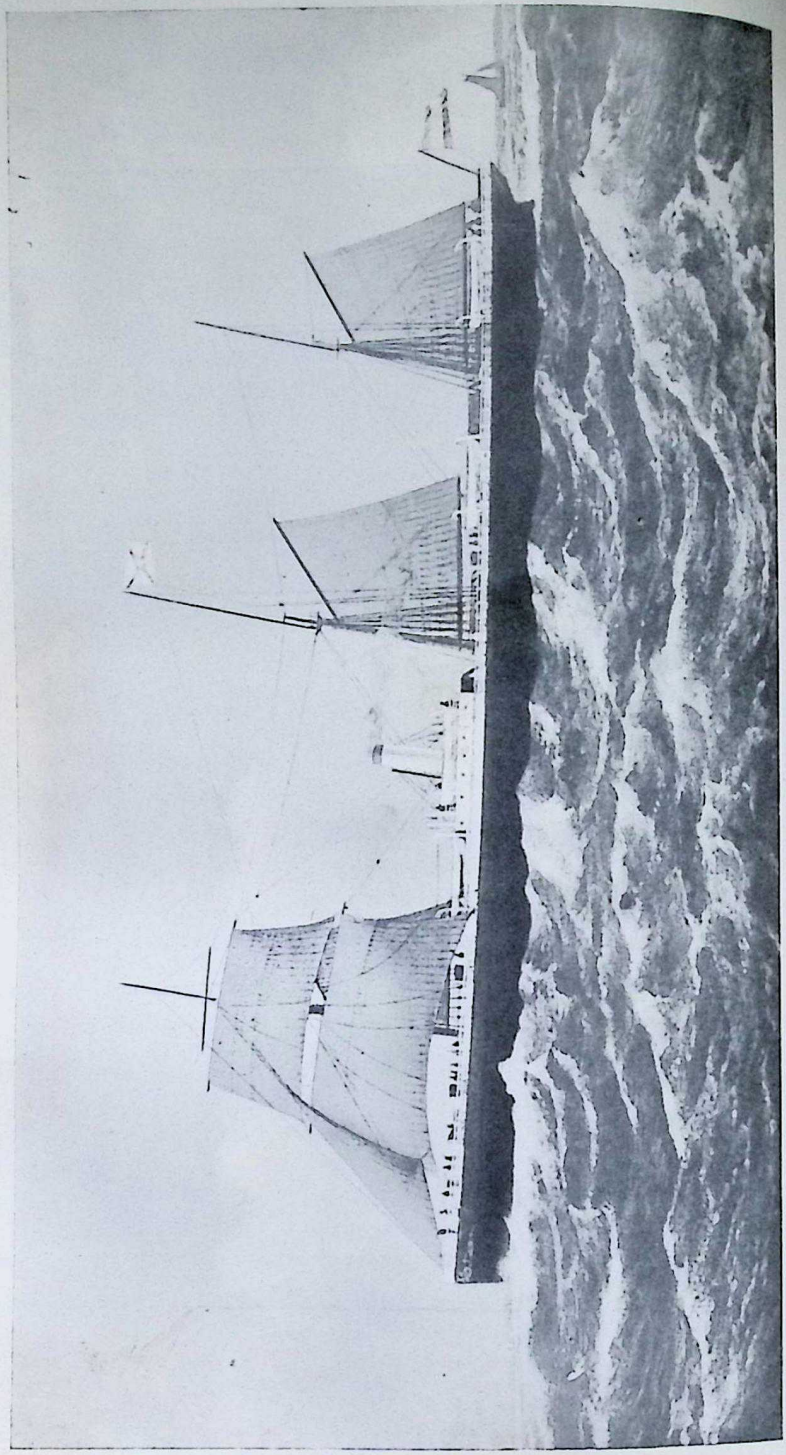

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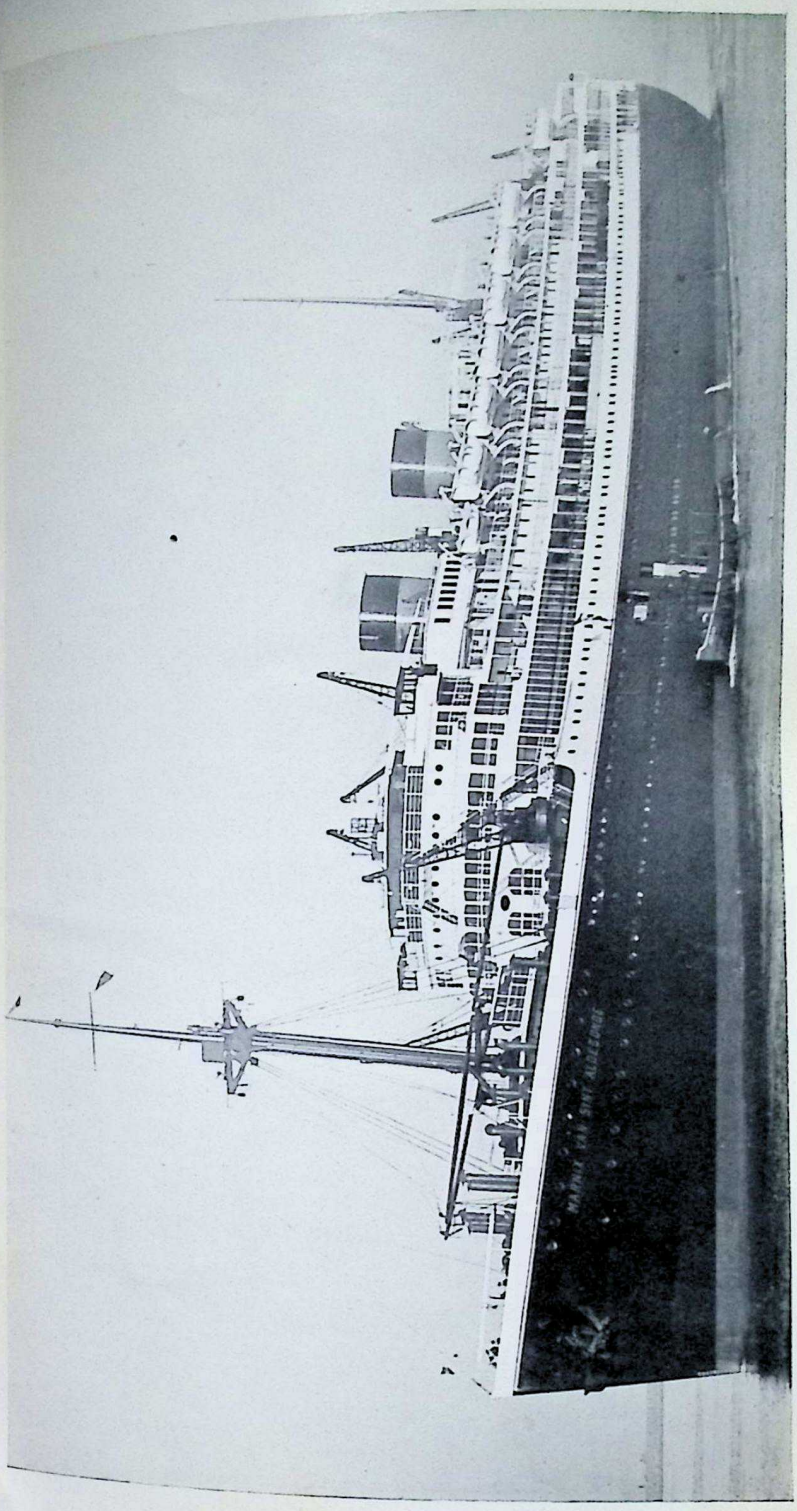

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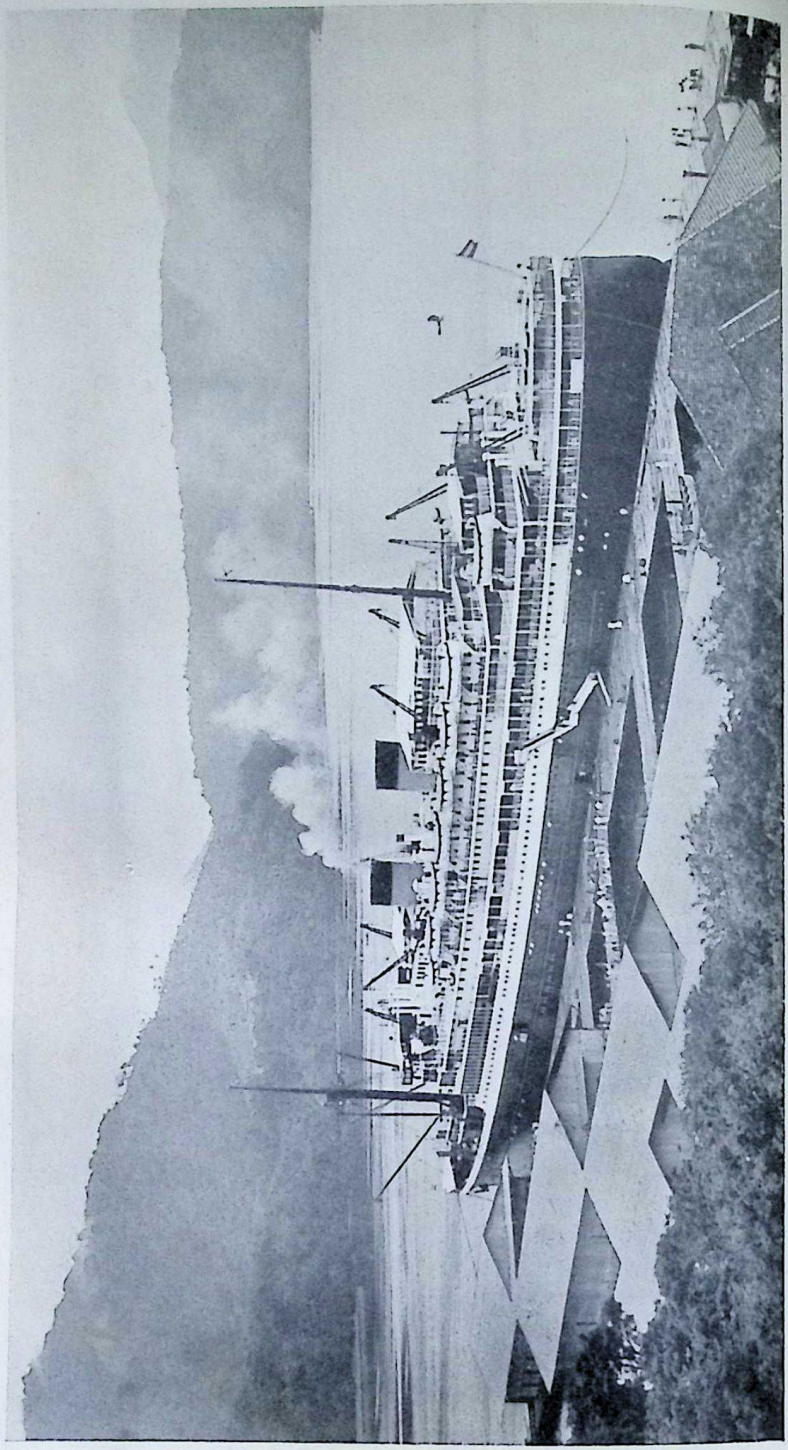

A NEDERLAND LINER IN THE HARBOUR OF SABANG (NORTH SUMATRA), THE OPENING UP OF WHICH HAS ALTERED THE CHARACTER OF THE MAIL SERVICE TO JAVA.

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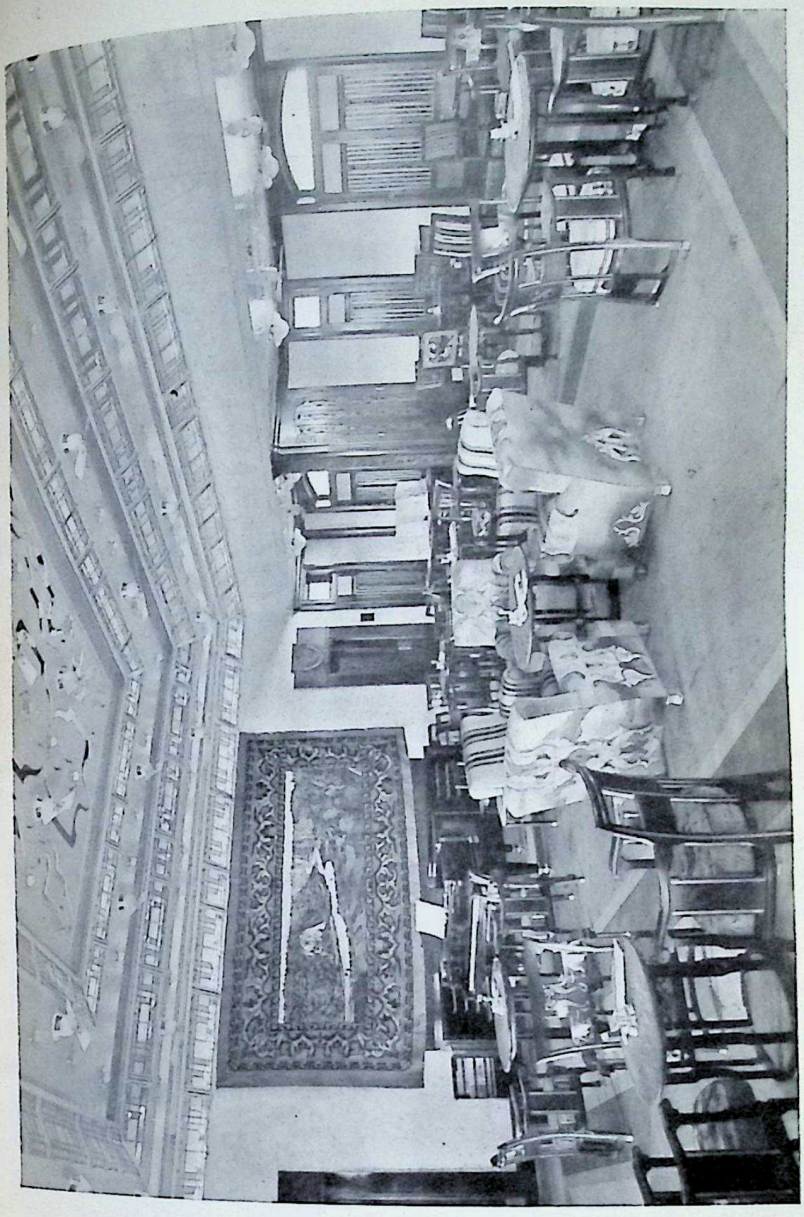

MUSIC ROOM IN THE T.S.M.V. "MARNIX VAN ST. ALDEGONDE," A STRIKING EXAMPLE OF DUTCH INTERIOR DECORATION AS APPLIED TO SHIPS IN THE JAVA TRADE.

A NEDERLAND LINER IN THE HARBOUR OF SABANG (NORTH SUMATRA), THE OPENING UP OF WHICH HAS ALTERED THE CHARACTER OF THE MAIL SERVICE TO JAVA.

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PLATE XIV

THE GREAT SNOW-COVERED RANGE OF THE SAFED-KOH, THE BOUNDARY LINE BETWEEN INDIA AND AFGHANISTAN.

Parachinar Fort on the left, and the famous chinar tree, from which it gets its name, on the right.

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GENERAL WILLIAM BOOTH

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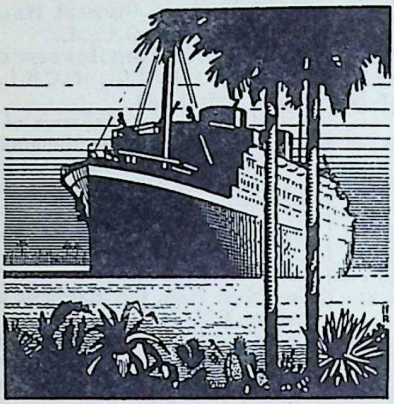

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

CLIVE, THE MAN OF DESTINY*

By R. J. Minney

(Author of *Clive*, and joint-author of the play *Clive of India*.)

Clive regarded himself as a man of destiny. We know that very early in life, when he was little more than seventeen, he was so tired of it that he made repeated attempts at suicide—and it has been said that on the pistol missing fire when he held it twice to his head, he declared, with a sudden realization of what was to be, "I must be reserved for something. Fate must have some purpose in store." At any rate, from that time this casual, indifferent-to-study wastrel, expelled from school after school because of his pranks, the subject of complaint of almost every parent, an anxiety and a burden to his own, began suddenly to take himself seriously. He began to prepare for whatever destiny may have in store. He took to reading the biographies of great men. He began to pattern his life on theirs. He read Plutarch with diligence and care; and the little settlement of Madras, contemptuous of him so far, was startled at his industry and attempt at scholarship.

But even before this, fate snatched him from what seemed certain death when, in the presence of a terrified throng, he climbed the tower of the church at Market Drayton in order to fetch a ridiculous little stone he had espied in the mouth of a gargoyle. But somehow, although the little market town was in alarm, the schoolmaster danced with fury, and this troublesome boy's very angry father had to be fetched, Clive managed to survive. We have more definite record of a far greater peril and an escape that was little short of miraculous. It occurred during his long voyage out

* Based on an address at a discussion meeting of members of the East India Association on April 12, and also addressed by Professor Dodwell, Mr. Leslie Banks, Miss Gilan Lind, Sir William Foster, and others.

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to India, when shipped out of sight by his disgusted father. The ship, as we know, was blown out of its course—hundreds of miles out of its course—it was blown right across the Atlantic to Brazil and ran aground just north of Pernambuco. As though this were not adventure enough, this troublesome and difficult youth, unable at all times to keep out of mischief, contrived one day to fall overboard. He has described this accident himself—in a rather timid letter he wrote his father, a letter which he would certainly not have written save for a purpose you will detect presently. He wrote: "It nigh cost me my life, having tumbled overboard while standing on the poop of the ship . . . and I would certainly have been drowned, there being a very great sea and much wind, had the Captain not accidentally met with a bucket and a rope tied on to it, which he threw out of the Balcony to me, I having the good fortune to lay hold of it." And now for the reason of this revelation: "I then lost my shoes off my feet, and with them my silver buckles, also a hat and wig."

Destiny was apparently intent on his preservation. It is really astounding what a variety and multitude of perils he survived. There was, for instance, the capture of Madras, when the entire white population of that settlement were made prisoners by the French, and the Governor and all the members of Council were led in chains through the streets of the French capital, Pondicherry. Clive, somehow, by assuming the disguise of an Indian, contrived to escape. He fled to Fort St. David, where, in a few weeks, he was involved in a fantastic duel for daring to tell a man that he had cheated at cards. This man was so incensed that he strode up to Clive, pressed a pistol to his head and asked him to repeat what he had said. Astonishingly, Clive did. But fate stayed the hand of the bully and Clive again survived. But he did not profit from his instruction. He seemed to know of the watching brief of destiny, for he was engaged in constant quarrels. During the advance on Pondicherry, in the very midst of the attack, he snatched up a cane and was about to thrash a fellow officer for making some disparaging remark. Not long afterwards he actually did thrash a clergyman of the Church of England in the streets of the bazaar.

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But it is when he adopted a military career in earnest that he had the most remarkable escapes. At Dovicotah he charged the enemy fortifications with no more than thirty-three men, and although thirty of them were cut down, he went on fighting, with swords and bullets whistling about his head, again and again within an inch of death. He emerged from that encounter unhurt. He was waylaid by bandits and savage tribes, but escaped. At Arcot, during the fighting in the streets, when the enemy were blazing at him from every window, he exposed himself repeatedly. There were English dead and dying all around, and once the muzzle of a musket was thrust from a nearby window within a few inches of his head, aimed carefully, but just as the trigger was being pressed the Indian was noticed by a young English lieutenant, who promptly struck the musket aside. The bullet went wide, Clive's life was saved, but the native, mad for revenge, swung round and shot the young lieutenant dead.

There are also on record the fortunes of that famous night when, at Samiavoram, Clive's camp was suddenly invaded by the French. Clive was awakened from a deep sleep by a shot fired right into his tent. The bullet missed him by a hair's-breadth, shattering a box that lay at his feet and killing a servant asleep at his side. Clive dashed out in his nightshirt. The enemy fired from all sides and slashed at him with their swords, wounding him in two or three places. But Clive was not to be deterred. Despite the confusion, despite the darkness which was illumined only by death, despite the loss of blood that every minute left him weaker, he motioned to two sergeants to hold him up, one at each shoulder, and assist him round the camp—and by the morning, faint and exhausted, he had the satisfaction of knowing that the invaders were dead, dying, and in full flight.

Clive's letters proclaim how conscious he was of his destiny. After his capture of Arcot, his relief of Trichinopoly, and the series of triumphs that made him the hero of Southern India at the youthful age of twenty-seven, he glowed with so much enthusiasm of his successes in letters to his father, that the old man forgot all the early anxieties the boy had caused, forgot even that not ten years before the wastrel had been packed off to die

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on the Madras coast of a feyer for all it mattered, and was conscious only of pride in being the parent of a hero. The gouty old country solicitor hurried to town, popped his head into the clubs and coffee rooms to inform the world at large that his boy Bob was not such a nincompoop after all. He began to compare his son already with the greatest conquerors of all time, even with Alexander the Great. He hustled off to see the directors of the East India Company to demand that suitable honour should be done his boy on his home-coming, and was gratified when assured that a public dinner was being especially arranged to toast young Clive's health and pay tribute to his achievements. But to Clive's mother the workings of destiny were of small account. Her son's successes meant no more than that he would be coming home at last. "This gives me great hope," she wrote, "of seeing you much sooner than I could possibly have expected." That is all. The letter instantly passes to other things. "Your relations are all well; four of your sisters are with me; the youngest and your two brothers are at school; your cousin Ben has no employ . . . and lives with his father. We are removed to a large house in Swithin's Lane near the Post House. . . . May a kind Providence attend and bless you and bring you safe to your native country is the most sincere wish and prayer of your affectionate mother—Rebecca Clive."

But for all his triumphs, Clive left India a bitterly disappointed man. As he confessed in a letter: "I think, in justice to the military in general, I cannot leave this coast without leaving a paper behind me representing the little notice taken of people of our profession. I hope the world will not accuse me of vanity, or be of opinion that I think too highly of my own successes, as I seldom or never open my lips upon the subject. All that I ever expected was a letter of thanks, and that, I am informed, is usual on such occasions."

After his recapture of Calcutta, following the sack of that city by Suraj-ud-Dowlah and the ghastly horror of the Black Hole, Clive, conscious as ever of what he had achieved, wrote innumerable letters to describe his victories. He sent detailed accounts of his successes to the Prime Minister, the Duke of Newcastle, to

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Henry Fox, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Secretary of State for War, to the Lord Chancellor, and to several other men, who were asked, "If you think me deserving, recommend me to the court of directors of the East India Company." He wanted to be made Governor-General (he confided this ambition to his father), for in that way only, he felt, could he give full scope to his destiny. After the battle of Plassey, Clive's despatch was one of the briefest ever written. It consists of barely ten lines. "This morning," he stated, "at one o'clock we arrived at Placis Grove, and early in the morning the Nabob's whole army appeared in sight and cannonaded us for several hours, and about noon returned to a very strong camp in sight. . . . We advanced and stormed the Nabob's camp, which we have taken with all his cannon and pursued him six miles. . . . Meer Muddun and five hundred horses are killed and three elephants. Our loss is trifling, not above twenty Europeans killed and wounded."

But to Orme, the historian, who was at Madras, Clive spoke of the engagement at far greater length. He described the battle of Plassey as "scarcely paralleled in history." He informed Orme that, as an historian, it was Orme's duty to obtain all the facts at first hand from Clive himself. "I am possessed," he wrote, "of volumes of material for the continuance of your history, in which will appear fighting, tricks, chicanery, intrigues, politics, and the Lord knows what; in short, there will be a fine field for you to display your genius in. I have many particulars to explain to you relating to the said history which must be published."

Happily, his country *was* appreciative during his lifetime of what he had achieved. The elder Pitt, Secretary for War at the time, amid the distress of the many disasters that attended the opening phases of the Seven Years' War, saw in the East the bright star of Clive. It was the one light on that dark, encircling horizon. Pitt said: "We have lost our glory, honour, and reputation everywhere but in India. There the country has a heaven-born General who has never learnt the art of war, nor is his name enrolled among the great officers who have for many years received their country's pay. Yet he was not afraid to attack a numerous army with a handful of men."

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Encouraged by this tribute, Clive, conscious that besides his own destiny the destinies of our own country and of India were involved, wrote to Pitt to urge him that the control of India was far too big a project to be left in the hands of a trading company. That men engaged in scrambling for profits from muslins and spices should, as a subordinate interest, trifle with the lives and fortunes of the teeming millions in Bengal, Madras, and Bombay seemed to Clive a deplorable situation. He urged Pitt to take control of India in the name of the British Government. He was conscious that a vast Indian Empire was in birth. He visualized the glory that must enrich our history from, not an annexation, but a trust, a sacred trust, in shouldering the destiny of India.

But Pitt, though he regarded the proposition as sound, felt it was as yet impracticable. His chief difficulty was the charter of the East India Company, which had a further twenty years to run; and he was aware, Pitt was aware, of the recent ruling of the courts that the Crown had no legal claim on any lands acquired by the Company. Yet, before long, just what Clive had foreseen and advised, the Government had to do. Actually, it was this letter to Pitt that was largely responsible for Clive's undoing. The East India Company viewed it as an act of gross insubordination that a man in their employ, a servant of the Company, should seek to destroy their power and profits by the transfer of these rich lands from the Company to the Crown. In the end we know that, because of Pitt's hesitancy, conditions in India drifted to so low and deplorable a level that Clive, sacrificing his leisure and his health, had to return to that country to put the house in order, to consolidate with the pen what he had won with the sword.

Let us look for a moment at how Clive's achievements have affected the destinies of both England and India. So far as this country is concerned, we acquired an empire. The many rivals who battled with us for dominance in that Eastern cockpit were driven out—the French, the Dutch, and the rest. From the three initial provinces that Clive took over in 1765, we spread by stages right across the country, enjoying trading opportunities that our European rivals could only covet. We also possessed an incomparable outlet, not for colonization, but for our soldiers, our police-

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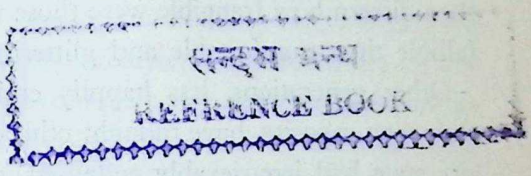
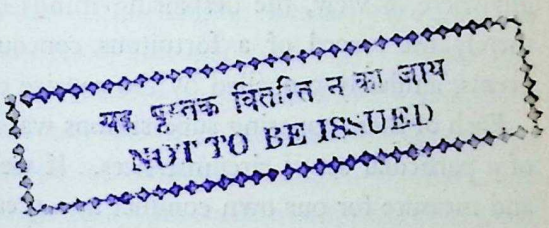
men, our civil servants, and our traders. We were lifted in an instant four or five rungs up the Imperial ladder.

And what of India? We know that the chaos, the confusion, the invasion and slaughter that that country had suffered for no less than 4,000 years were gradually dissolved. For 4,000 years through the lofty north-west passes conquerors had poured into that troubled country, plundering, burning, destroying. There was no peace, no security until the young clerk, poring over his bills of lading in a warehouse at Madras, worked his miracle. The confusion, as acute then in that inverted equatorial triangle as it is to-day in China, with only banditry and gunmanship as the symbols of authority and power, slowly resolved into order. Life became safe. Every gateway of the frontier was double-barred, there was peace in every village, security on the high-road.

And who can deny that, under the tutelage of Britain, the prosperity introduced, and the education disseminated, it has at last become possible, after 4,000 troubled years, for Indians to be sufficiently qualified to claim a right in the shaping of their own future?





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THE LOGIC OF THE REFORM PROPOSALS

By Sir James Crerar, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

Historical determinism is the superstition most incident to an age which especially prides itself on its rationalism—the belief that history is an exact science and that it is possible, with sufficient diligence and intelligence, to trace the vicissitudes of states and statesmanship in a necessary progression from obvious causes to preordained conclusions. It came easily to a generation which found, in the vaunted stability of the political, social and economic fabric which formed its bulwarks and its boundaries, at once an illustration and a confirmation of its own wisdom. It came easily to the age of Macaulay and the Crystal Palace, and not many could then discern how frangible were those vitreous triumphs and how fallible those comfortable and glittering generalities.

Other generations, less happily endowed by circumstance or their own capacity, have thought otherwise. In Greece, when the city state had irretrievably collapsed, and no new order seemed anywhere in view, the despairing minds of men saw in history merely the record of a fortuitous concourse and succession of events, aimlessly propelled by the caprice of Fortune.

Each of these opposing superstitions was the ephemeral product of a particular set of circumstances. If we desire to find a guide and measure for our own conduct at a great turning-point in our imperial affairs, we shall reject them both. We shall reject equally the paralyzing creed of political Calvinism and the not more encouraging confession that we have stumbled accidentally into the position in which we now find ourselves, and must either stay in it or grope our way out by whatever means the apparent expediency of the moment or the clamour of party politics or the mere compulsion of events may point out.

If we have confidence in ourselves and in the integrity of our

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mission in India, we shall put our faith, in the words of Mr. Winston Churchill, in "the inherent sanity and vigour of the political conceptions sprung from the genius of the English race"; and it is by tracing the thread not only of logical continuity but of will, purpose and deliberation by which these have been actuated in the past that we are likely to find our best guidance for the future.

The British Connection

The history of our connection with India is not simply an episode, distinct and separable, in an epic of the conquest or acquisition of a great empire—an enterprise which some have strangely imagined to have been achieved in a series of fits of absence of mind. It is, on the contrary, an integral and intimate part of the history of England, and it is our duty and purpose, which have received the unusual sanction of a statutory declaration, to keep it so. In that history the dominant theme, to the accompaniment of the drums and tramplings of innumerable conquests, is the presence, the growth and the activity of a certain natural instinct and capacity for devising and working the fundamental organs of an ordered civic and national life.

Starting with the heritage of a primitive but already distinctive form of polity, this vital element has received accretions from many sources, but has remained individual. Its growth has represented a vast amount of deliberate human effort; it has been promoted by the deeds and policies of great men, who created and invented, but handed on the torch they had themselves received, by great movements of concerted public opinion, by the gradual extension of political thought to new territory, moral and physical, and by the constant adjustment of traditional principles to new facts.

English Institutions

From these sources and these labours we inherit that great stock of ideas and expedients which give their peculiar vitality to English legal and political institutions and to the English practice of government and administration. It is the apotheosis of common sense, inspired by a passion for liberty, justice and

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order, regulated by a veneration for precedent and established principle, and actuated by a genius for creating and adapting the means of securing these things.

No important element in the English political system as it now stands was imported from abroad, though something has been transmuted and assimilated, and, with all its originality and capacity for growth and experiment, it has always been, in the main, empirical and severely practical in its objects and methods. It has never been the custom of the English in their public affairs, as has been recorded of the Greeks and the Romans, to call in aid alien legislators or to send embassies to the shrines of foreign oracles, however venerable; and the art of constructing constitutions on abstract principles, to which other nations have been attracted, has had no honour among them. Whatever has been borrowed from us, and whatever we have conferred on communities brought within our own orbit, has come from our own stock. It has been so hitherto in India and I think it will continue to be so. We have, in fact, nothing else either to impart or to impose.

No Tabula Rasa

The purpose of my present survey is to present the vital bearing of what is familiar enough in our own domestic affairs upon the immediate problem of the Indian situation. Some critics of the policy of Government use language which seems to suggest that this or any other conceivable Government has a *tabula rasa* on which to write what it pleases. This is very remote from the truth; nor would it simplify the problem if it were true. Removed from its historical context and from the perspective of our own political tradition, the Indian problem would be both unintelligible and insoluble. It would be impossible to understand how we have arrived at the present position; it would be impossible to devise, with the slightest prospect of success, any remedy of present discontents or any provision for the future, since they could have no foundation in the past.

What I conceive we must ask ourselves is, What have our past proceedings in India propagated and established there? How

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far are the proposals for reform now under consideration a natural or necessary extension of what we have already done?

The Company's Régime

From much earlier days than has sometimes been represented, our presence in India was something a great deal more than a régime of commerce, conquest and exploitation. Indeed, from the time when first we became a "country power" something of the potent leaven of English institutions had already been introduced into India. But the process may be said to have become actively at work in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, inaugurated by the India Act of 1784 and made illustrious by the great name of Warren Hastings; and to have received an increase of momentum and extension in the earlier part of the nineteenth century.

The Company's rule has its dark pages, but, taking its record from this time to its close, it would be far nearer the truth to say, as has been said, that if the prophecy had been fulfilled that it would be utterly destroyed in the Mutiny, those last fifty years of John Company would have been remembered in India as a golden age. The substitution of a unitary and stable authority for a chaos of effete or predatory powers; the strenuous and successful endeavour to build up some practicable form of civil government in conditions so bewildering and precarious; the suppression of such horrors as *sati*, *thagi* and female infanticide; the initiation or revival of the elements of economic reconstruction—these and the many other beneficent activities of that time were the necessary first things, but of themselves might have been the work of any humane and enlightened foreign despot.

Of greater moment and higher augury for the future was the fact that with them were implanted the seeds at least of some of the characteristic institutions of the English tradition, and that the directing minds were the minds of men nurtured in that tradition and moving, sometimes quite consciously, sometimes perhaps more instinctively, in its familiar and compelling channels. In England itself, when the anti-Jacobin reaction had spent itself, there were at this time great movements of political opinion and

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of the public conscience. It was an age which saw, at home, the Reform Bill, the abolition of slavery, notable efforts to humanize the criminal law and prison administration, the beginnings of modern local self-government, education, and public health; and, abroad, a foreign policy of active sympathy with the cause of liberty and constitutional government, in Greece, in Italy, in Spain and wherever else they appeared to be menaced or suppressed.

The effects in India were not only immediately perceptible in the legislation and administration of the time, but gave an impetus and direction to later developments, which have never been reversed. If anyone were disposed to imagine that in Indian affairs the minds of those then in authority were preoccupied with purely administrative or material requirements, to the exclusion of the implicit constitutional issues and the great question of our ultimate objectives in India, he would do well to read Lord Grenville's famous speech of 1813 or the debates in Hansard on the India Bill twenty years later.

English Law

In this process of transmitting to India the ideas and forms of our own inheritance, the first in the order of time and, it may be, of intrinsic importance was the English law, perhaps the most powerful and pervasive of all, for it has persisted in America where so much else has changed or been rejected. It is perfectly possible to conceive of a rule of law and of a general equality before the law under a political system which has no democratic element whatever. This was true, in fact if not in theory, of the Roman Empire under Diocletian or Justinian, of the Abbasid Caliphate, and largely of the French Empire under Napoleon and his codes. It was never quite true of England and English law, the development of which has been a progressive movement away from such a position. English legal concepts were inherited and carried on in a polity which had a popular component, suffering eclipse at times, but always eventually reasserting itself.

It would be difficult to draw a rigid line of demarcation between

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constitutional law proper and the general body of law, especially in so far as the latter defined the responsibilities, rights and liberties of the subject. It is impressive to trace in its history the persistent thread of continuity. At each important stage of definition, development or even innovation, the claim will generally be found that what is now demanded is a vindication or restatement of established principle. Even when the constitutional struggle was most intense, in the clash of arms law was not silent, and much of the contest was conducted on legalist lines. The lawyer was a protagonist; each party invoked the law, and democracy, when it triumphed, claimed to assert an inherent right or a logical application of precedent.

By the time that our authority and responsibility in India had become supreme, and the task of constructing a new order had succeeded to that of consolidating our power, there were irremovably imbedded in English law certain very characteristic concepts and principles: the liberty of the subject; the freedom of speech and writing, subject to a settled law of treason, sedition and libel; the subordination of the executive to the law and its control, within the ambit of the law by the courts, beyond it by the legislature. And this corpus of positive law was penetrated by a less tangible but not less potent body of constitutional theory and political philosophy. It was not a mere code of legal precepts, forms and precedents, but a living organism, rooted deeply in the past, an integral and active member of the body politic and an intimate expression of the genius of the people who created it.

The Indian Judicial System

Its translation to India, which in fact began with the earliest settlements and was sealed by the institution of the Supreme Courts in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, had a significance which, if not immediately apparent—for the most obvious results were serious friction between the courts and the executive government—has decisively influenced both ideas and the course of events. It was something of greater import than the institution of judicial machinery on the English model, with the necessary virtues of

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fixed and public provisions of law, of high standards of probity and learning and of effective sanctions. These were incalculable gains to India.

But even more momentous for the issue with which we are now concerned was the acclimatization in India of the basic conceptions from which the positive law had proceeded and which the new judicial machinery in operation was bound and even designed to propagate. The subsequent course of law reform—of which the High Courts Act of 1861 is a landmark—the concurrent institution of a vast ramification of courts of inferior jurisdiction, the codification of important branches of the law, the submission of indigenous systems of personal law to English canons of interpretation and jurisprudence, has extended and intensified these influences. It cannot be pretended that the consequences have been entirely happy. There is truth in the contention that Privy Council case law has stereotyped, with detrimental results, interpretations of Hindu law which might otherwise have remained more plastic and responsive to modern conditions; even more in the complaint that we have now a law and procedure too cumbrous and dilatory for the needs of the greatest part of the Indian population.

Some will argue that these and other defects in the Indian judicial system as it has emerged were due to an initial error in importing English law at all. Was there any other alternative? During the Company's reign great respect was paid to native institutions, especially where religious susceptibilities were involved. It frequently became, indeed, almost a timorous solicitude, of which a crucial instance is the arguments against the suppression of *sati* which Bentinck had to override. In pursuance of this general policy, the authority of the Qazi and the Pundit was upheld. But this was in the realm of personal law and religious usage, with which such law for both Muslim and Hindu was identified. Pre-British criminal law was a branch of administration, an affair of police rather than of law. For this purpose, and for most purposes of civil law, native sources had little or nothing to offer in satisfaction of the requirements and responsibilities of an impartial paramount authority.

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It was inevitable that our own law should flow into this great void.

Others more reasonably contend that more strenuous measures should have been taken, while preserving its principles, to adapt the English law to Indian conditions and, in particular, to restrain the hypertrophy of procedural complexity in which the litigious soil of India has proved so fertile. This was perhaps one of our many errors.

But, however that may be, the essential fact for our present purposes, which, for good or evil, must be accepted as a fact, is that this plantation of English law in India, the authority which has been exercised, directly or indirectly, by English tribunals, the close and continuous connection with the trend of law and legal institutions in England, has had consequences which greatly transcend the legal sphere and has been an important tributary to the great current whose course it is now the duty of statesmen to direct.

Education

In this realm of law, I think that it would have been hardly conceivable for the men of that time to have acted differently. It was a natural process, not a selective choice. In the matter of education, a formidable rival of the law in its effect upon the complex of issues with which we are confronted, the case was otherwise. The decision was deliberate and the merits far more debatable. Its severer critics have hinted that the only thing about the educational system we have set up, or allowed to develop, in India, which is not open to question is the magnitude of its consequences and the gravity of some of them.

It is true that in the form which it has assumed it can hardly be said to be an English institution at all. When the vital decision was taken there was in England no traditional model of state education to follow. The universities and public schools of that time belonged to a social order irremediably alien to India. And the decision was taken on three grounds, so slenderly related to each other that much of the confusion that was later apparent might have been predicted. There was the

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ground, firmly taken by the Whig doctrinaire, of the intrinsic superiority of Western culture. There was a genuine conviction of the equity of giving the Indian a *carrière ouverte aux talents*. And there was the purely utilitarian object of creating a cheaper and larger supply of functionaries for the vast and growing burden of administration.

At the end of the eighteenth century the position broadly was that, while the British Government was benevolently inclined towards a revival of indigenous learning—Warren Hastings's enthusiasm in this cause is well known—there was no idea of introducing any state system of education at all. There was, as has been pointed out, no such system then in England, and Burke, who, if he was a Whig, was either a much better or a much worse one than Macaulay, even believed that in letters, religion, commerce and agriculture India had nothing to learn from us. A generation later there was a revulsion of opinion, and for the crucial decision and the subsequent course of educational policy there were two cardinal points. The first was the Order in Council of March 7, 1835, which, largely impelled by Macaulay's confident and assertive advocacy, settled the controversy between what were then called the "Orientalist" and "Filtration" schools of thought, in favour of the latter. Western culture and science and not the wisdom of the East were to be the goal of our policy.

The second cardinal point was the scheme sent to India by Sir Charles Wood, president of the Board of Control, in his dispatch of July 19, 1854. The scheme, which Dalhousie characterized as "more comprehensive than the Supreme or any local Government could have ventured to suggest," was at once adopted. Departments of Public Instruction were formed and the Presidency Towns endowed with examining universities based on the new model of London University. The die was cast, and, wise as were the warnings of Prinsep and other advocates of the *victa causa*, I do not think it could have been cast otherwise on the main issue. It was in harmony with the preponderant trend of opinion and action in Indian affairs which has determined many other things, and, indeed, with a deeper and stronger current.

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I am not now concerned to examine the wisdom of this decision, which in my own opinion was inevitable, nor the merits of the system, regarded purely as an educational system, to which it gave birth. In spite of its manifest defects and some deplorable consequences, I am confident that the impartial and informed judge will not challenge the verdict of Lord Curzon, who claimed that "the successes of imparting English education to India had been immeasurably greater than the mistakes and blunders."

I am concerned with the political effects, and they have been incalculable. The educational system, taken together with the closely connected factors of the establishment of the English language, not only as the language of the superior courts and the higher branches of the administration, but as the general medium for discussion, exposition and propaganda, and of the birth and rising power of the Press, has been by far the most powerful contributing cause of political developments in every direction and has provided both the motive power and the objective in the Indian case for constitutional reform.

The British Hall-Mark

So it came about, among other and portentous things, that the history of England, our own vast store of political thought and argument, our philosophy and jurisprudence, our constitutional theory and practice, the past and present operation of our courts, our Parliaments, our political parties and our governments, the whole of the English tradition on which I have so much insisted, were made not only accessible to, but in a large measure compulsory upon, India. In this atmosphere for at least three generations the ablest and most energetic minds in India, as well as the most versatile, ingenious and imitative, have been sedulously brought up; they have been instructed in the same ideals and animated to pursue the same ends as ourselves by every example, inducement and incentive that it is possible to offer. As our own decision in the matter was deliberate, so our responsibility is complete. Whether or not it was dangerous or whether it was possible to refuse thus to reveal the *arcanum imperii*, we did it. We not only revealed it, but we made initiation into it the hall-mark of

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culture, almost of respectability, and the passport to service under the Crown in almost every civil capacity of importance.

The dangers of the course on which we had thus embarked India and ourselves were already obvious to most intelligent men. Some of the consequences which we have now to deplore were due, not to the main principles adopted, but to the manner of their execution. The charges are familiar, and some of them are just. The educational ideal propounded was too exclusively literary; university standards were, or were allowed to become, too low; Government service obtruded itself as the natural and, as many were led to believe, the merited and the promised reward of success; there was and is overproduction on an increasing scale of ill-equipped young men, who crowded into and impaired the standards of journalism, the law and all the writing trades; still more ominous, there was created the most dangerous class of unemployment, which provided the victims and the recruits to the crudest and most unscrupulous forms of political agitation, and activities even more pernicious and perilous.

The Press

It was obvious from the first that the Press would be at once the most capacious and the most formidable channel through which the heady new wine would flow. Mountstuart Elphinstone, who was conspicuous among the men of his time, not only for his insight into contemporary conditions but for his attitude, penetrating and farsighted, towards the political future of India, gave evidence in 1832 before a Select Committee of the House of Commons. He said:

> "In other countries the use of the Press has extended along with the improvement of the country and the intelligence of the people: but in India we shall have to contend at once with the more refined theories of Europe and with the prejudices and fanaticism of Asia, both rendered doubly formidable by the imperfect education of those to whom every appeal will be addressed."

That early warning has been amply justified by our experience. A few years later the acting Governor-General, Metcalfe,

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abolished all Press restrictions on the ground that, whatever the consequences might be, this was necessary for the spread in India of Western knowledge and civilization. The dilemma was and is one of extreme difficulty and gravity, but the record of our Indian Press legislation, with all its vacillation and incoherence, is not one which we can recall with much complacence. My own view has always been that, while we must tolerate for greater ends a great deal that is mischievous, there are definite and measurable limits to such toleration, and that a degree of control will for long continue to be necessary in India which in England, under different conditions, can safely be dispensed with. I believe that this will be accepted by the wiser mind of India, and in recent times something has been done, with the consent of Indian legislatures, to repair the premature repeal of the Press Act in 1921.

With all this, some pregnant facts have to be accepted. The Press as a political organ, if we cannot assert for it so exclusive a paternity as for other indubitably native products of our soil, is an integral and characteristic part of our system. It is the Fourth Estate of our Realm, and the Freedom of the Press has been an ever more jealously guarded public prerogative since the days of "Areopagitica." We planted it in India and are ourselves largely responsible for the fruits which it has borne in that exotic soil. It would be a profound error to judge these solely by the too abundant yield of extravagance and malevolence. We may deplore that it has often grossly misrepresented our acts and our intentions, misrepresentations of which some have not stopped short of incitements to crime and rebellion. We cannot complain that it has enthusiastically propagated, even though often enough with an incomplete comprehension of them, our own ideas. We cannot deny that in its better part and its calmer and wiser moods both we and India owe much to it. If we can by wise handling of the problems now before us remove or mitigate some of the present causes of distrust and hostility, I see no reason for doubt that it will be capable of playing a salutary and beneficent part under happier and more natural conditions.

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Local Self-Government

After education and the Press, we pass to local self-government. The issues involved and the consequences entailed are not comparable, but have nevertheless great significance and importance of their own. In England itself such institutions were generally in a chaos of confusion and corruption till the time of the Municipal Corporations Act of 1833; and the vast ramification of municipal and local bodies with which we are now familiar here took shape at a much later date. In spite of this, the beginnings were to be found in India long before the days of Lord Ripon. Action on these lines aroused comparatively little controversy. Most people thought that it was obviously the proper thing to do. It was argued, not without justice, that in this sphere Indians could best and most safely be trained in the conduct of self-government, and it appeared that awkward problems affecting vital functions of the executive Government would not be raised. For many reasons the system has not developed in India as it has in this country, largely perhaps because of our singular omission to apply the measure of continuous central control and guidance, which had been deemed necessary in England and of which the still greater necessity in India should have been apparent. Thus, in the resolution of Lord Ripon's Government of 1882, control by audit and surcharge, which had been definitely provided by the English Public Health Act of 1875, was not even mentioned.

For our present purposes it is possible to record only a few reflections. Among the questions which suggest themselves is whether, the principle of self-government having been conceded in local affairs, it could or should be for ever restricted to that sphere. The argument most commonly used, even by many of those who were most apprehensive of constitutional change, was its value as an education in the management of common affairs and a test of capacity. This clearly implies a further stage in which the progress made should be applied in wider and higher spheres. It appears clear, at any rate, that neither as a matter of logical and consistent principle nor of practicability in fact could

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any permanent restriction to such functions as education, public health and public utility services be maintained.

Nor is it reasonable to suppose that the commission to elected autonomous bodies of the vast interests and responsibilities involved in the municipal affairs of great capital cities could be seriously regarded or accepted as no more than a sort of examination for elementary pupils in the art of government. Certainly it was not to be expected by the most sanguine or the most obtuse that a generation of men who had administered affairs of this order would so remain content and would not assert a claim to competence for a larger concern in a wider field. The truth is, I think, that, on the British side, while there were some who saw and deliberately accepted these obvious implications, there were many more who supported or acquiesced in the policy with the complacent or consoling reflection that the consequences could be relegated to a remote future. We have now to realize that the remote future has become the immediate prospect.

The Principle of Responsibility

It may appear surprising that I have dwelt so much on our policy and action in India in fields which may be held to have only an indirect bearing on the specifically political and constitutional issues now so prominent. My contention, of course, is that they have a very direct bearing. There is an organic unity in our own system and tradition of government which forbids any mechanical separation of its components, and the most vital and characteristic element in our system is responsible government. Having gone so far as we had gone in bringing India into the ambit of our system, this further step was bound sooner or later to be taken if the whole course of our previous proceedings was not to be condemned as misconceived and misdirected.

The field was ploughed and sown and in due season the reapers would enter into it. It was, in the view of Indian opinion, which had long ardently anticipated and pressed for it, at a late hour of the day, and it was with many anxious searchings of heart that the first outline of a legislature with an elective popular element took shape. It is notable that in Queen Victoria's

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Proclamation, among much else that was wisely designed to reassure and to encourage, not a word is to be found foreshadowing, however distantly and cautiously, anything of the kind. No wise man will even now cavil at those anxieties, for the decision was momentous even if it was logical and ineluctable.

In speaking on the abortive Bill of 1890, Lord Salisbury emphasized the grave responsibility of any Government which should introduce the elective principle as an active element in the Government of India, and he added: "It may be—I do not desire to question it—that it is to be the ultimate destiny of India." Since then all the convergent forces we liberated have moved with a momentum and velocity which have culminated in the last few years.

It is beyond the purpose or the possible limits of this survey to follow the record in detail. It is familiar to everyone, and the cardinal points have been admirably summarized in the lecture delivered here last May by Sir John Thompson. As a measure of the distance covered, it may be recalled that it was Mr. G. N. Curzon who, in introducing the Bill of 1892, described it as in no way creating any kind of Parliamentary system; it was Lord Curzon who in 1917 drafted the final form of the pronouncement which recognized responsible self-government as the ultimate goal in India. Lord Morley, in expounding his own Reforms Scheme of 1909, disavowed in even stronger terms any intention of setting up a Parliamentary system in India, though at a later stage he admitted that the language he then used was merely tactical.

If either of these statements was simply intended to convey that the particular measures to which they referred did not in their immediate effect confer any measure of responsible Government, it was strictly correct. But if they are to be taken to deny that, in the first instance, a definite step and, in the second, a much longer one had been taken in that direction, the reflection they must inspire is how blind can be even the principal agents in crucial decisions to the consequences of their own action, if they ignore the historical background and concentrate on the immediate issue alone.

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From 1892 to 1909 the changes effected were quantitative rather than qualitative. The passage from 1909 to 1919 was a political rubicon. It was the transition, crucial but familiar to students of English colonial history, from representative to a measure of responsible government. In this respect it had for India some of the significance which the action taken on the Durham Report had for Canada, and it seems probable that that precedent was pregnant with other things also for India.

Effects of the 1919 Act

For more than thirteen years British India has been governed to the extent proposed by the Government of India Act of 1919 under a tentative system of responsible government. If the prophets of evil hoped for the catastrophes they predicted, they have been disappointed. For this, much credit must be given to an incomparable administrative machine, but it would be ungenerous as well as injudicial to deny their due share to the ministers who have held office in a period of such difficulty as has taxed the utmost resources of every Government in the world. Meantime, the *tempo* of political events has accelerated and the horizon has visibly widened.

I have nothing to say of the controversy once aroused by the words "Dominion status," which has always appeared to me very much of a logomachy. It is of far greater importance that nearly all men who are competent to judge of Indian affairs, whatever may be the direction of the inferences they draw, are agreed that the present Government of India Act has exhausted its utility and that some new departure is necessary. The idea of Federation has advanced from the position of a remote possibility, through the stage of a development to be provided for, to that of a solution definitely propounded as the framework of a scheme including provincial autonomy and central responsibility with safeguards.

The White Paper Proposals

In considering the merits of the scheme of reforms now under examination by the Joint Select Committee, it cannot be denied that, whatever other judgment may be passed on them, each of

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its major propositions is an attempt to answer in a concrete, constructive manner questions which practical experience has raised and which must be answered. If for some of them no exact precedents can be found, that is because the problems to be solved are without precedent; and our practice has been, when precedent fails, to have the courage to use new expedients. With this allowance, the general structure is in harmony with the principles on which we have traditionally acted and no part is repugnant to them. In so vast a composition it would be an exorbitant claim that every part constitutes the only right answer to the question to which it is relevant, but the general design is conformable to type and precedent.

It appears to me that any alternative must either resemble it closely in cardinal points, though it may differ in proportion and emphasis, or it must be a complete break with our own tradition and with the sequence of events and legislation in India. Here a crucial question arises. The ultimate objective, stated in its broadest terms, seems to be to effect such a synthesis of the East and the West as has never been attempted since the days of Alexander and his successors. We have to provide for a system of government in India which will be capable of subsisting and developing in harmony with a system of government in this country based on Parliamentary democracy.

Have we, in point of fact, anything to offer at all compatible with so great an enterprise which is not drawn from our own stock of ideas and experience? And if we were to seek it by breaking away from tradition and the past, in a direction hitherto uncharted and unexplored, would not this be a more hazardous experiment and a blinder leap in the dark than anything that has so far been proposed? Certainly nothing has so far been proposed which breaks the familiar mould and pattern of our own institutions, no new and original conception of government has been revealed which is capable of superseding all this and of satisfying, coherently and effectively, the exceedingly complicated and exacting requirements of the problem.

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Is the Time Ripe?

Many will no doubt contend that there is really no question about the general direction and that the merits of particular expedients are a subsidiary matter: the real question is whether the time is ripe. The Government of India Act may be invoked which, while prescribing that Parliament must be the judge of the time and measure of any advance, seems to treat the general direction as axiomatic. It is clear that important conditions precedent, relating to certain specific points, which have been frankly stated in the White Paper, must be satisfied before the plan which it puts forward can be realized. Apart from these, the question is, on its intrinsic merits, not capable of any formal or statistical solution. But it is something much more than a question of opinion. The answer to it demands one of those signal displays of political instinct united to courageous decision which leave an indelible mark on history. It will be determined by resolving upon a very few great issues and not by interminable talk and contention about the multitude that are subsidiary.

I would submit as considerations which point to a decision three propositions.

Firstly, the existing system of government, both in what it has done and what it has not done, has exhausted or completed its potentialities. We have reached the limits of the period of transition for which it was intended to provide.

Secondly, a further period of transition has now to be contemplated and provided for, because we have not yet in view conditions which admit even of that very relative degree of finality which is all that is attainable in politics. The proposals of His Majesty's Government are based on an enquiry more prolonged, more minute and more comprehensive than any on record. They represent an effort, commensurate with the magnitude and intricacy of the problem, to offer a constructive solution for difficulties that are generally admitted, a reasonable satisfaction to Indian ambitions and the scope for natural and organic development which may obviate any drastic readjustments in too

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near a future. It is possible that this might be done by other means, but none have hitherto been put forward.

Thirdly, it is better to proceed upon a maturely considered plan than to postpone action until a time when we should be obliged to improvise dangerously under the compulsion of events what should have been opportunely done with deliberation and good-will.

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, April 17, 1934, when a paper entitled "The Logic of the Reform Proposals" was read by Sir James Crerar, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. The Most Hon. the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

The Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Malcolm Seton, K.C.B., Sir John Thompson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Hubert Carr, Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Henry S. Lawrence, K.C.S.I., Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Frank Hudson, K.C.I.E., and Lady Hudson, Lady Abbas Ali Baig, Lady Scott Moncrieff, Major-General Sir Henry Everett, K.C.M.G., C.B., Mr. F. G. Pratt, C.S.I., Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, C.I.E., Mr. C. M. Baker, C.I.E., Mr. S. Lupton, C.B.E., Mr. H. Dow, C.I.E., Mr. J. A. Shillidy, C.S.I., Mr. John Ross, I.S.O., Mr. J. R. Martin, C.I.E., Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Mr. A. Sabonadière, Mr. H. R. Wilkinson, Mr. Sydney Gordon Roberts, Mr. R. W. Brock, Mr. C. P. Caspersz, Mr. S. T. Sheppard, Mr. O. C. G. Hayter, Mr. J. W. Lewis, Mr. J. Sladen, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. J. C. French, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mr. G. W. Plummer, Miss Cornelia Sorabji, K.-i-H., Mr. R. Wilson, Mrs. Bacon, Mr. C. Barton, Mr. J. R. Hood, Mr. E. E. Miller, Mr. A. Inglis, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mr. H. B. Holme, Mr. L. W. Matters, Mr. G. B. N. Hartog, Mr. Sanaullah, Mr. D. Shooter, Mr. G. Pilcher, Miss Ashworth, Mr. H. M. Willmott, Mr. J. H. Munro, Mrs. L. M. Mundle, Mr. and Mrs. B. H. Ford, Mrs. Lawrie, Miss Hopley, Mrs. Yate, Miss F. Blackett, Mr. A. E. Rushworth, Miss Caton, Miss de Paszt, Miss F. M. Wyld, M.B.E., Miss Leatherdale, Mrs. Alan Izat, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: I think it is fitting that before we begin our proceedings this afternoon I should refer to the very great loss that you have sustained by the death of Sir John Kerr.

I got to know Sir John very well during the four months that we spent together in India, and I formed an opinion that his judgment was second to none of any that I had ever met. I will only say that not only your Society, but also England and India are very unfortunate to be deprived of his voice at this great juncture in their fortunes. I will ask you to stand for one moment in memory of him.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I turn to a happier task. It is my duty to introduce to you Sir James Crerar. The record of Sir James is probably known to you all, and even put baldly it is sufficiently impressive. He served in India from 1901 to 1932, and from 1927 to 1932 he was Home Member in the Government of India. That in itself, I think, is a record of service to the Empire of which any man might well be proud. (Hear, hear.)

But I would like you to consider what events took place during the period

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that Sir James was Home Member. He first took office at a moment when India was refusing to co-operate with the Simon Commission, then in that country—a very difficult initiation, I think you will agree, for a new Home Member responsible for the peace of the country. He had to help to compile and to sign the Government of India's despatch resulting from that Commission's report. He had to deal with the Meerut Conspiracy Case, destroying a very dangerous Communistic conspiracy in India. In 1929 he had all the difficulty arising when Congress declared that their goal was independence and not Dominion status, as before. He had hardly got over that when, in March, 1930, the first civil disobedience movement began. A year later, as you know, there came the Delhi Pact. For nearly a year there was a truce, during which the Government of India displayed that patience which Kipling used to admire so much. Then in January, 1932, there came the second disobedience movement, and before Sir James had left India he was able to put through measures that effectually destroyed that movement from the beginning.

During the whole of those difficult years, when men's patience must have been tried to the limit of its endurance, I know from personal experience that Sir James not only enjoyed the respect and esteem of the Viceroys whom he served and of his fellow-members of the Executive, but also of the Indian Legislature. I may say in passing that Lord Halifax particularly desired me today to express his deep regret that he was unable to be present this afternoon. There is a measure concerning tithes in the House of Lords, a matter in which he has been interested since 1925, and therefore he felt that he could not be absent from the debate.

That is the record of the man who is going to address you this afternoon. It has been the practice and the experience of the British Empire that the man on the spot usually hits the nail on the head. You will agree with me that the paper we are going to listen to this afternoon is going to be delivered to us by a man who has been very much on the spot during some of the most critical years of the association between England and India.

Sir James Crerar said: I cannot begin the paper which I propose to read to you without expressing, very inadequately, I fear, but very sincerely, my deep sense of gratitude to our Chairman for the manner in which he has been good enough to introduce me to you.

I will not attempt to say more, because I think you will readily recognize that, after the kind of experience which those of us had who bore what undoubtedly was a considerable amount of the burden and the heat of those days, it is, after two years of comparative quiet in England, a very great gratification to know that something of what we had to contend with is appreciated, and that what we endeavoured at any rate to do is not also without its meed of understanding. (Applause.)

(The paper was then read.)

The Chairman: Your reception of Sir James's lecture leaves him, I am sure, no doubt as to your opinion of its merit. I have never had the

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privilege of listening to a lecture in your Association before, but if they are of that quality I do not intend to miss very many more. I will ask Miss Cornelia Sorabji to open the discussion.

Miss CORNELIA SORABJI: We have listened to a most extraordinarily interesting lecture—looking back over a long past, looking forward at a time when that is appearing on the horizon which must excite the interest of us all. Yet I could have wished that the eloquent lecturer had blown some more blasts of glorification for all that England has already given to India; but that is asking too much, is it not, of any Englishman? Englishmen do not use the trumpet. I doubt if they would even have consented to use trumpets outside the walls of Jericho!

But there are some blasts which must be blown. *Firstly*, is it not true to say that it was during the British occupation of India for the first time that we were able to talk of India as a political unit, stretching from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin?

Secondly, throughout the years of the occupation of India by the British they have been setting themselves in effect to prepare the country, as the lecturer has rightly said, for the logical conclusion that is now before us. Let us think back over the years: the development of the natural resources of the country; the making of great services, administration, justice, education, medicine; the bringing into existence of the machinery to fit all these services; the opening up of industrialism; the improvement of agriculture; and the teaching to the people of India of the new modern ideals of health, sanitation, and public service.

And, *thirdly*, there is a third blast, all the time training men of India to work this machinery which they have put in motion. In short, then, England was fitting the machine to run without her, and training Indians to run it.

I should have liked to hear something said about agriculture. You remember, those of you who have been in India, two words which I would ask you to recall to indicate what I mean: the words *Karma* and *Kismet*. They apply to the two great communities of India, the Hindus and the Moslems.

"*Karma*," says the one, when disaster occurs—"it is the thing that I have earned." "*Kismet*," says the other—"it was written. It is my fate." And their hands hang idle. You have taught them that a man may be the master even of his deserts, even of his fate. In teaching that to us of India, have you not taught a great deal, especially with a view to the coming administrator?

As to what Sir James has said in relation to justice, what other scheme could have been developed? Let us think for a moment with what the makers of British India were faced.

There were the two majority communities, supplied with two great and ancient systems of law based upon religion. In regard to crime, I suppose at the time when the British came to India there was little beyond trial by ordeal for dealing with it. Trial by ordeal was applied variously according

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to localities, and not always with a sense of continuity, among the Hindus; among the Moslems applied perhaps more subtly in courts of law, but equally without continuity, and equally differing with various localities.

I myself have seen trial by ordeal in practice. I could tell you exciting stories. One of the most vivid in my memory is of a hole in the wall through which the accused had to creep, and if he stuck he was guilty. You yourselves have had trial by ordeal in England, and as lately as the eighteenth century in Cumberland and the Border countries, at any rate.

How was the situation to be dealt with? It seems to me that the Queen's Proclamation dealt with it in the most masterly way. You recall it: "The laws of the Gentoos (Hindus) for the Gentoos, and of the Moslems for the Moslems, shall prevail in all matters of inheritance law and succession"—that is, in all personal matters. For dealings between party and party there was to be English-made law for India.

That latter resulted in the production of a body of codified law, which one of the greatest jurists in England, himself no lover of codes, has pronounced to be a most amazing way of dealing with the complexity of situations in India, where the peoples have not one standard of justice or one standard of how to deal with the offender.

As to the Privy Council, every practising Indian lawyer knows with what content the decisions of that body are received, particularly as to the questions of custom and religion. Every modern politician knows how the attempt to introduce, of late years, elasticity into the interpretation of law based on religion has been received by the people most concerned. If the personal law of the Indian is to be changed, it will be changed when the people want it changed by the people themselves, by the people most concerned; and there it must be left.

As to the codes there is elasticity enough, and the legislatures have no hesitation in using their power in that direction.

Macaulay's minute on education has been worn threadbare with all the criticism that has been bestowed upon it. And yet I wonder what other than the English language as a medium of instruction, or the English emphasis given to our education in India would have been acceptable. You remember the Anglophile of Ram Mohun Roy and people of his age. You remember also the way Lord Curzon's attempt to expand vernacular education was received in India by the politician. He charged against Lord Curzon the attempt to stop independence. There were risks to be run either way. I do not say that the system—nobody would—is perfect. There are many changes all of us would like, in details.

Take the simple matter of the list of books prescribed for examinations. We have often been set to read the books that excite the wrong imagination in immature minds. Take, again, the fact that there has not been sufficient attention paid to the great truth that no one can take the impression of an alien culture unless he has first taken the impress of the culture which is his own. Thirdly, there was too little attention given to the fact that every Indian home does not normally provide the discipline and the training in character which is necessary for the student.

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But much has been already done. The Calcutta University Commission began what has been carried on in various directions all over the country, and we go forward still, with hope.

What, then, is the conclusion of the whole matter? Is it not just this? Taking the proposition of the speaker as one in Euclid. Q.E.D. Yes, certainly, if the details are right; if the angle which should be a right angle for purposes of our demonstration is a right angle, not an acute angle or an obtuse angle. Or, to put the metaphor in another way—The reforms are the natural conclusion of what you have been working for in India. The loom of time has indeed been weaving a garment for India, but that garment must fit the wearer, must it not? And it must be one that suits the circumstances in which he is to wear it. India cannot be served to her profit by a reach-me-down. (Applause.)

Sir Patrick Fagan: I should like to associate myself with the last speaker in her expression of approval of the very scholarly, very well written, if I may say so, and very interesting paper to which we have listened. But having said that, I am afraid I must add that I think it is open to criticism in various directions.

The lecturer in the early part of his paper very properly emphasized the fundamental characteristic of British institutions; that is, that they are indigenous products not notably contaminated by foreign importations, that they are the outcome of the practical genius, the empirical instincts of the British race. I feel that we shall all more or less agree with him in that view. But I think I can trace throughout the paper a suggestion that by reason of that cultural contact between Britain and India, which has been going on for, we may say, a century and a half, the development of political institutions in India must be on British lines, and that those political institutions must be largely based on British models. There, I think, issue may fairly be joined with the lecturer.

When we look round the world today, what do we see? Countries which provided themselves with constitutions and political institutions based more or less closely on the British model have discarded them or are engaged in discarding them.

The process in Germany and Italy is perhaps fairly complete, though I do not deny that some spirit of democracy may still remain there. As regards France, I suppose that the right thing to do is to place a big note of interrogation against it in regard to the process of which I speak. Perhaps the same may be said of the United States of America.

In our own Empire we have recently had a small, undoubtedly a small, but certainly a very eloquent, example of what an ill-directed democracy on British lines can achieve. I refer, of course, to the case of the small state of Newfoundland. In Egypt we have something of a deadlock. In Ceylon, admittedly the results have been unsatisfactory, but we are told that the time to talk about it is not yet. Looking round and seeing these things, what I am doubtful about is this—what reasonable ground for adequate confidence have we that the institutions of British parliamentary democracy

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are going to take effective root in India and function for the welfare and prosperity of the teeming millions of that sub-continent?

The lecturer has in a very interesting part of his paper traced the course of what I may call cultural contact between Britain and India in certain directions and in certain matters: law, the courts, education, and the Press. That is a fairly wide field. But what has been the actual nature of that contact? How has it been operative? A good deal of what is said and written about India today suggests that from a comparatively early period the British administrator was a fervent proselytizer in favour of British culture; that he was an ardent missionary, bent on leading the masses of India into the field of British democracy. That is not often, it is true, explicitly said, but it is what is suggested by what is said, and I think it is an exaggerated, not to say a distorted, view.

The main objective of the British administrator in India was until recent years—I am afraid conditions have somewhat changed now, from all one hears—the good government and administration of India, the promotion of the welfare, of the material, economic, and moral progress of her peoples. In carrying out that great task he naturally used the instruments and applied the principles with which he was familiar and in which as a Briton he had been trained. For him missionary and proselytizing activities were largely subconscious and unwitting. The ultimate outcome for him lay in the future, depending very largely, if not entirely, on such political capacity as the Indian peoples might ultimately develop.

No doubt the process was to some extent educative, but it is, I believe, a complete misapprehension, and one productive of confusion of thought, to suggest that from an early stage the work of the British administrator was of set purpose to launch India on the path towards the goal of democratic self-government.

But even granting that the process has been one of education towards democracy, what are the results that we see today? I was much struck by a simile which was introduced into the paper about ploughing and sowing the field and admitting the reapers. What I should like to draw attention to in that connection is this—that between the process of ploughing and sowing and the admission of the reapers, another very important process has to take place, and that is the germination, the growth, and the maturity of a healthy crop. What is the crop of preparedness for democratic institutions which we see in India today? Is there communal unity, racial unity, religious unity, linguistic unity? The more fervent and the less temperate idealists of our time tell us that the whole of the Indian population is today thirsting for the forms and institutions of democracy. Others, more temperate and less fervent, and rather more level-headed, have doubts, and some of them very grave doubts, about the matter.

What are the facts? Are they not these, that today every condition in India that you like to refer to—social, racial, religious, linguistic—whatever you like to take, is a flat negation of democracy, and of that indispensable foundation of democracy, a democratic society? (Applause.) That being so, we—I am referring to those who criticize the White Paper proposals,

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and I am afraid they are not very largely represented in this meeting—find very considerable difficulty in detecting much logic under the scheme of Indian reforms which is now before the Joint Committee.

It is for these reasons, my lord, that the people I refer to, the undistinguished crowd, have very grave, very sincere, very honest apprehensions regarding these reform proposals. We greatly doubt whether they are destined to lead to the welfare of India and to the well-being of its teeming millions. We greatly fear that they will lead to retrogression and ultimately to chaos supervening sooner or later. (Applause.)

Sir HENRY LAWRENCE: I will not waste your time on a statement of my general views, since they are fully published in *The Times* of this morning. I will merely say that I agree in main principles with the lecturer rather than with Sir Patrick Fagan.

For thirty years I have had the privilege of receiving instruction from the inexhaustible stores of recondite knowledge of our lecturer, and today once more he has given me much to ponder over.

There are two sentences in his admirable paper which I should like to bring into close relation, and on that relation I would ask Sir James for some enlightenment. He has told us that "the existing system of government has completed its potentialities"; and he has referred to the "dangerous class of unemployment" created by the defects of our literary education.

Now when one looks round on the industrial world today, with its increasing adoption of mechanization, rationalization, and mass production, one is horrified at the immediate results in unemployment. And it seems to me that the very efficiency of the machinery of the Government of India has had the same result as the modern developments in industry.

We cannot foretell the future; we hear grave forebodings of the deterioration of efficiency in the Indian Governments of the future régime. At the same time I feel strange illogical waves of sympathy arise in my mind towards Mahatma Gandhi's scheme of life, and wonder whether India will not be happier if his dream can be realized of enabling 100 men to be busily engaged in doing the work of one.

There is nothing to laugh at in this dream, for something of the kind may come to pass even in this country.

I gather from Sir James's remark that terrorism derives its recruits from unemployment. Is there any policy in hand to counter terrorism by employment, particularly in Bengal? Would he agree that to throw open Assam to Bengali colonization would have any useful result?

I am aware that this suggestion does not find favour with Assamese, and especially the English Assamese; but I would refer those gentlemen to the Budget speech of the Finance Member of Assam last month, when he stated that unless a large subsidy could be obtained from the Government of India, "Assam must be wiped off the map" owing to its insolvency.

But amidst these doubts there are five points which I submit to this meeting with certainty: (1) The relations of India with the British Com-

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monwealth must be preserved. (2) These relations rest primarily on good-will. (3) This good-will exists in ample volume between the peasantry in India and the masses in this country. (4) To give effect to that good-will we must enfranchise the peasantry fully. (5) The only way to enfranchise the peasantry is through adult suffrage and indirect elections; and I submit that indirect elections will eradicate communal strife and eventually the hideous curse of communal electorates. Would Sir James be willing to support this plan?

I make these last suggestions with some reluctance in the presence of our noble Chairman, since he was a member of that Lothian Committee which so unfortunately and misguidedly came to a different and wrong conclusion on this problem.

Mr. J. C. French, I.C.S. (retd.): It is a great pleasure for me to add my small tribute of appreciation to Sir James Crerar in the performance of his enormously difficult task this afternoon. Sir James is entitled to say, in the words of Burns's famous song: "We have done all that man can do." I shall not quote the second line. I dare say you all remember it.

The title of today's address reminds me of what I read about Mr. Baldwin's advice to young Conservatives a short time ago. One point was distrust logic, or avoid logic; anyhow, it was something detrimental to logic. I looked up logic in the dictionary and found it is "the science and art of reasoning correctly." Then everything became clear to me, and I saw why Mr. Baldwin is so fond of the White Paper: because in the White Paper he finds no trace of this noxious plant of correct reasoning. But this afternoon we have Sir James Crerar lecturing on the logic of the White Paper. He claims that the White Paper is the natural and necessary extension of our policy in India, and he derives support from four sources:

First, our judicial system. But I always understood that it is the glory of our law that it is entirely apart from politics; that whether an Act is passed by a Conservative, Liberal, or Labour Government, it is the law of the land and the courts carry it out. They are kept entirely apart from politics. So how our legal system can lead to political changes is difficult to understand.

The second point is the Press. I am glad to see that Sir James disapproves of the repeal of the Press Act in 1921, that excellent measure that was so beneficial in controlling evils in the exercise of the activities of the Press. Also I give my humble tribute of agreement to Sir James when he says we are responsible for the Press in India. We brought the Press into India. We must see that it does right.

On the subject of introducing institutions into countries and being responsible for them, there comes to my memory the question of rabbits in Australia. The Australians brought rabbits into Australia with the best intentions. The rabbits first became a nuisance, then a pest. But when they became a pest in Australia, what did the Australians say? They did not say, "We have introduced them; we are responsible for them; therefore logically we must turn Australia into one big rabbit warren." No.

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They dealt with the rabbits, and so we must deal with the Press. Mind you, in talking about rabbits I have not the least intention of comparing the Press in India to rabbits in Australia or rabbits in any other country. I do not compare the editors, reporters, or newspaper men to rabbits. I am dealing with the question on its broadest and most general lines. We have introduced the thing into the country and we must see it out.

Then education. Education in India is a vast subject. It has been the object of tremendous criticism. It may be we have not been altogether wise in our system of education in India. It may be that in teaching our pupils the lessons of English history we have not sufficiently emphasized the differences of conditions that make the literal application of the lessons of English history so dangerous to Indian circumstances. But if we have been unwise in this, why should we translate unwise language into still more unwise action? In a word, if we have talked foolishly, why should we act still more foolishly?

I pass on to my next point, local self-government. I am very glad to hear that Sir James considers that it has developed differently in India from what it has done in this country. If it had developed similarly in this country we should be face to face with a most serious situation. I appeal to the experience of any lady or gentleman here who has lived under any Indian municipality. I do not want to dwell too long on painful memories. I pass on to the Bengal Government Report on the Municipalities in Bengal in 1931 and the single phrase, "Where self-taxation fails, self-government fails." I am told the Government of the Punjab and the Government of other Provinces have used harsher language.

And now I point to a concrete instance, the Calcutta Corporation. I will not express my own opinion. I have four newspaper extracts. The first is from *The Times* of August 10, 1933, about the speech of Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy, Minister for Local Self-Government. Also *The Times* of September 11, 1933, when the Amending Bill was passed, and mentioning the report of Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, a prominent Congress man and President of the Finance Committee of the Calcutta Corporation, in which he said that the finances of the Calcutta Corporation were in a shocking condition, and that if things continued as at present it would have no money next year for its manifold activities. My next newspaper extract is from the *Statesman* of Calcutta of January 28 of this year, a journal that cannot be accused of being opposed to the White Paper. The Indian correspondent says that "revelations of a most damaging character would probably have been made if some of the city fathers had not shown their anxiety to prevent the washing of dirty linen in public." "The time is certainly more than ripe," he says, "for taking stock of the entire system of administration of the Calcutta Corporation, and the fear of facing an unpleasant and even scandalous situation should not have stood in the way. It is said that these councillors and aldermen think that instances of maladministration, if brought to the notice of the public, will prove their inability and establish the fact that they are not yet fit for self-government." Lastly, "the results of the hush-hush policy will prove to

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be disastrous hereafter." What is the latest news about the Calcutta Corporation? *The Times* of April 11, 1934, tells us they have elected a Chairman, and elected him in a pandemonium.

All these remarks are not to be taken as any criticism of the way in which Sir James has performed his task this afternoon. For that I have the most unstinted admiration. My criticisms only arise inevitably from the defects of the White Paper. For searching for logic in the White Paper is a labour of Hercules; nay, a labour of Sisyphus.

Sir JAMES CRERAR: At this late hour I should very ill requite the patience with which you heard me for upwards of half an hour if I trespassed any further upon your indulgence. I propose therefore to deal with only one of the questions which was asked. I will not endeavour to follow the amusing but somewhat irrelevant gambols of those Australian rabbits which Mr. French so dexterously produced from his hat.

I propose to deal very briefly with the question which was asked or the objection which was raised, which seems to me, if it was a valid one, the most formidable and the most fundamental. It is the objection raised by Sir Patrick Fagan. His argument, if I understood it correctly, was this: that, first of all, democratic systems of government are wrong in themselves; and secondly, that they are particularly wrong in India. He invited us to compare—and I presume the comparison implied some measure of approval—the abandonment by certain foreign countries of the principles of Constitutional liberty and the expedients of parliamentary government.

Am I to understand that Sir Patrick Fagan suggests that we should adopt for ourselves the methods which Signor Mussolini may find admirable for Italy, and which a large majority in Germany may think fitting for Germany? I do not think there are many of us here who desire to have either the particular kind of millennium proposed by Sir Stafford Cripps on the one hand, or the opposing state of affairs, which may or may not be a millennium, which is proposed by Sir Oswald Mosley on the other. If we dislike and repudiate those things for ourselves, would it be a very reasonable view on our part that we should conceive them as likely to be acceptable to India?

I have one further observation to make. It is this. We very frequently hear it said that the business of the old-time Indian administrator was not to concern himself with politics, but to get going with the administration of the Indian for his good, and it seems to be implied that that is all we need do now. My lord, if I could revert to the time nearly thirty years ago when I was a young district officer, and if I could reconcile it to my conscience and to what I believe to be the public conscience of England, to be satisfied that we should have completed our whole task by doing the duties of a district officer, I should be very happy and very content. But I think that both the district officer of today, whose difficulties are so much greater, and those of us who have passed through that phase and have had to handle different problems, know that our general duty to

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India and to ourselves would on those lines be very incompletely performed. (Applause.)

It is a singular characteristic of the criticisms directed against H.M. Government's policy at the present time, and against those of us who from some particular point of view are endeavouring to explain or to support it, that our critics never themselves venture for one single moment into the difficult paths of framing some constructive alternative. (Applause.) However that may be, my own firm conviction is this. It is often said that a distracted world is looking to England for a lead back to the paths of sanity and stability; that there is now an opportunity for England to do again, what she has done before, to save herself by her exertions and the world by her example. (Applause.)

If we are competent to perform that great task, it will not be by being seduced from our own traditions, from our own path, and our own proceedings in the past, either by examples drawn from abroad or by heresies propagated at home. I say that the only condition on which we shall be qualified to undertake, or shall have any hope of discharging, that task is by showing our continued faith in our own institutions.

THE MAHARAJAH OF BURDWAN: I think the discussion has been fruitful. It is my pleasant duty not only to congratulate Sir James Crerar on his very lucid statement about the logic of the reform proposals, but also to ask you to pass a hearty vote of thanks to him for his lecture. I should like to include an expression of thanks to the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava for having come here this afternoon and presided. He has been to India. He has been connected with the groundwork of the proposals that have now been embodied in the White Paper. We wish his lordship a great future, a great career. We hope that the day may come when the association of his grandfather may be repeated by his going out to India as a great administrator. (Applause.)

I will ask you to pass a vote of thanks to Sir James Crerar and the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava.

The motion was passed with acclamation.

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SOME ASPECTS OF THE SITUATION IN INDIA

By Major-General the Right Hon. Sir Frederick Sykes, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., K.C.B., C.M.G.

You have listened to a number of addresses from various points of view on the Indian Constitutional problem, but I do not think any apology is necessary for choosing the same subject this afternoon in view of the momentous nature of the issues involved. No greater responsibility has ever rested upon Parliament, and it is a responsibility which cannot be evaded. It is no exaggeration to say that the future of India, and indeed of the Empire, depends upon the decision which will shortly have to be made.

For this reason the Government submitted its proposals in the form of a White Paper, and appointed a Joint Select Committee to report upon it. The White Paper is, as you know, itself based upon a mass of evidence collected by the Simon Commission, and the Lothian, Davidson, Percy, and other Committees, and the views expressed at the Round-Table Conferences. Thus there will have been ample opportunities for examining the proposals in the utmost detail. I gladly avail myself, however, of the privilege you have accorded me of laying before you some of the opinions which I have formed on the subject in the hope that they may be of assistance. Anything I say is my personal view only: I belong to no group, nor have I knowledge of the tenor of any official discussions taking place upon the subject.

India is a land of endeavour. Nowhere are there greater potentialities for higher service. The responsibilities of government are probably wider than they have ever been, and the personal factor and the influence of the individual district officer are even more important than in the old days. History is gradually unfolding. The present chapter is largely the result of our teaching of Western ideas of freedom and pride of nationality which has spread among the educated classes and will spread, though

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more slowly, through the villages. The coming changes will undoubtedly be fraught with many difficulties. We must profit by the lessons of the past, look constantly forward, and help to guide natural aspirations into sound channels.

Policy, as I see it, means a clear vision of what is in the interests of the greatest number in the long run and a determination to pursue those interests. Policy, that is to say, is opposed to opportunism, which means short-sighted adaptations to the circumstances of the moment in order to secure ephemeral advantages. Opportunism is the great danger of democracy.

The Indian Legislatures

At the outset, too, it may be as well for me to state that I am a believer in the Parliamentary system of government. It has been said that it has proved a failure. It has, of course, its limitations, but experience has shown it to be the most suitable form of government for the nations which compose the British Commonwealth. Nor would I concur that its introduction into India has been unsuccessful. The legislative bodies, in spite of the fact that they were often functioning under the adverse conditions of a critical period, have stood the strain well on the whole, and their chief weakness, a tendency to irresponsible criticism, will be minimized with the growth of responsibility. We have educated India politically on Parliamentary lines, and we cannot go back on this.

It is easy to be out of date in regard to India, and views based upon experience acquired before the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms are in some ways apt to be misleading. The old days, so vividly depicted in the pages of Rudyard Kipling, have disappeared, never to return. The world's boundaries have been contracted by the wireless telephone and the aeroplane; and the isolation of the Indian village is being broken down by the arrival of the motor-bus. New factors are playing their part in developing political consciousness, and will have an increasing effect as time goes on. The agitation for a further extension of Constitutional Government is persistent and widespread. It comes from all sections of the community, Hindu and Muhammadan

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alike, and the movement is not confined to the towns or the educated classes. The disturbances of the last decade were to a considerable extent agrarian. Even the Depressed Classes are insisting upon the removal of their age-long disabilities.

Lessons of History

Without subscribing unreservedly to all the details of the scheme outlined in the White Paper, I think that it provides a reasonable basis upon which to build. India can be kept in the Empire only by going forward. In a great and progressive Empire like ours, situations such as the one which has now arisen in India are in no way abnormal. They are inevitable, as the Colonies which we have founded or the races which we have taken under our guidance arrive at political maturity.

Instances will occur to all present here today. Canada forms a particularly instructive parallel, owing to the vast size of the country and its divergent religious and social characteristics. In 1791 the younger Pitt saved Canada from going the way of the American Colonies. But this was not enough. As with India, growing dissatisfaction with the limitations of the former Act culminated in an outbreak in 1838, and but for the work of Lord Durham in 1841, Canada would probably have been lost to the Empire. He realized, as we must realize in India today, that the true remedy lay in responsibility. In South Africa we were faced with a not dissimilar situation, but in 1910, in spite of considerable opposition, the same policy was applied, with the result that Boer generals who had fought against us in 1899-1902 were commanding Imperial armies in the field in 1914!

The example of what has happened in Ireland is often quoted as a warning with regard to India. Without entering into the pros and cons of a very thorny question, I may point out that there is no true parallel between the two countries. In the Irish settlement no provision was made for the retention of a British force or a Governor-General with far-reaching control over the army, finance, and foreign affairs, or a civil service and police recruited by a Secretary of State. It is at least a matter for con-

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jecture whether a sound policy in 1886 might not perhaps have averted the tragedy of 1916, just as a far-seeing handling of the Colonial question in 1765 might well have resulted in the retention of practically the whole of North America as a part of the British Empire today.

Politics, it has been said, is present history, and history is past politics. History teaches us that in our policy towards India at the present juncture we should follow the precedent adopted with success in Canada and Africa, rather than that which led to disaster in the case of the American Colonies and Ireland.

Past and Present

But it is to the moral rather than the prudential side of the question that I should like first to call your attention. Our Empire is held together by other ties than those of mere force or racial ascendancy. In India it is our moral influence that counts, and always has counted. Macaulay, writing nearly a century ago, clearly recognized this fact. In his famous essay on Lord Clive he says: "During a long course of years the English rulers of India, surrounded by Allies and enemies whom no engagement could bind, have generally acted with sincerity and uprightness; and the event has proved that sincerity and uprightness are wisdom. English valour and English intelligence have done less to expand and to preserve our Oriental Empire than English veracity. All that we could have gained by imitating the doublings, the evasions, the frictions, the perjuries which have been employed against us, is as nothing when compared with what we have gained by being the one power in India on whose word reliance can be based."

Let us, then, first bear in mind exactly to what extent we are pledged. The only question is one of the extent and pace of the Reforms. The proclamation of His Majesty the King-Emperor to the people of India, issued on the passing of the Government of India Act in 1919, refers to His Majesty's "understanding and sympathy" with the growing desire of the Indian people for representative institutions. It goes on to speak of the desire after

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political responsibility as having its source at the roots of the British connection with India, without which our work in that country would have been incomplete. It declares that it was with "a wise judgment" that the beginning of representative institutions were laid many years ago, "and their scope extended stage by stage on the road to responsible government."

More explicit is the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor-General of 1921, which runs as follows: "Above all things, it is Our Will and Pleasure that the plans made by Our Parliament for the progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of our Empire may come to fruition to the end that British India may attain its due place among Our Dominions."

If we should appear to go back upon our pledges we should administer a rude shock to those who have been honestly led to believe in the realization of India's ultimate destiny as a self-governing member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The findings of the Joint Select Committee will represent the greatest common measure of agreement between all parties and schools of thought, both in England and in India. A wise and permanent solution can only be found by raising the whole discussion above the sphere of associations, leagues, groups, divisions, and party politics. Criticism of the scheme, in whatever form it emerges, is both useful and necessary, provided that it is constructive.

Indian Responsibility

Into the details of the scheme outlined in the White Paper I do not propose to enter today. It is still being debated by the Joint Select Committee, and we do not at present know in what form it will finally emerge. There are, however, a few points upon which perhaps you will permit me to touch.

The first is the apprehension that the handing over of the administration to Indian hands will result in a general deterioration. The keynote of our work in India has for decades been the cultivation of a sense of responsibility. The principle of responsi-

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bility is indispensable to good government. Nothing, it has been said, breeds the sense of responsibility so much as responsibility, and that was the object of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. The present is merely another step forward in the same direction. The Simon Report, speaking of the Reforms of 1921, pointed out that dyarchy in the Provinces was never intended to be more than a transitional device, a first step towards a completely responsible system.

The Report, which is based upon the evidence of those actually engaged upon the task of administration all over India, lays stress upon "the large measure of success which has attended the working of the Reformed Governments," and adds that "publicly constituted bodies now show an interest in their work which gives more hope for the future than any mere adherence to standards of mechanical efficiency." I myself was loyally supported by my Ministers in my determination to restore the financial stability of the Bombay Presidency, although they were often naturally disappointed to find themselves without funds to finance schemes of improvement such as public health, education, and the like. Members and Ministers in charge of portfolios, both in the Central and Provincial Governments, have discharged their duties with efficiency and credit. Mistakes due to inexperience are, of course, inevitable. As the Report goes on to say, failures are not peculiar to India. They can be paralleled in countries with far greater experience of representative institutions. And it must be remembered that the best men will only have scope for their abilities when real responsibility is given. In this connection may I quote a remarkable passage from Bryce's *Modern Democracies*?

"In India or Egypt or the Philippines, when a Government has directly or implicitly raised expectations and awakened impatience, misgivings as to the fitness to receive a gift may have to yield to the demand for it. There are countries in which, seeing that the break-up of an old system of government and an old set of beliefs threatens the approach of chaos, an effort must be made to find some institutions, however crude, which will hold together. There are moments when it is safer to go forward than to stand still, wiser to confer institutions even if they are liable to be misused than to foment discontent by withholding them."

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Law and Order

As regards the proposed transfer of law and order, whilst one can sympathize with the misgivings which many feel upon this subject, I agree with the Simon Commission that the arguments in favour of transfer predominate. To reserve law and order would mean a perpetuation of the dyarchy which it will be the object of the Bill to abolish. A still more cogent reason is that police administration in India has always been unpopular and open to hostile criticism, and if the police remain in isolation as the agents of the Governor their position will become impossible. They will tend, as the Simon Report puts it, to be regarded as "the agents of an alien bureaucracy." The Constitution would be unworkable unless the Provincial Governments were responsible for their police.

At the present moment the Provincial Legislatures feel no responsibility for the police at all. They frequently attack them and sometimes refuse to vote the funds necessary for their maintenance. It is essential that India should learn to regard her police force as her own servants, needing and deserving public assistance. It is that very assistance which is now so often withheld, and which makes the task of dealing with terrorist crime so difficult. As far as the individual case of Bengal is concerned, the power of the Government to deal with terrorism must be maintained. But it must be done in a way which does not discriminate against Bengal. The essentials are that the internal discipline and administration of the police must be kept intact in the hands of police officers and that the sources of police information must not be in danger of being compromised. And though it will be undesirable to do so in other than very abnormal circumstances, in the last resort the Governor must exercise his power to take over charge of the Department. The responsibility of the Governor for the internal administration and discipline of the police is to be specially mentioned in his Instrument of Instructions.

At the same time we must not lose sight of the fact that the police are an integral part in the scheme for national security.

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Police and army must work hand in hand, and it is essential that their functions should be closely co-ordinated.

Franchise and Second Chambers

Then there is the question of the Franchise. The total electorate at present is about 3 per cent. of the population. It is proposed to increase this to about 14 per cent., or say, roughly, 35,000,000. Though certain elementary property and educational qualifications are imposed, a large percentage will be, judged by ordinary standards, illiterate. Among the arguments in favour of indirect election is the fact that it would give a larger proportion of the illiterate masses a voice in the selection of the authority by which they are to be governed. Indirect election would simplify the problem of polling large, inaccessible districts, and reduce the risk of communal divisions. The village headmen, if chosen to represent their villages at the poll, could be trusted not to betray the interests of their fellow villagers, which would be also largely their own, and being of the same class from which the police are recruited, would naturally be in sympathy with law and order.

Another point which I should like to urge is the establishment of Second Chambers in as many of the Provinces as possible, as well as at the Centre. A Second Chamber is especially necessary in a country like India. It provides for the representation of the land-owners and others with a stake in the country who, in the proposed Constitution as it stands at present, would be little represented. The difficulty of finding suitable representatives of these classes is not insuperable. A Second Chamber would act as a buffer between the legislative Councils and the Governors and would share with them the responsibility of checking hasty and ill-considered legislation.

The Federal Centre

Perhaps, of all the tasks of the present Administration in India, none has been so difficult, none, I am sure, is so important, as the effort to bring about unity. I think the foremost need in India in the future is for a strong Central Government—a Government

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that can keep the Federal Union intact in spite of all fissiparous tendencies. Abraham Lincoln realized this in 1861, when he preferred the alternative of civil war to granting the right of secession from the Union to the Southern States. How much more important is this in India, where the Centre will be the meeting place of so many conflicting interests—the Provinces, the Indian States, and the official bloc, under the control of the Governor-General. For similar considerations I think the powers of the Governor-General in dealing with a contumacious Province must be extended. A Federal Government in some form or other appears to be the ultimate solution. A Constitution consisting of autonomous Provinces and a Central Government responsible to the Secretary of State would, in practice, be a source of continual friction. The ideal is a united India under the British Crown, and Federation seems to be the only way to achieve this end.

Another point which I have always considered very desirable is the appointment of a Boundary Commission, as recommended by the Simon Report. The present boundaries are based neither on racial nor on geographical considerations. Re-alignment of boundaries might well lead to a reduction in the number of Provinces and a corresponding simplification and economy in administration.

Financial Aspects

I now pass on to the subject of economic reconstruction and finance. The whole problem is as much economic and administrative as it is political. This has been, perhaps, rather lost sight of in the discussions about the political aspect of the new Constitution, but it is vital to its success. Constitution building is an absorbing occupation, but those with practical experience in administration realize that unless it is founded upon the rock of economic stability, sound organization, and administration, it will be like a house built upon sand. That Government realizes the importance of this is indicated by the fact that it is stated in the White Paper that the new Governments must start in a solvent condition, and if this is impossible, a new situation will arise and

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the position will have to be reconsidered in consultation with representatives of Indian opinion. Personally, I have always held that an equitable scheme of adjustment between the different Provinces and the Centre must be found before the Reforms can be launched with a fair chance of success.

The question must therefore be faced as to how the necessary funds are to be made available. The Army Budget, which is the chief item, has already been cut down to a figure which experts consider to be dangerously near the safety limit. Increased taxation in the present economic condition of the country is very difficult. It is true that the last Budget of the Government of India showed encouraging signs, but with regard to the Provinces I am afraid that the outlook is not bright. Bombay, Madras, and some other Provinces have balanced their Budgets, but in most cases with very great difficulty. In Bombay we have done our best to put our house in order, ready for the change. Drastic economies have been effected. Heavy debt charges, a rapidly sinking revenue, the civil disobedience movement, a fall in commodity prices, and other factors, had left the Government to face a really staggering deficit. By a steady policy of retrenchment and readjustment this has been met. And before leaving India I had ensured a slight surplus for last, and a balanced Budget for this year. But the balancing of Budgets is not enough, and though the disastrous and suicidal policy of civil disobedience which cost India so dear has been called off, and there is a turn in the tide of economic depression, I have long been convinced that a definite policy of economic reconstruction must be undertaken, hand in hand with a thorough overhaul of the administrative machinery from top to bottom, before the advent of the Reforms. This should not delay their introduction if put in hand with promptitude.

Agricultural Development

It is obvious, then, that India's vast economic resources must be developed on more consistent lines than they have been hitherto. She must take full opportunity of the facilities offered by the Ottawa Agreement to find fresh markets and so increase the purchasing power of the population. The mere piling on of protec-

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tive duties, she must realize, will only end in disaster to herself. A good beginning has been made. The March number of the Bank of England Statistical Survey shows that England's purchases of linseed from India since 1931 have risen from 15,000 tons to 131,000 tons, and of rice from 900,000 cwts. to 1,400,000 cwts. It is most important for the interests of both countries that attempts should be prosecuted with vigour to arrive at an arrangement by which Lancashire should take a larger proportion of Indian cotton. Something definite should be done in this direction before the very large area of new land comes into bearing as a result of the opening of the Sukkar Barrage. Research work started a few years ago is resulting in a steady expansion of the long-staple variety which Lancashire requires. It is the duty of the Agricultural Department in India to see that Indian cotton loses the bad reputation which it has unfortunately earned; Lancashire has already agreed to experiment with a view to producing satisfactory varieties of yarn and cloth containing a reasonable proportion of Indian cotton. But it is not Lancashire alone which could absorb more Indian cotton when India produces a more reliable long-staple variety. The Bombay mills themselves still import a large amount of their cotton from outside India.

India is, and always will be, first and foremost an agricultural country. The great bulk of her population is engaged in agriculture as a means of livelihood. Our main responsibility is an improvement of the social and economic conditions of the masses. The ryot is India, and the new Constitution can no more work without the ryot than a motor-car can run without petrol. He is the backbone of the country. Four-fifths of the revenue is derived from the land. The agricultural population, like the rest of India, has felt the result of the economic depression very acutely. Recent investigations show that the present average income of the ryot is only two-fifths of what it was a few years ago, and a disquieting feature of the situation has been the inability of the people in some rural districts to pay their dues to Government. On the ryot, moreover, will ultimately fall a large part of the burden of finding the money for the Reforms. One of the chief problems is to relieve the vast mass of indebtedness which hangs like a mill-

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stone round the neck of rural India. When we realize what it would mean if we could raise the purchasing power of the millions who form the population of the countryside by even eight annas or a rupee per annum per head, something, it is obvious, must be done in this direction.

Village Improvement

I had the good fortune to be able to inaugurate a comprehensive Provincial scheme of village improvement, the essential feature of which was to help the villager to help himself. The village councils and the district local boards under the chairmanship of the Collectors were set to work to look into what they considered to be the most pressing needs of their particular villages—sanitation, education, public health, or agriculture—and deal with them. An organization has been set up better to enable the Commissioners to help in village improvement work throughout their Divisions, and all the Divisions are now co-ordinated by means of Commissioners' Conferences every two months, and their progress reports and requirements are sent in to Government. The enthusiasm with which the scheme was received was in itself an indication of the crying need for it. Isolated experiments have, as we know, been made in this regard in many parts of India; but what is required is an organized policy in accordance with a definite plan, flexible enough to adapt itself to local needs, co-ordinated and assisted on an all-India basis by the Central Government.

In most of these questions, social, economic, educational, and political, and in helping to explain to the villagers the meaning and importance of the vote, I am sure that broadcasting in the future will be of great assistance, and I would again urge that a committee should at once be set up by the Government of India to investigate the problem of the most suitable and practical form of broadcasting as a whole, as was done in England in 1923. Piecemeal efforts, other than those on a definitely experimental basis, may lead to a very unsatisfactory situation.

It has been asked in what way the Reforms will benefit the masses. The better spirit already manifested has greatly improved the trade between the two countries, which will show a steadily

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increasing improvement in agricultural and industrial prosperity. The progressive extension of the franchise will give the people a voice in their destinies which they have never before enjoyed, and with the advent of wider privileges and greater responsibilities the energies and enthusiasm of the public, and especially of the rising generation, will be more and more attracted to sound constructive activities which are the crying need of India today.

And let me say in conclusion that the outlook, whilst perplexing, appears to me to contain much promise. If the problem is handled with wise and firm statesmanship and in a spirit of hope and confidence, we may well look forward to the dawn of a new and brighter period in the relations between India and Great Britain, in which the bonds uniting the two countries will be cemented by steadily increasing ties of mutual interest, affection and respect.

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, May 15, 1934, when a paper, entitled "Some Aspects of the Situation in India," was read by Major-General the Right Hon. Sir Frederick Sykes, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., K.C.B., C.M.G. The Right Hon. L. S. Amery, P.C., M.P., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Malcolm Seton, K.C.B., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir John P. Thompson, K.C.S.I, K.C.I.E., Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir W. Ross Barker, K.C.I.E., C.B., Sir Hugh and Lady Cocke, Lady Abbas Ali Baig, Lady Scott Moncrieff, Sir Charles Tegart, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Stanley Reed, K.B.E., Sir Charles Fawcett, Mr. P. R. Cadell, C.S.E., C.I.E., Mr. F. G. Pratt, C.S.I., Mr. S. Lupton, O.B.E., Mr. John Ross, I.S.O., Professor H. G. Rawlinson, C.I.E., Major H. Blake Taylor, C.B.E., Mr. John de La Valette, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Rev. William Paton, Mr. S. T. Sheppard, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. R. K. Sorabji, Mr. C. R. Corbett, Mr. H. M. Willmott, Mrs. H. Gray, Mrs. N. B. Dewar, Mr. Edwin Haward, Mr. A. Sabonadiere, Mr. J. B. Hall, Mr. A. B. Kunning, Mr. C. P. Caspersz, Mr. H. D. Rice, Mr. J. C. French, Mrs. Damry, Mr. R. W. Brock, Miss A. R. Caton, Mr. Kenneth Keymer, Mr. G. B. D. Head, Miss Percival Hall, Mr. J. L. MacCallum, Miss Weekes, Mr. and Mrs. D. Ross Johnson, Mr. G. H. Ormerod, Mr. B. Bacon, Miss Leatherdale, Miss L. Sorabji, Miss Sarah de Laredo, Mr. H. F. J. Burgess, Colonel Gordon, Miss M. Hopley, Mrs. Lawrie, Mrs. C. Radclyffe, Miss Speechley, Mr. E. A. Montague, Mr. S. Barman, Mr. Sanaullah, Mr. C. T. Stack, Mrs. Devar, Colonel Money, Mr. J. W. Lewis, Mr. B. K. Sinha, Miss Stacey, Miss A. A. Morton, Miss Thomas Jones, Mrs. Philip Neville, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. M. E. T. Reddy, Mr. N. Shaw, Mr. O. C. G. Hayter, Mrs. T. Khan, Mr. H. A. Sidiki, Mr. John W. Stone, Mr. W. T. Day, Mr. D. W. Watkins, Miss Priestley, and Mr. F. H. Brown, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN said: I think only the briefest possible introduction is required in order to commend this afternoon's lecturer to you, for Sir Frederick Sykes is sufficiently well known to all who have followed public affairs. He played not the least important part in the creation of the Royal Air Force both before and during the war. In subsequent years he widened his contact with problems of legislation and government as a Member of the House of Commons, and then five years ago he went out to Bombay at a time of grave crisis—a time of grave crisis in the whole of India, and particularly critical, owing to agrarian and financial difficulties, in the Province of Bombay itself.

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There were those who doubted at that moment whether Sir Frederick's range of experience was sufficient to enable him to cope with so complex and thorny a series of problems. I think when he left, not long ago, one could say of him, slightly paraphrasing the language of Tacitus, "Omnium consensu capox imperii postquam imperaverat," for when he had finished his job everyone realized that he had done it admirably. (Applause.) That, I think, is all I need say to you in commending his address to your attention.

Major-General the Right Hon. Sir Frederick Sykes: May I be permitted at the outset to say on your behalf and my own how grateful we are that Mr. Amery has found time to come here today, because, as we all know, he has spent his life and abilities entirely in the service of the Empire. (Applause.)

(The paper was then read.)

The Chairman: We have listened to an address based on practical experience, inspired by a broad and generous outlook. I think Sir Frederick did well to remind us, if, indeed, the reminder be needed, of the pledges that have been given to India in the past. There is, indeed, no one in this country who, whether he criticizes or approves of the proposals now before the Select Committee, would deny that, at the right time and under the right conditions, those pledges should be honoured. I would go even further. I would say that if we had given no pledges, the very essence of our own Government and of its traditions would have compelled us to face this problem of Indian self-government.

After all, the thing that gives life to the British Empire, and will, I believe, continue to give it life for long ages, is a great tradition of ordered freedom which we have built up through the centuries at home and spread abroad; and the ultimate test of our success in India must be that that tradition of ordered freedom and responsible self-government should live, as an Indian tradition, in a self-governing India.

Of that tradition two essential elements, the establishment of law and order, the establishment of the reign of law above the arbitrary rule of government, have been enforced in India for many long years.

The next great step, the establishment of responsible government, now faces us. Sir Frederick drew attention to the key-point that we have to keep in view in whatever we do, and that is whether our measures tend to the creation of a true sense of responsibility. By responsibility we must not understand that sham responsibility which is identified with the subjection of a Government to a party majority. That system has destroyed parliamentary government in a great part of the Continent of Europe. We mean a system where the Government of the day believes it to be its duty to govern in the national interest and to lead a party majority in that direction. It is upon leadership and responsibility to the public interest, and not upon mere subjection to a majority, that responsible government must be founded. It is by that test that we have to consider

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both what has been done and what is contemplated. I should say that by that test—though I cannot speak with the knowledge and authority of Sir Frederick—responsible government has, in the main, proved successful in the Provinces.

When I come to the Centre, what has been established there has not been responsible government but representative government, a representative majority without responsibility for any part of the administration. I doubt whether that has been as successful as true responsibility in the Provinces. My own view is that such a system would be even less successful if it were confronted with fully autonomous, self-governing, responsible Provinces and there were no responsible parliamentary body to maintain the vital interests of the Centre, upon which Sir Frederick laid such stress, against the demands of the Provinces in what will always be to some extent a tug-of-war between the two.

From that point of view my own personal conclusion, for what it is worth, is that the system proposed in the White Paper, giving responsibility to Indian legislators, or to ministers chosen from their body, for the maintenance of the rights of the Centre as against the Provinces, and also bringing in the responsible and experienced element found in the Indian States, would be much more likely to succed than any system which set up an irresponsible majority at the Centre side by side with a responsible Parliamentary Government in the Provinces.

On the other hand, it seems to me that criticism, which has fastened so much on that point, might have been wiser if it had asked the question whether we were providing sufficiently for responsibility at the foundation, whether the kind of electorate that is suggested is likely to give a sufficient sense of responsibility both to the voters and to the candidates who ask for their votes.

From that point of view, it seems to me that there is much to be said for the suggestion of indirect government, in the villages at least, based upon a strong and healthy village life; and if that exists insufficiently today, then all the more is it our duty to hasten to carry out that work so successfully inaugurated by Sir Frederick in Bombay of village improvement, and make the improvement of the foundation of India's economic life also subserve the need for a sane and responsible foundation for her political life.

Sir Frederick in that connection also stressed his own strong preference for Second Chambers. Well, there again it is well worth thinking how those could be used to strengthen the sense of responsibility by a fuller and more effective representation of all the different interests that are combined in the life of an Indian Province. It may be that something in the nature of that corporative organization, of which there is so much talk on the Continent today, might serve as a possible basis for a Second Chamber in India. However, I need not enlarge on that.

What I am no less sure of is that Sir Frederick is right in stressing the importance of the economic foundation of any political changes and of their due adjustment, not only in time, but in spirit to the new changes. Clearly the future economic relationship of India and this country cannot be based on the subordination of India, either in our interests or in hers,

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to this country. It must be based on free co-operation and on that mutual goodwill and sense of a common interest which will enable that co-operation to develop.

I confess that though I share, as many must, the anxieties of a great step forward, to some extent a step in the dark, I confess to remaining an optimist. I think that the last century in India is one of which we can well afford to be proud here in this country, and with which India can well afford to be content, seeing what it has brought her. I believe that the next century will be one of which this country and India can both be equally proud, and equally content with what they will by then have done together.

Sir Patrick Fagan: The very interesting and suggestive paper to which we have listened makes me all the more regret that it is impossible even in the space of an expanded five minutes to do justice to the many important topics which our distinguished lecturer has laid before us.

The keynote of the paper I take to be summed up in a sentence in the paper itself—that we have been educating India politically on parliamentary lines, and we cannot go back on that. If that were a fact, personally I should be disposed to say that we ought to go a very considerable distance beyond even what the White Paper proposes. But is it a fact? How long has this alleged process of political education been in progress? We know that the principal author of the Morley-Minto Reforms, Lord Morley himself, expressly disclaimed any intention of introducing parliamentary institutions into India. Therefore I presume that we must take it that this education, political education on parliamentary lines, dates from the introduction of the last Constitutional Act of 1919—that is to say, a period of something over twelve years. But I would ask, is it possible, is it conceivable, that in any intelligible sense of the word the population of India, 270 millions, confining oneself to British India, of whom 90 per cent. are illiterate and live in scattered villages—is it conceivable that their political education should have been, I will not say completed, but advanced to any material degree in the short period of twelve years?

Part VII. of the Simon Report, which was published some four years ago, showed conclusively as regards the rural population, the vast mass and majority of the population of India, not only that political education had not been completed, that it had not advanced to any material degree, but that it had barely begun. I would maintain very strongly that in no true sense can it be said that the population of India has been politically educated to that stage at which she can assimilate for her own welfare the scheme of constitutional reform which is now proposed. There have no doubt been changes in what one may call the external mechanism of life in India as elsewhere—the introduction of the aeroplane, the wireless, and that much-vaunted political educator the motor-bus. But in spite of all that I would submit that it is an entire misunderstanding and misapprehension of the position, a misunderstanding and a misapprehension which are very widely prevalent in this country, that India has been

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educated politically, and that her education is so far complete that she is in a position to assimilate the very large advance in constitutional organization which is now contemplated.

Let me say a few words on that important subject the transfer of law and order. It was mentioned somewhat prominently in the paper, and I think it is necessary to refer to it. The Simon Commission set out in impressive—nay, in overwhelming array the arguments against the transfer of police administration to so-called popular ministerial control. But the arguments in that case, as in many others, have had to give way to the force of that slogan which has been so fundamental and at the same time so prominent in the entire treatment of this Indian question in its present stage, the cry, "We must go on, be the cost what it may." What is the real argument in favour of this transfer, stated baldly? It is said that the Indian Legislatures have been in the habit of directing irresponsible criticism at the police administration, and hampering it financially and in other respects. And what is the remedy proposed? Hand the police force over to their critics, and the critics will or should be silenced.

I propose to say nothing whatever about the virility, or perhaps I might even add the morality, of an argument like that, but I just want to look at it from this point of view. Is it probable, is it conceivable, that those who have up to date so lightly regarded the importance of police administration will as a result of this transfer suddenly realize its supreme importance and recognize the necessity for the continued efficiency of the police administration? I venture to say that it is wholly improbable; nay, that it is inevitable that a branch of the Administration which has been the target of hostile, irresponsible, and unjustifiable criticism will be exposed to the full force of pernicious political, communal, and private influences.

The distinguished lecturer himself very rightly has apprehensions as regards this matter. He suggests, I understand, that the internal administration and discipline of the force should remain in the hands of police officers, and that—a very essential point—the sources of police information should be duly protected. To use a very homely simile, that seems to me to be a case of throwing away the baby with the bath water. How is it possible that the conditions which our lecturer postulates can be combined with real ministerial control? I think that the position is impossible.

I am in complete agreement with a remark at the end of the paper, that the vital need of India today is sound constructive activities. That, indeed, is profoundly true. The field is immense, in the sphere of agriculture, of economics, of public health, medical treatment, education, social reform, and innumerable others. It is for that reason that many of us think that it is lamentable and deplorable that energies which might be so fruitfully utilized in those directions are being wasted in the comparatively barren field of constitutional, political, communal contention and strife.

Sir Albion Banerji: May I be permitted to express the opinion that the paper we have heard is a most cogent and convincing presentation of the

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Indian case, so far as the legitimate interests of India at the present moment are concerned. We have had since the lull after the conclusion of the Third Round-Table Conference and the activities of the several Committees many addresses throughout the length and breadth of England on this very complicated problem, but I think I may say without contradiction that there has not been a paper put forward setting forth the positive side of the question, leaving the negative as far as possible in the background, because those are the points which create all the controversy and all the difficulties in the minds of the uneducated and ill-informed.

There are many points of the paper which cause us to think very seriously. I will refer to three very important points, which to my mind are vital to the solution of the Indian problem. The first is the firm conviction of the author of the paper that the parliamentary system is not unsuited to the needs of India, and that our publicly constituted bodies since the days of the earliest reforms have stood the strain in spite of adverse conditions. Sir Frederick has not gone into the details of such adverse conditions. They are known almost to everybody and are exaggerated and magnified by those who are hostile to our legitimate interests. They include the illiteracy of the masses, the difficulty of focussing public opinion for election purposes, and the array of irresponsible criticism when there is no power behind to force the opinion of the critics on the policy of the Government.

May I say something about my experience in Mysore? In Mysore we had the same difficulties, and in a Government constituted by the ruler as the personal authority there were introduced representative and parliamentary institutions on a humble scale from stage to stage. They had those very difficulties to contend with in Mysore, but they tackled the problems from the bottom. They introduced village improvement societies more or less on the same principle that we have heard Sir Frederick so eloquently expound in his paper. These societies educated the villagers in the art of self-government, and the Representative Assembly brought together representatives from all the villages. Many of them did not know how to read or write, but they could represent their views forcibly, and thus influence Government policy.

In addition to this His Highness protected class and sectional interests, and protected them in a constitutional manner—namely, by legislative measures passed on the advice of his ministers. Therefore, if such examples can be put forward from Indian India, there can be no doubt that if responsibility is given to British India, both Indian India and British India should be able to combine in a Federal institution, an administrative organ which, with the necessary safeguards for the protection of class and sectional interests, would enable Indian ministers to run the show as efficiently as you can expect them to do under existing conditions.

The second most important point that I find worthy of attention is that in the opinion of our lecturer the White Paper scheme provides a reasonable basis on which to build. An opinion coming from so great an authority deserves serious thought. We may have differences of opinion as regards details, but if the fundamental factor remains, all we have to

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consider is how the details can be adjusted to put forward an edifice that will be successful and that will last for a reasonable time. I expressed the same opinion in my book, published last October, called *The Indian Tangle*. I said, "Whatever may be the defects of the White Paper, every friend of India as well as of the Empire should welcome and support it as a *bona fide* and honest attempt to solve the Indian tangle."

I also hold the general view that a Federal Government in some form or other, as our lecturer points out, is the only solution. But we should also take to heart the serious criticism of the author of this paper that a Constitution consisting of autonomous provinces and a Central Government responsible to the Secretary of State would be a source of continuous friction. In my humble opinion, if India is to be kept under the British Crown, she should be given representation in an Imperial Parliament, to which only and not to the Secretary of State in the present Parliament the Governor-General and the Governors should be responsible. I have elaborated this idea in one portion of my book.

In conclusion I would say one word. It is most gratifying to me to find that Sir Frederick has drawn a few historical parallels. Four years ago I drew the parallel of the American colonies in an article on the present outlook in my journal *Indian Affairs* in almost the same manner. I was very much criticized in certain quarters at the time for doing so. With your permission I will read an extract from that article with a view to showing, as Sir Frederick has done, how very important it is to remember that to keep India within the Empire we shall have to keep in mind the warning of the past:

"Studying the history of the British Empire during the last hundred and fifty years, one may find a certain resemblance between the situation in India today and that in America previous to the outbreak of hostilities in 1775. Then, as now, the failure of the British Government to prove their genuine desire to conciliate had led to semi-political, semi-economic opposition on the part of the colonists, and probably Gandhi and his followers, in their dreary march to make salt on the shores of Dandi, were animated by the same spirit as those citizens of Boston who, over a century and a half ago, boarded the tea ships in Boston Harbour and flung overboard the tea which was to them the symbol of a hated tyranny. At this time Edmund Burke made his fervent appeal for conciliation in words that are worthy of recall: 'Power and authority are sometimes bought by kindness; but they can never be begged as alms by an impoverished and defeated violence. . . . My idea there is to admit the people of our colonies into an interest in the Constitution; and by recording that admission in the journals of Parliament, to give them as strong an assurance as the nature of the thing will admit, that we mean forever to adhere to that solemn declaration of systematic indulgence.'"

Sir Stanley Reed: I accept the invitation to take part in the discussion for a special reason. Some six years ago Sir Frederick Sykes listened to a description of Bombay,* in this hall, which some people thought was in the nature of a panegyric. I sometimes wonder if, when he went to Bombay himself, Sir Frederick thought he had been seriously misled. But

* See *Asiatic Review*, July, 1928.

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I am able now, from personal experience, to bear testimony to the courage, resolution, and unfailing devotion to duty with which Sir Frederick faced the most difficult task which has confronted any Governor of Bombay in recent years. I use the term "most difficult" advisedly; I do not exclude the period of famine and plague in my working years in the Presidency. The special problems which the civil disobedience movement created arose from its amorphous character, its intangibility, where there was no precedent to lend guidance; in dealing with it Sir Frederick never weakened in his confidence, never narrowed in his sympathies. But this situation necessarily diverted his attentions from the constructive work on which he was bent, and it was only towards the close of his government that he was able to concentrate on the task nearest his heart—the revival of the rural economy of the Presidency. Such an experience might have not unreasonably cramped the constitutional outlook of the Governor who experienced its bitter fruits; on the contrary they had listened to an exposition of the Indian situation instinct with liberalism and insight.

There was one matter rarely mentioned in the discussion of Indian polity. When the Round-Table Conference first assembled at St. James' Palace—a Conference from which the extreme elements were excluded—not one voice was raised in defence of the existing form of government. That was rather a shock to our national complacency, but it gave us to think. The reason for that consensus of opinion is, I think, clear; the present form of government, avowedly transitory, has outlived its usefulness. Something must take its place. I have never wavered in my conviction that the triune policy accepted by the Conference, and outlined in the White Paper, is the only form of government which is likely to work—unity through federation; responsibility with safeguards in the Federal Government; and the autonomy within the Federation of the British-Indian Provinces and the Indian States. Within that structure there is legitimate room for wide difference of opinion; outside it they would break from tradition and embark on an uncharted sea. As for the principles which should govern the application of that policy, I can only express my complete agreement with the wise words which have fallen from you, Mr. Chairman, which seem to me to go to the very heart of the Indian problem.

Sir Hugh Cocke: I suppose I am one of the few here who were in Bombay during the whole time of Sir Frederick Sykes' Governorship, and I should like to endorse in that connection the remarks of Sir Stanley Reed as to the very great work he has done there during the last five years. He has burnt much midnight oil and has worked very hard in the interests of the Province.

Coming to his paper today, I think I may say that it represents a very sober and clear view of the best opinion in India today. I have only been home a month, and, reading the views of those who have left India for some years, as one does, one occasionally becomes rather alarmed at the amount of opposition that has been worked up to the scheme of government laid down, or rather outlined, in the White Paper. I happen to have joined the Assembly three years after the Montagu-Chelmsford

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Reforms started—namely, in 1924. I sat in the Assembly from 1924 to 1932 with practically no break, and had some education in the political views of Indians and of Europeans also, who took an interest in the constitutional question. I believe I am correct in saying that by far the greatest opinion in India today, both Indian and European, the average opinion of the sane, common-sense man, is in favour of the White Paper scheme, and, to a very large extent, of the mild criticisms which Sir Frederick Sykes has mentioned in his paper. I, coming from India, am a child in these matters from the point of view of home politics. I have merely studied the question on the spot and discussed it with those who are in the country. I do not profess to be in touch very closely with all the discussions which have gone on in this country at the Round-Table Conferences, but I do think that the views that have been expressed in this paper coincide very nearly with the best Indian opinion.

On individual points it is almost impossible to say much owing to the very severe time limit which has been imposed—quite rightly imposed. On two points I should like to say a word. The question of Second Chambers has been left somewhat in doubt in the White Paper. I do hope that Second Chambers will be instituted in practically every Province. I am sure so far as Bombay is concerned there is a very strong opinion there that a Second Chamber is necessary. Then there is the economic and financial question—a huge one in itself, bringing in the question of village uplift and improvement, on which Sir Frederick has spent so much time and energy. That is a subject which is so complicated that it is almost impossible to make concise remarks upon it, but I think everybody is agreed that it is most essential that some clear path in the financial direction should be available before the reforms can start. I am a strong believer in "Where there's a will there's a way." I believe a way can be found to get over the financial difficulties at no very distant date.

Mr. J. C. French: It is a very great pleasure for me to add my humble tribute of support to Sir Frederick Sykes' statement that a strong central government is essential in India. China today, India in the past before we came to the country, are sufficient proof of the necessity of this.

Sir Frederick Sykes stated that parliamentary government is the only government for the nations which compose the British Commonwealth. Is India a nation? When we consider the differences of race, language, and caste, also the tremendous Hindu-Muhammadan division, how are we to answer that question? Sir Frederick Sykes says the introduction of parliamentary government into India has been not unsuccessful. It is a very great pleasure for me not to have to indulge in controversy with such a distinguished exponent, for after all the decision as to whether any enterprise has been successful or not depends on the standard one employs in judging it.

In this connection an Indian simile comes to my mind—the Calcutta paperchases. Any lady or gentleman who has been in Calcutta will remember the paperchases, but I may mention that a paperchase is a sort of point-to-point race, where the course for the riders is indicated by a

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trail of paper, as the name implies. Many of the people who go in for these races are expert riders, but some are not such good horsemen. I had a friend in Calcutta who belonged to the latter class. When he went in for a paperchase he regarded it as a success if he only fell off at the third fence, if for two fences he had been able to adhere to his steed. So success is a comparative matter.

How have the Indian Legislative Assembly and Councils taken their fences? As regards the Councils, I can only depend on hearsay. As regards the Legislative Assembly, I was a member for four years, half Sir Hugh Cocke's time, and in Sir Hugh Cocke's speech I did not hear one word as to its success. In the Legislative Assembly there have been ominous signs. First the communal spirit has appeared, the Hindu-Muslim dissension, that canker that eats into the heart of India. In 1931 the Assembly refused supplies to the Government to the tune of six and a half crores. And let me remind you that at this time the Congress Party was not officially represented in the Assembly, for at the beginning of 1930 it had severed its connection with it and declared for complete independence. Now the Congress Party is coming back with this same programme of complete independence.

In all discussions about law and order, people concentrate on terrorism, the most sensational aspect. But there is another equally important subject, that is the communal question, Hindu-Muslim antagonism. I will read two lines from the speech of the Commander-in-Chief in the Council of State on March 19 last. What His Excellency said was: "How then could he reduce the cost of defence, when a large proportion was to keep Indians from getting at each other's throats?" That is a proper situation in which to hand over law and order! Twenty miles north of Calcutta there has been a Hindu-Muslim riot—three killed, twenty injured. Those figures are so petty in the history of Hindu-Muslim strife that I should not trouble you with them except for the mere fact that they are absolutely fresh; they are up to the minute.

In conclusion I will draw attention to the two requirements that Sir Frederick Sykes makes in regard to law and order, those two most necessary, and indeed essential, requirements. First, in Bengal the power of the Government to deal with terrorism must be maintained; secondly, the police and the army must work hand in hand. But if you hand over law and order, how are these requirements to be met?

A Member asked if Sir Frederick Sykes would tell them, with regard to the economic development of the villages, what was the result of the tens of thousands of co-operative societies that had come into being under Government encouragement in the past ten or fifteen years.

Sir Frederick Sykes: There is not a great deal that I can say in the limited time at my disposal, but I should like to touch upon one or two points.

Sir Patrick Fagan says that the desire for parliamentary institutions in India is only twelve years old. I do not think that this is quite a fair

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way of putting it. The idea of educating India to be able to govern herself goes back to the very beginning of British rule. You will find this clearly expressed in the writings of Malcolm, Munro, Bentinck, and Macaulay at the beginning of the nineteenth century. We have consistently held up British parliamentary institutions as the model in our schools and colleges for a very long period, though of course they may have to be modified to meet local needs. The only question is whether India is ripe for another step forward. Of this Parliament is the judge.

One or two speakers have laid stress on the difference between India today and the time before the era of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. I do not think that people who have been out of touch with India since that period can envisage the magnitude of the change which has taken place. The developments outlined in the White Paper do not appear nearly so abrupt to one who has been in constant touch with administration during the last twelve years. There has been a steady infiltration of Indian *personnel* into the Government and the Services. In the Bombay Cabinet there are today three Indians and one European. People who base their experience on pre-Montagu-Chelmsford days fail also to visualize the changes brought about by the war and other causes. I am most respectful of views based on long experience in India, but I ask you at the same time to realize how greatly conditions have altered since then.

Someone brought up the question of the illiteracy of the villagers as the reason for not giving them the vote. Even in England, which has had the vote for a very long time, I don't think you would find that a large percentage of the voters understood very clearly the economic and political issues. In India, the peasant, even if illiterate, is shrewd and hard-headed. He has a good eye for the man who will represent his interests and will not let him down. So I do not think illiteracy is an obstacle to an intelligent use of the vote. Of course, rural education is one of the chief planks in the village improvement campaign, which I have mentioned that we started before I left India; but we must be sure that it is on right lines.

One gentleman in the audience asks what has happened to the co-operative movement. I gather that he feels that the village improvement movement is in supersession of the co-operative one. As far as the co-operative movement itself is concerned, I think perhaps it was started on rather too optimistic lines. But it is doing good work and will continue to do so, although it commenced under the disadvantage in some cases of financing bodies which were not capable of holding up the burden. We have been trying to cut away the dead wood and get the co-operative movement on to really sound lines before we expand further. The village improvement movement includes the co-operative movement and depends upon it.

Let me conclude by thanking you for giving me a patient hearing. I have touched on only a few points in a very complex and great problem.

Lord LAMINGTON: Before we separate I am sure you will agree with me we owe our thanks to these two gentlemen who have taken the leading parts in our meeting together this afternoon. It has been a special pleasure to me, because it is always a pleasure for me to meet anyone who comes

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from Bombay and recapture some of the golden haze of that country. We are very grateful to Sir Frederick Sykes for giving us such an optimistic outlook as to the future government of India. Distinctly his paper showed that he believed in the success of responsible government in India.

I want to add a word of thanks to Mr. Amery for his goodness. His speeches are always worth listening to as coming from one of profound political experience and who has filled so great a place in public life.

The CHAIRMAN: On behalf of both of us, I would say—Thank you.

Sir PATRICK FAGAN writes, in supplement of his speech in the discussion, as follows:

In the course of his interesting paper the lecturer appealed, as is not unusual in dealing with the subject of Indian constitutional reform, to colonial history, especially to that of Canada and the Durham Report. I would observe that the Act of 1791, which established representative though not responsible government in Upper and Lower Canada, did, in fact, function successfully and without any great friction for a period of twenty-five years, and that twenty years more elapsed before responsible government was actively introduced.

In the case of India, however, the argument is that representative apart from responsible government is *ab initio* impossible. I submit that it is an argument which Canadian history does not bear out. Moreover, in 1791, in Upper Canada at least, there was in the population a large and influential element of refugees from the United States, the Empire Loyalists, well versed in the ideas and practice of self-government, and far better equipped politically for responsible government than are the vast illiterate masses of India today. If in spite of the presence of that element non-responsible representative government was possible in Canada, how can it be argued that it is *ab initio* impossible in India?

The lecturer naturally touched on the subject of pledges. I will not go into the vexed questions of the precise nature of these pledges—how far they are real pledges and as such binding on Britain, or how far they are the more or less vague and more or less indiscreet utterances of persons of varying degrees of authority which have served to arouse exaggerated expectations among the strictly limited political masses of India. Whatever these pledges may be, no one, I suppose, will contend that they embodied a promise of responsible government within any defined period. Their subject is, or was, self-government on democratic lines within the Empire as a goal to be attained if possible. Whether that goal can be attained, and when, depends on the political capacity and the political co-operation displayed by the Indian population as a whole. Such was the experimental and politically educative intention and purport of the Act of 1919.

I venture to assert that no such capacity or co-operation has been displayed as to necessitate or justify the large and momentous advance which is now proposed. From much of the vague talk about pledges which is heard, one would be led to think that the Act of 1919 was a very small

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stage towards self-government. In actual fact it handed over a large area of administration to so-called popular control; a field ample for the experimental and educative purposes for which it was intended, if only Indian politicians had been wise enough so to treat it. That they have not generally done so is one of the clearest indications of their present political incapacity for assimilating the far larger one of constitutional reform which it is now proposed to administer to India.

The lecturer was very rightly apprehensive about the financial aspects of the proposals of the White Paper. He holds "that a definite policy of economic reconstruction must be undertaken, hand-in-hand with a thorough overhaul of administrative machinery before the advent of the Reform." But that surely is a Herculean task which seems to defer that advent to the far distant future; and, moreover, it places in the clearest light the total unpreparedness of India today for the far-reaching proposals now under discussion.

Everyone will sympathize to the full with the lecturer's very apt remarks on the necessity for agricultural development and for the uplift of the rural masses; but many of us question most seriously and most anxiously whether these fundamentally essential objects can be secured under a pseudo-democratic constitutional scheme such as that proposed. With all the conditions of real democracy about, the rural masses can have no really effective voice under such a scheme.

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IMPRESSIONS OF AN INDIAN STATE*

By Stanley Rice
(Author of *The Life of Sayaji Rao III.*)

On Boat Race day I bought an evening paper, and when I had read the chief item of news I found a paragraph which said that the Government of India was about to introduce into Kashmir a certain scheme inclining towards democracy, and that this scheme, if successful, would later be applied to other States. That, I think, is typical of the knowledge in this country of Indian States. I need hardly remind my hearers that the Government of India can do no such thing without the full consent and co-operation of the Ruling Prince concerned, that they can only recommend and that he is free to accept or reject the recommendation or to introduce such modifications of it as he may think fit. People here seem to forget that the Government of India are bound by specific treaties and also by the limitations of paramountcy, which the Butler Committee found so hard to define and which apply to both parties. The Government of a Ruling Prince is a Swaraj Government; the principal Minister or the Diwan is almost always an Indian, and the Council, or if there is no council the executive Government, is composed in most cases of Indians. Both the Ruler and his Government are proud of the fact.

A great change has come over the Indian States in recent years. It may best be described in the words of Sir T. Madhava Rao in the seventies of last century, that the ruler exists for the people instead of the people for the ruler. We may read that there are several hundred States in India, just as there are about 150 languages, but when you come to examine the details you will find that there are only about a dozen that are of great importance, as in the case of the languages. And out of these dozen, Baroda,

* Based on an Address at a Discussion Meeting of Members of the East India Association on May 30, 1934.

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Mysore, and Travancore have long been noted for good administration. Hyderabad has made enormous strides under the wise financial guidance first of our Chairman (Sir Reginald Glancy) and next of Sir Akbar Hydari. Read the life of the late Maharaja of Gwalior and you will see to what an extent he devoted himself to the government of his State. Bikanir, Indore, and Kashmir are rapidly taking their places, if they have not already taken them, in the first rank, and this is not the less true because recently there was unrest in Kashmir over certain grievances, real or fancied, spontaneous or artificial.

Nor are the Governments of any of these States the less Swaraj because there happen to be European members. Which leads me to another not uncommon error. A correspondent who knows India and has worked there argued that the Indian States managed to get along fairly well as long as there was a European to keep them straight. That is frankly absurd. The European member is a comparatively rare bird; even Baroda has only had two such members with a long interval between them, and if there were any force in the hypothesis there should have been Augean stables to clear. Of course, there were not. Everything ran smoothly. Naturally the European, if he is worth his salt, will have had his own experience and will have his own influence, but it by no means follows that he is the Atlas who carries the State on his shoulders.

Baroda is geographically a difficult State to administer. For various historical reasons it consists of three main blocks in Gujarat—islands surrounded by British India—and of another main block in Kathiawar, besides a small scrap—Okhamandal—in the extreme north-west of that peninsula, which was given to His Highness because it cost more than it was worth to the British Government and because it contains Dwarka, sacred to Sri Krishna. Now, however, there is a valuable port for ocean steamers, which would be an important asset to the State, if only the vexed question of the Customs could be settled. That is a delicate matter into which I cannot enter here, but as things stand at present the port only about pays its way, and I think it has been admitted in principle that Baroda State is not receiving all

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that it has a right to expect from its outlay. This is largely due to geography. Now, the geographical conditions not only make administration expensive in that you have to arrange divisions within these island blocks, but they also raise complications. For one thing, they enormously increase boundaries, and boundaries, like international frontiers, are apt to give trouble; and for another, they prevent the extension of State railways from one block to another—at any rate, without difficult questions arising either with another State or with the Paramount Power. The Maharaja, who has developed the railway system enormously, is, nevertheless, hampered by these conditions. For the rest the State is mainly agricultural. Baroda City is the only large town, and partly owing to tradition, partly to the want of good roads, which are difficult to make and maintain for want of material, it cannot be said that commerce has made any great strides in spite of continuous efforts to improve it.

When I arrived in Baroda His Highness naturally wanted me to learn a little about the State and its system of government, but I soon found that everything was organized on familiar lines; the land tenure (following Bombay) was ryotwari. Justice and education followed the usual lines; police, survey, settlement, agriculture, co-operation, and sanitation were modelled on British India; the only departments which were new to me were the Army and the *khangi*, that is to say, the Privy Purse, which was administered by the Government. So that in a short time I became a full-fledged member of the Government, with about nine departments, of which the most important was land revenue. Later on His Highness changed the system. He threw the entire executive burden (except political, which was always with the Diwan) upon one Minister, who was also a member of the Council and shared in the discussions on subjects reserved for what I may call Cabinet action. Executive orders were under the control of the Diwan, and of course of the Maharaja, who, however, rarely interfered. That was a post which changed hands from time to time, but I had my share of it.

We held Council meetings about once a fortnight, and there was usually complete harmony. Sometimes I found the Indian

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mind so nimble that though I felt that the argument was proceeding on wrong lines, my own mind would not work fast enough to cope with the very plausible grounds which A or B would advance. Fortunately, however, there was a remedy in the patience of the Diwan and in the practice of writing minutes of dissent. That is a practice which can be overdone. In cabinet government you cannot expect to agree always with everyone, and in nine cases out of ten you could accept the majority decision without a qualm. I think I only wrote five or six such minutes, and it says much for the reasonableness of my colleagues, though perhaps less for their good sense, that in nearly every case they reconsidered the subject and adopted my point of view. They made mistakes, of course, as we all do, and sometimes I was able to help to correct them; sometimes I made mistakes and was saved by somebody else. That is one of the functions of consultative government.

It is one of the contentions of those who oppose the White Paper that the masses of India will be neglected, if not actively oppressed, by their natural enemies—their own countrymen, especially the Brahmans. Let me tell you quite shortly what is being and has been done for the masses in this State which is under a purely Swaraj Government. First compulsory education: this has not been quite so successful as was hoped, partly because of the lapse into illiteracy, partly because of the comparative ease with which exemptions can be obtained, but there are, nevertheless, 240,000 pupils. Next the village and travelling libraries. I think (I am not quite sure) that this is peculiar to Baroda; at any rate, Baroda was the pioneer. It has been found very useful in checking the lapse into illiteracy which undoes so much of the work of the primary schools. Then there is an institution for the aborigines, institutions and schools for the depressed classes and for the blind and dumb. There are dispensaries everywhere, and a veterinary department; there are agricultural inspectors and co-operative societies and model farms. Recently the Government have been surveying malarial areas, and have been carrying out a scheme to provide pure water in villages which are without it; they have also turned their attention to field drainages—and that

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was an improvement overdue. For the settlement of the Kathiawar dominions, an increase of four annas was recommended; the Government reduced it to two, and the Maharaja postponed even that in consideration of bad seasons in the peninsula. In many towns you will find a good water supply; in some electric light, and, again, recently, the Government have been considering a scheme for the improvement of Baroda City water supply, which is periodically analysed and has been yielding rather unsatisfactory results.

Perhaps some may think, "That is all very well; you have reeled off a number of facts, but you have said nothing about the quality." Well, I am ready to admit that there is room for improvement; but that is not at present the point I am trying to make. I submit that a Swaraj Government which is doing these things to the best of its ability and within the limits of its resources is not neglecting the ryots and is certainly not tyrannizing over them. The Maharaja has devoted his whole life to the welfare of his people, his example has been followed by many others, and we have to reckon with this new spirit which is in India.

I cannot see why, if these things can be and are being done in an Indian State under a Swaraj Government, there should be this desperate fear that in British India there is going to be a relapse into barbarism, anarchy, and bloody chaos, and that the order of the day will be battle, murder, and sudden death. I was warned by British Indian friends that I should find in an Indian State a hotbed of intrigue and a mass of corruption. I found nothing of the kind. I put this down once again to mere prejudice which has arisen from tradition and ignorance of the true state of things. There may have been intrigue of some kind, but I did not see it; there were venal officers in the subordinate services as there are elsewhere, but the important thing was that such cases were treated as severely as they are in British India. No Government can do more than put down abuses when and where they exist.

I am speaking of a State which I know and know from the inside. They tell me that there are others where the government

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is to our ideas quaint, but, as I said before, most of the major States have advanced on much the same lines. The Chairman can speak for Hyderabad, and I can hardly venture remarks on that State in his presence. Let me mention only two things: the Osmania University and the general educational effort, and again the village broadcasting campaign which Sir Akbar Hydari is evolving. Kashmir is proud of its co-operative effort; Nawanagar of its port and its general layout with broad, well-paved streets. Cambay has its hospital, its schools, its law courts; in Rutlam the Diwan explained to me with obvious pride what is being done for the development of the State. I speak only of such States as I have seen even for short periods; of others I can only speak from hearsay.

And what of the future? I for one cannot see why an autocracy cannot be joined with a democracy for the purposes of Federation—at any rate, in the circumstances of India. It would, I agree, be difficult to run the United States on those lines; it would be difficult if California were oligarchic and Maryland autocratic and Ohio democratic. But the Federation contemplated in India does not really touch internal administration. The Princes may have to assimilate their laws to those of the Federal Government, and may even have to repeal some in favour of the latter, but in the more advanced States, of which Baroda is one, that will not matter much. What the Princes stand to gain by Federation is, first, a voice of some weight in the framing of policies and the making of laws which affect them as well as British India; and secondly, the sentiment, if you like to call it so, of having contributed to the general unification of the country and so to the achievement of nationality.

I hold that the government of the advanced States is an earnest of what we may expect from a Swaraj Government, a Government no better than the existing one, perhaps, in some respects, not so efficient, yet not such as to sink into barbarism and chaos—provided always that there is reasonable harmony and goodwill, a boldness of design and no lack of initiative. There may be some falling off in the latter, at any rate at first, since the States have always looked to British India for guidance, but in the last

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forty years there has been astonishing progress. Indians have studied closely the world's affairs, systems of government and administration in foreign countries, and the scientific developments everywhere. There is no question of democracy and autocracy being uneasy yokefellows, but what the Princes have to fear is a more rapid encroachment upon their traditional systems by the infiltration of democratic ideas. Whether that will be a good thing or a bad will have to be judged by the results of the new Constitution.

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THE PROPOSED INDIAN REFORMS: A CRITICAL EXAMINATION

By B. C. Allen, c.s.i., i.c.s. (retd.)

I greatly appreciate this opportunity given me by the Council of addressing so informed an audience; so greatly, indeed, that I deferred my departure to a better land to enable me to accept your invitation.

I have always deprecated the attempt to divide the world into those who support and those who oppose the White Paper. There are many points in it which its keenest critics must approve and other proposals with regard to which even its staunchest supporters must feel doubt. The Secretary of State has never claimed for it the quality of verbal inspiration. On the occasion of the great debate he did not enter the House with shining face like a second Moses bearing the two tablets of law in his hand. On the contrary, he admitted that the problem, at times, had seemed to him insoluble, and he expressed a desire for criticism and help. I have on more than one occasion met in debate representatives of the society which specially charges itself with the defence of the White Paper, but some of their arguments did not seem to me to be what the lawyers call *ad rem*. I do not agree that the White Paper is the logical consequence of all that we have done in India during the last 150 years, but whether it is or not does not seem to me material. I do not care in the least whether it is a Socialist or Conservative measure. I listen unmoved to warnings that to amend it would be to follow the policy that lost us America, for the simple reason that modern American historians tell us that what lost us that country was not the justice of its cause, about which they seem to have the very gravest doubt, but the jealousy and incompetence of the British Generals on the spot. There was nothing very much the matter with our policy; it was the executants who were wrong. The one warning which

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we should draw from the incidents in America is the cruelty of abandoning our friends.

Supporters of the White Paper

The one argument which calls for closer examination is the claim—I believe the absolutely correct claim—that the organization supporting the White Paper (the Union of Britain and India) has amongst its supporters a number of officers who have recently held high positions in India. But the mere joining of a society is not enough for me or, I believe, for you. I want to know the reasons for the faith that is in these gentlemen and whether they really regard the White Paper as a masterpiece which it would be blasphemy to criticize or to attempt to alter. Some ex-Governors with whom I have talked have left on me an impression of defeatism. They did not seem to think the new Constitution good so much as unavoidable. It would not be proper to repeat words used in private conversation, but there have been two public pronouncements to which reference is permissible. One ex-official, in his evidence before the Select Committee, stated that during the troubles in Ireland he felt that the only chance of stopping them was for the Government to announce that the next time an assassination occurred they would take out of prison one or two Sinn Feiners and put them up against a wall and shoot them. Now the British Government could not do that, but Mr. Cosgrave could and did. (Ans. 4542.)

I do not personally like the idea of shooting persons as reprisals for a crime in which they cannot have had a direct and active share, but I do not want to be dogmatic in the matter. Possibly matters have reached or may reach such a pass in India that this has become or may become an absolute necessity. But what would people of the *Manchester Guardian* school of thought say if they were told that one of the reasons for supporting the White Paper was that it would facilitate the shooting of hostages! Again, Sir Malcolm Hailey made the following pronouncement at Oxford; I read from the press report of his speech:

"One could hardly justify the introduction in India of a responsible Government of our own type save in the faith that India must pass through

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the educative and formative influence of representative institutions before she can evolve the form of Government best suited to her genius. In the end it may very well be that India may find herself best suited with something quite different from Parliamentary Government in our form, something in the nature of a directorate, sufficiently responsible to popular needs and ideas to gain general acquiescence but not dependent in the constitutional sense on a majority vote."

This sounds to me the policy of riding for a fall. It is not a policy which I should have proposed myself. I have, however, the greatest respect for Sir Malcolm Hailey's judgment, and if I was satisfied that this was his deliberate opinion formed *in vacuo* and uninfluenced by the arguments of English politicians, I should be loath to differ from him. But what would the *Manchester Guardian* or even *The Times* say to a proposal to set up an elaborate Constitution simply to show the inhabitants of India that it would not suit them? And is not the breakdown of the White Paper Government and the establishment of a directorate likely to be attended with appreciable loss of life and money?

Rank and File Opinion

There is another factor which should not be ignored when estimating the value of a list of names. The prestige of a Viceroy *qua* Viceroy is enormous. Lord Reading is a man of outstanding reputation; Lord Irwin one who, I am told, combines almost pristine virtue with quite exceptional charm of manner. It would be strange indeed if men brought into close contact with two such Viceroys did not, to some extent, take on the colour of their surroundings. But if we turn to the rank and file we have a different story. The Indian Civil Service Association say "it is impossible to exaggerate the feelings of apprehension and anxiety with which this momentous change is regarded by many members of the service," while the Indian Police Association assert that the policy of transferring law and order, even under safeguards, "involves the gravest risk to ourselves, to our men, and to all that we and they stand for." You may tell me that this is mere croaking, but, after all, proverbial philosophy assures us that the toad beneath the harrow forms sounder judgments of a harrow's working than does the butterfly upon the road.

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Defence Problems

Leaving aside these rather speculative enquiries into what the opinions of high officials are and the value which should be attached to them, let us turn to the facts of the case. There are political parties in the East which demand independence, there are others which lay stress on the right of a Dominion to leave the Empire. But would it be possible for us to withdraw the eagles and evacuate the country without cynical disregard of its most vital interests? I have never been nearer than Simla to the North-West Frontier, and I have no special claim to speak upon its problems. But history seems to show that any weakening of the defence is followed by an eruption of the tribes. Remove the British Army and will not they descend upon the plains? And is it not extremely likely that they will be followed by Afghanistan, who, after all, invaded India only fifteen years ago? And if they do, is there not great risk that they will be joined by the Muhammadans of the Punjab and that a Muhammadan empire will be set up once more in upper India?

It is difficult to believe that a democratic Government largely composed of Hindu politicians would be able to withstand such a disaster, and it seems likely that India would revert to its normal condition of a number of separate and warring States. Mr. Gandhi, I believe, has said that he does not mind how many millions perish so long as the survivors are free—as though anyone in this world was free!—but Mr. Gandhi has said many singular and sometimes contradictory things. A less exalted person once told me that he realized that after our departure there would be a good deal of fighting, but he thought that ultimately the Central Government would win through. He may be right, but, yet again, he may be wrong.

Well, if it is admitted that the British Army must remain—and even Mr. Sastri has said in a letter to the *Spectator* that it would be a gross betrayal, nothing short of infamy, if Britain were to retire from India without leaving behind her a satisfactory system of defence—then the Government must be one to which British troops can reasonably be entrusted. This rules out at once the

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dominion form, for sixty years ago after the Maori war Parliament decided that it was not desirable to place imperial troops at the disposal of a colonial Government, and there will not be many people prepared to dissent from this decision.

The Assumption of Co-operation

There are one or two small points to which I will refer before submitting my specific proposals for reform to your consideration. In paragraph 26 of the Introduction to the White Paper it is stated, "The present proposals in general necessarily proceed on the basic assumption that every endeavour will be made by those responsible for working the Constitution to approach the administrative problems which will present themselves in the spirit of partners in a common enterprise." Were this the case, one could make shift with almost any Constitution, but what justification is there for this assumption? Was this the spirit of the British Indian delegation? Was this the spirit of the late Mr. Patel, whose inaugural speech when he was elected President of the Assembly filled me with such hope? Is this the spirit of the Congress members who propose to enter the Assembly? Was this the spirit which animated Pundit Motilal Nehru when, with his party only holding about one-third of the seats, they dominated the lower House? The British Indian delegates have already shown that they have little affection for the system of special responsibilities, and I venture to suggest that the framers of the Constitution should revise their work on the assumption that there may be quite an appreciable amount of friction between a Governor-General and his Ministers.

Representation of States

There is a further point which, in my opinion, calls for consideration. I believe that I am right in saying that it was the announcement of the Princes that they were willing to enter the federation that converted the Simon Report into a back number and started the Round-Table Conferences. It was felt that the Princes would be able to exercise a conservative and steadying influence. But the position of the Princes, and more particularly

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the smaller Princes, is very delicate. They are disliked by the Hindu politicians, as was very clearly brought home to me at the time of the Princes Protection Bill. Sapru already says that one result of the new Constitution will be to facilitate the passage of the Indian States from their present form of autocratic government to a constitutional form. (Record No. 10, p. 80.) This is a change which the Princes may not desire, but it will be very easy for the politicians to stir up unrest in the realms of those who have been too steadying in their influence. Sir Akbar Hydari has declared that the States do not desire to intervene in any matter which affects British India alone, but asks for a "gentleman's agreement" on the subject. This is not good enough for Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who demands a written rule, with the Speaker deciding in any doubtful case whether it should or should not apply. (Record No. 10, p. 81.)

This in-and-out system will work very strangely in the Legislature, but will it be extended to the Cabinet? Will a States representative, when Minister, be debarred from intervening in purely British Indian matters? Even if not formally debarred he will, I fear, be fiercely attacked by Indian politicians if he ventures to differ from British Indian Ministers in a non-State question. The conclusion to which I have been driven is that the States representatives, however excellent their intentions, will be unable to offer very effective opposition to ultra-progressive politicians. And this, I regret to say, seems to be the opinion of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who states that the risks of the States *bloc* "generally acting as an impediment in the way of British India are not by any means great." (Record No. 10, p. 80.)

Finance and Discrimination

I will not trouble you with any detailed discussion of finance. No one denies that the proposals impose a burden which India cannot bear without ruthless curtailment of expenditure on the Army and Civil Administration, curtailment of which no sensible Government could approve. I have no sympathy with the argument that democracy is expensive and that if India wants it it

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must pay for it. For who is demanding democracy? It is the ryot who will pay, and what is democracy to him?

To judge from the attitude of the British Indian delegation, the position of British firms in India will be precarious. They wish to discriminate against the British trader as a non-national, a demand rightly resented by Sir Hubert Carr, who asserted that they stand on exactly the same footing as Indian-born merchants in matters of commercial legislation (Ans. 12251), an assertion endorsed by the Secretary of State. Sir Austen Chamberlain stated that he had been "very much alarmed" about the possible abuse of subsidies (Ans. 15465), and Sir Samuel Hoare said, "Sir Phiroze has made a second reading speech in favour of commercial discrimination. I can only reply that I do not agree with it." It is satisfactory to know that our Government are taking a firm stand in this particular matter, but the discussion shows the feelings even of moderate Indian politicians towards the British.

I have no great love for purely destructive criticism, and I now submit for your consideration, and I hope for your approval, concrete suggestions for the strengthening of the White Paper.

The British Element in the Services

1. Clause 189 provides that at the expiry of five years from the commencement of the Constitution Act an enquiry will be held into the recruitment of the Services. This does not satisfy the Indian delegates to the Conference, who evidently wish to see the discontinuance of European recruitment. (Record No. 10, pp. 53, 55, and 113.)

I submit that the retention of a reasonable British element in the key Services is essential to the maintenance of the connection between Britain and India. There is no analogy between the despatch of a Governor-General to Canada, where he acts as the representative of the Crown amongst people of his own race, speaking the same language, sharing the same religion, the same historical and mental background, and the despatch of a Viceroy to India, to a continent where he is debarred from speech with 98 per cent. of the population, a population whose religion, customs, and mental and moral background are entirely different

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from his own. If there is to be a union between Britain and India, a real partnership between Britain and India, if the British Army is to remain in India and British officers in the Indian Army, Britain, through her representatives, must have a real share in the Government.

I suggest that not only is a certain quota of British officials essential for the maintenance of the partnership which all of us here presumably desire, but that they will be of use to the inhabitants of India themselves. I do not wish to lay stress on this aspect of the case, but there is a considerable volume of evidence which suggests that the decline in the numbers of British officials has been accompanied by a decline in the efficiency of the administration—a decline from which the poor ryot suffers. Again, where communal feeling runs high, an impartial person obviously is of the highest value, not merely to administer equal justice, but to inspire a sense of confidence in the weaker party. Accounts have recently been published in *The Times* of the arrival of a European Chief Justice at Lahore and of the attempt to elect a Mayor at Calcutta, which seem to show that the day has not yet come when the impartial Briton is no longer needed. I suggest, therefore, that far from proposing an enquiry after five years, it should be definitely laid down that the maintenance of a reasonable proportion of British officials in the key Services is a cardinal principle of our policy and is not even open to discussion.

Ministers and the Legislature

2. Under Proposals 13 and 66 Ministers must be or become members of the Legislature. Does everybody realize that this is a more democratic Constitution than our own? In the Indian Legislatures, apart from the representatives of the States, the method of whose appointment is still a little obscure, almost every member is an elected member. In England we can and do strengthen our Ministries by drawing on the great knowledge and experience of the House of Lords. It is hardly necessary for me to enlarge on the enormous difference between the ordinary member of Parliament and the peer. The one has continually to

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be thinking of his constituency. His steady supporters can be relied upon, but the crank may transfer his vote if his particular fad is disregarded, and this under our Constitution gives additional power to fanatics who are little qualified to use it wisely. But the peer is not exposed to pressure of this kind and can devote his mind entirely to the merits of legislation put before him.

The White Paper, it is true, provides for second chambers in three provinces, with a handful of nominated members in each. But the Indian delegates (and it is, I submit, foolish to ignore their proposals) object to second chambers *in toto*, and assert that, even if they are thrust upon them, it must be definitely laid down that a nominated member will not be eligible for a portfolio. (Record No. 10, p. 52.)

The English Constitution is old-fashioned—the gradual growth of centuries—but the more modern democracies in the small well-governed States of Northern Europe allow the Government to go outside the Legislature for Ministers if they think it desirable to do so. This right is still regularly exercised, and I am, I believe, correct in saying that there is no democracy of any standing or stability in which the choice of Ministers is as restricted as it is with us. And yet we are proposing to set up an even more rigid form than our own in a part of the world where democratic institutions will be exposed to anything but favourable conditions. If India is to be supplied with a Constitution, it should be given an up-to-date one, fitted with labour-saving devices, lavatory basins in the bedrooms, and plenty of bathrooms, and we should not be content with early Victorian standards.

I submit that it should be laid down that Government should be allowed to go outside the Legislature for Ministers if it wishes to do so, and that it should be recognized that this is a perfectly normal procedure, to which no one will be entitled to take exception. The adoption of this suggestion would overcome the difficulty of the transfer of law and order and might often help a Governor to keep a Ministry in being. Sir Samuel Hoare has told us that he thinks it very unlikely that a Governor whose Ministry has resigned would be unable to obtain another. I have had some experience of the Indian politician, and I cannot feel

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quite so optimistic. Whatever our opinion of the merits of democracy in the East, we—all of us, I presume—wish to erect a machine which will work, and are therefore anxious to avoid the breakdown which cannot be concealed if the Governor-General has to take over the administration himself. Now the enlargement of the field of ministerial recruitment is likely to reduce the number of occasions on which Government is driven to confession of failure. It should be noted that my proposal is elastic. The Governor will not be compelled to go outside for Ministers, but, as in other well-governed countries, he will have the right to do so.

The Legislatures.

3. There should be a substantial reduction in the size of the Legislatures. At the centre the strength of the two Houses is being raised from 205 to 635. Large legislative bodies put an unduly heavy demand on political talent (which is not unlimited in India or indeed in other countries), are liable to split up into a number of groups (one of the main causes of the failure of democracy in so many parts of the world), and add to the cost of a system which seems likely to impose an intolerable burden on Indian finances.

4. Sir Henry Lawrence, in his speech before the Conservative Parliamentary Committee, made out what seems to me a strong case for indirect election. I can see little, if any, use in multiplying an illiterate electorate. Twenty times 0 is still 0. A letter published in *The Times* a few weeks ago stated that a small test enquiry showed that out of 300 electors to the Bombay Legislative Council only 50 knew what the Council was, and that only 10 could give any account of its functions. In 1906 I was Collector of Dacca, capital of Eastern Bengal, a province whose creation darkened the political firmament of Eastern India. Yet ten miles from Dacca, in a village which had exceptionally good means of communication with the outer world, I found that the inhabitants were entirely ignorant of the fact that Bengal had been partitioned. The interests of the peasants will, I believe, be safer if votes are conferred upon those whom they recognize as leaders than if they

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are scattered wholesale. I therefore commend this suggestion to your sympathetic consideration.

5. The words "Union of Britain and India" and "British and Indian partnership" have a refreshing sound, but it must be a real union and a real partnership. The British connection should therefore be represented more strongly in the Legislature. The nadir is to be found in the Punjab, where one seat out of a membership of 175 is allotted to Europeans, but nowhere outside of Bengal and Assam have they any effective representation. The importance of Britain as a partner in the Federation should be emphasized.

6. Proposal 34 (*a*). I regret the proposal that officials should be classed with persons of unsound mind, and should be debarred from serving their country in the Legislature, a privilege which is not denied to those found guilty even of the most heinous criminal offences. This restriction seems to me particularly undesirable in the case of Indian officials, some of whom are the flower of their respective races. The prejudice against officials as such is carried even further by the British Indian delegation, who declare that an Indian official should be ineligible for the post of Governor even after his retirement from the service. (Record No. 10, p. 55.)

It seems a little discourteous to Mr. Gandhi to create a new class of Untouchables, and I hope this restriction will be withdrawn.

The Centre and the Provinces

7. Under the White Paper the position of the Central Government will be very weak when dealing with the provinces, weaker than under any federal system with which I am acquainted. The Secretary of State told the Select Committee that he did not see how a provincial Government could be compelled to apply legislation that it did not wish to apply (Ans. 13115), and the lack of central control is further emphasized in Answer 13142. There seem to me to be grave dangers surrounding the question of provincial finance. The late Sir John Kerr told the Select Committee that there was risk that towards the end of the year there might not be enough money in the Treasury to cover Budget appropriations,

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and everyone who knew him will, I believe, agree with me that Sir John was a man of sober judgment and not at all likely to be affected by idle fears. Provincial finances are not one of the Governor's special responsibilities, and in financial matters he would be bound to accept the advice of his Ministers. It would be difficult for the Governor-General to intervene under his special responsibility for the safeguarding of the financial stability and credit of the Federation, nor would the Governor's veto on legislation be much use, as it would be possible for the Budget to be wrecked without new legislation.

Moreover, in Answer 12026 the Secretary of State has said that the veto has a long history behind it, and, judged by British experience generally, the veto becomes more and more, in course of time, something in the nature of a constitutional formality. That, no doubt, is the result of British experience, but in many respects the British Constitution is unique, and in the world's greatest Federation, the United States, the veto is habitually used both by the Presidents and the States Governors. Bryce, indeed, quotes a case in which a Governor standing for re-election put forward as a strong plank in his platform the frequency with which he had used this weapon. I must frankly admit that, in this particular case, what is good enough for America is good enough for me, and I view with some alarm the suggestion that any safeguard of the White Paper may become a constitutional formality. This is just the sort of thing which the critics say of the safeguards, and it is disturbing to find their fears receiving official confirmation.

Some arrangement should, I think, be made to strengthen the powers of control and supervision by the Central Government—whether by means of grants or otherwise. The present proposals leave the Government at Delhi, *vis-à-vis* its constituent parts, much weaker than is its opposite number at Washington. Now there is a special danger in this. In the parts of India with which I am acquainted there is a distinct national feeling not for India as a whole but for the Bengali or Assamese nation. It is not impossible that similar national feelings exist in other parts of the sub-continent and that the patriotism of the future will be

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definitely local and centrifugal. Sir Tej Sapru seems to anticipate something of the sort. (*Vide* Record No. 10, p. 79.)

We fashioned British India out of a number of separate and warring units, and if the centre is too weak and the provinces too strong India may revert to type, and with the disappearance of the steel frame may break up once more into the independent Governments from which it was compounded. I can hardly imagine that this will be for the greater happiness of the peoples or that this is the intention of the framers of the White Paper. If, therefore, there is any justification for my fears this point should not be overlooked.

Indian Opinion

My critics will tell me that my proposals will not commend themselves to Indian public opinion. I am very well aware of that, but what proposals do? The White Paper certainly does not. (Read Record No. 10.) If the amendments set out therein were to be adopted, most of the White Paper safeguards would disappear. I have not time to enter into the details, but here is a statement I have prepared giving chapter and verse for what I say.

Well, if the White Paper in its present form is rejected by India, why should we not introduce modifications which would make it possible to set up a stable Government? Why should we not say that we feel it is impossible for us to leave the country and that so long as it is necessary for us to remain we must have a real share in the Government? It must be a real union of Britain and India—a real partnership. I have had some experience of political agitation, and I have always found that public opinion tends to rally to sympathetic but firm Government. This is the case in England (witness the General Strike and the election in 1931), and even more the case in Asia. "He who is Raja his subjects are we," said some villagers to me at the time of the Gandhi agitation, and these words, I believe, represent the real soul of India.

What is the present situation in the great dependency? There is no money to finance the White Paper; practically every

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section of the political world rejects it; there are bitter protests against the communal award; the British trader in India is called an alien, the British Indian Government an alien Government. We have tried concession and it has not succeeded. Two alternatives remain. If you think that we can leave our Eastern Empire without serious prejudice to its fortunes, let us go. But if you feel, as I feel, and Mr. Sastri feels, that the presence of the British Army is still essential, then set up a Constitution under which we can remain in safety and in honour.

It must not be supposed that I do not fully appreciate the excellent work done by many Indian Ministers during the past few years. But conditions under the Constitution envisaged in the White Paper will be much more difficult than conditions in the past, and it is the duty of all lovers of India to do anything which they can to help them in their difficult task. It is not only old Anglo-Indians who are nervous of the future. "You cannot avoid the reforms in the same way that you may try to avoid measles or meningitis," said Sir N. N. Sirkar. "We have asked for the reforms and we are going to have them, but whether we survive them or succumb to them remains to be seen. I may not live to see their burial, but I shall not be surprised if I see that undertakers are given notice to get ready."

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Wednesday, June 13, 1934, when a paper, entitled "The Proposed Indian Reforms: a Critical Examination," was read by Mr. B. C. Allen, C.S.I., I.C.S. (retired). The Right Hon. Viscount FitzAlan, P.C., K.G., G.C.V.O., D.S.O., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., and Lady Lamington, Sir Malcolm Seton, K.C.B., The Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Atul C. Chatterjee, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Harcourt Butler, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Basil Blackett, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., Sir Henry S. Lawrence, K.C.S.I., Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Amberson Marten, Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Ernest Hotson, K.C.S.I., O.B.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Alfred Watson, Sir Leonard C. Adami, The Right Hon. Sir Henry Pollock, K.C., Sir Thomas Smith, Mr. P. R. Cadell, C.S.I., Mr. W. R. Gourlay, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. F. B. Leach, C.I.E., Professor H. G. Rawlinson, C.I.E., Mr. C. M. Baker, C.I.E., Mr. G. P. Dick, C.I.E., Mr. H. N. Hutchinson, O.B.E., Mr. S. Lupton, O.B.E., Mr. C. A. Kincaid, C.V.O., Mr. Stanley Rice, Mr. J. C. French, Mr. A. Sabonadière, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mr. J. B. Hall, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. E. F. Harris, Mrs. Jackson, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. F. A. T. Phillips and Miss Phillips, Mrs. N. B. Dewar, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Lieutenant-Colonel W. G. Hamilton, Mr. and Mrs. J. J. Nolan, Mr. Edwin Haward, Mr. H. M. Willmott, Mr. A. J. David, Rev. R. Burges, Mr. and Mrs. D. Ross-Johnson, Rev. L. Raymond, Mr. J. R. N. Nixon, Mr. S. Ijazah, Mr. S. Faiyaz Ali, Captain H. Orr-Ewing, Mrs. Dreshfield, Mr. H. K. Sadler, Mr. B. N. Gupta, Major and Mrs. Lyle, Mr. L. R. Ward, Mr. W. T. Allen, Mr. R. S. Greenshields, Miss Edmonstone, Mrs. B. D. Bery and Miss Bery, Mr. Harcourt Page, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: I see by your rules that those who take part in the discussion are expected to be short, and five minutes is mentioned. I do not propose to be too rigid as to that; it is an awful bore when a man is making a speech to feel that he has got to stop when the five minutes are up. But I hope that time will not be too much exceeded, and if I find it necessary to hint to gentlemen who speak that it is time to stop, I have no doubt they will not mind my doing so.

(Mr. B. C. ALLEN then read his paper.)

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure we all feel very much indebted to Mr. Allen for his most interesting and instructive address. I know very well that this Association is absolutely non-party, in fact its very strength lies in the fact that it was founded, nearly seventy years ago, with the object of doing

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all that was possible for the welfare of the inhabitants of India. We are now living at a time of some controversy, owing to the White Paper; but, however strong our feelings may be, there is no reason why we should lose our tempers with one another because we do not agree on every point connected with that document. I observe that Mr. Allen, in the beginning of his remarks, said, "I have always deprecated the attempt to divide the world into those who support and those who oppose the White Paper." I think we agree with him in that, but I must be allowed to say that, however impartial Mr. Allen was in the beginning of his remarks, I felt satisfied when he came to the end that I was a strong disciple of his in being a strong critic of the White Paper. But, whatever our feelings may be, we all agree in hoping that the solution of this problem will be to the great advantage and benefit of that enormous Dependency of the Empire. (Hear, hear.)

I am often amused when I come across some of my friends who rank themselves as supporters of the White Paper and who, after a few moments conversation, say, "Of course, we do not agree with that," and "We could not possibly have this," and so on. And I sometimes wonder whether, after all, those who say they oppose the White Paper and those who say they support it are very far apart. Even the strongest critic of the White Paper who knows anything about it will readily admit something has got to be done in the direction of the proposals in the White Paper. The main cleavage between us, in my humble opinion, is that many of us think the proposals go too far and too fast, and that the changes and reforms should be much more gradual than is proposed. Before long we shall probably see whether the proposals in the White Paper are going to receive some modifications or not. It looks as if the Report will not be issued as soon as many of us expected, but when it is issued I shall be surprised if there are not considerable modifications in the White Paper.

I cannot speak with the experience and authority with which many of you here, from long experience, residence, and work in India, can speak. I am sure you all agree with me that we want to hear those, on whatever side, whose views will enlighten and instruct us, and teach us what are the main points in this controversy.

Sir Alfred Watson: Mr. Allen has given a good deal of gratuitous advertisement this afternoon to an organization with which I am connected. I wonder whether it would be indiscreet of me to ask whether the plan for the future of India outlined this afternoon has the backing of the rival organization; that would give it a weight and an authority which could attach to no individual opinion. Since the White Paper was produced there have been evolved a number of alternative schemes. There was the plan of the *Morning Post*; there were the proposals that Mr. Winston Churchill put before the Joint Select Committee. The best that can be said of all these babies is that they were abandoned on the roadside by their putative parents, and that the verdict of the coroner's jury in each case was, "Died from exposure."

I am, personally, amazed at the parody of statesmanship which assumes

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that it is only necessary to string together a few objections to particular points in a great scheme for the government of a vast country to result in the production of an adequate alternative. To all of us, according to our individual view, there are matters in the White Paper which are capable of amendment; there are some modifications in regard to which I, personally, would go very much further than does the White Paper. There are criticisms that have been uttered today that would find an echo in the breasts of ardent supporters of the Government scheme. But if there is one truth that is written across the history of enduring legislation, it is that all such legislation is based on the greatest common measure of agreement that can be reached.

For a moment I confess I had great hopes of Mr. Allen; that was when he made the admission that he found his "spiritual home" in the American Constitution. (Laughter.) I thought—as no doubt others in the audience thought—that this was preliminary to a declaration that no Constitution for India would be satisfactory that did not provide for the election of the Viceroy by the people of India. That would indeed have been something revolutionary, something worthy of discussion in such an assembly as this. But, unhappily, Mr. Allen was content to state his own preference without exploring its implications.

Mr. Allen is not happily inspired when he compares, to its disadvantage, the British Constitution with those of some unnamed democracies. The British Constitution does leave liberty to select Ministers from outside Parliament, and that power was abundantly exercised no later than the War. If the practice is not the rule, that is because its inconveniences have been clearly demonstrated, and if it is not sought to apply it to India, that is because it has proved a failure elsewhere. Mr. Allen, however, has found one special merit in the British system. "The peer," he says, "is not exposed to pressure, and can devote his mind entirely to the merits of legislation before him." He should seek the views of Lord Derby on that subject.

Nothing is more difficult to understand than the long passage that Mr. Allen devoted to the effects of withdrawing the British Army from India. What has that to do with the White Paper? Nobody can read that document, even once, without knowing that it provides for the retention of the British Army and for the control of it by the Viceroy. This bogey of the imagination has served its purpose on other platforms. Mr. Allen can scarcely have expected it to excite alarm before an audience which is informed in regard to Indian affairs.

His fears about finance may be based on more substantial grounds, though they are not shared by myself. What is more important is that they have no place in the minds of Sir Basil Blackett or Sir George Schuster, the two men who have most recently carried the burden and responsibility of Indian financial administration. There is no dread in respect of the future in the minds of those Indians who at this moment are subscribing crores to a new loan on a 3½ per cent. basis. When we talk of India's inability to pay we are apt to forget that twenty years ago the present revenue of India would have seemed unbelievably large. We are apt to

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ignore the fact that, almost alone among the great countries of the world, not excepting ourselves, India has never been in the position of repudiating a debt, or failing to pay the interest on a debt. India has justified the fullest confidence in her ability to meet her obligations, and to extend them.

As to Mr. Allen's point about the retention of a British element in the key Services, that is amply provided for in the White Paper. What does it matter whether the period of revision is five years or ten years, or even longer? The decision rests always with the British Parliament, and with no other body. A Parliament which is competent to govern an Empire is certainly competent to decide a point such as this.

Mr. Allen objects to the size of the Legislatures, on the ground that large bodies are liable to split up into a number of groups. Well, he and his friends are certainly competent to speak with assurance on that subject! I do not imagine that the danger will be found greater in India, which will have smaller Legislatures, than in this country. It is, at worst, an attribute of human nature that will not be eliminated by a clause in an Act of Parliament. Mr. Allen fears that vetoes may become a constitutional formality, but in that he leaves me cold. I hope that they will, for vetoes only have significance when they are challenged. There could be no happier condition for India than that the exercise of the vetoes should not be necessary because their reserve power was recognized.

The lecturer has himself supplied what must be the final answer to his proposals. They will not, he tells us, commend themselves to Indian public opinion. Then why put them forward? It is true the White Paper proposals are not acceptable to certain Indian parties; why make them acceptable to none? Of all forms of human endeavour I can imagine none more wasteful of time, temper, and ingenuity. If there is one certainty it is that no Constitution will work in any country unless it is accepted by the people of that country. India is not an exception to a universal rule. Why this trifling about petty points of difference? Why not recognize that if you cannot frame a Constitution that India will work, you must rule by force? You must give up all idea of goodwill; you must abandon the trade that is based on goodwill; you must accept India as a burden and a liability that will break the heart of your people.

Indulging in some strange incursions into history, Mr. Allen has told us that what lost us America was the incompetence of our generals. Those generals were certainly incompetent enough, but the cause was lost before a single soldier left these shores. The right of the greater parts of the Empire to govern themselves has never been challenged since. No incompetent generals lost the war in South Africa; there we won decisively. But South Africa would not today be in the Empire if we had not recognized, after the victory, the right to self-government that we denied to America before defeat. Personally, I have no doubt that in the case of India the British Parliament will come to a decision that will retain that country as a willing partner in the Empire. (Applause.)

Mr. C. A. Kincaid: In the admirable paper of Mr. Allen, and in the excellent reply of Sir Alfred Watson, I find no mention of what, after all,

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is a very considerable factor to be dealt with by those who would set about reforming the Constitution of India, and that is, the presence of other European powers in that sub-continent. No one can say that the proposals in the White Paper may not be followed by disorders, if not by anarchy. If anarchy or disorders do break out, they are not likely to stop at the frontiers of British India. To the west is the important province of Goa; to the east is the valuable district of Pondicherry. They will certainly cross those frontiers, and what then? You may say that it does not matter about the Portuguese, although, in view of the reorganization work of Senor Salazar during the last six years, that attitude would not be wholly justified. In any case you cannot take that airy view of the French. Pondicherry is an integral part of France just as much as Corsica is. It sends two or three deputies to Paris, and at least one senator.

The French are passionately attached to Pondicherry, and close by, as distances are reckoned in the East, are the French possessions of Indo-China and Tonquin. They will put down disorders in Pondicherry with a firm hand; then they will ask England, "What are you going to do about it?" What are we going to do? Are we to fight France that anarchy may reign in India without interference? If not, then what course shall we adopt? We may say to France, "We have done our best, you had better now come in and settle things yourselves." I have no doubt but that the French would put down disorder quickly, and I think that they would be popular in India, because they are sympathetic and able administrators. Still, if the French pacified India, do you suppose you would ever get it back? They surely would keep it. That might or might not be good for India, but it would be very sad for us, who would see lost all the work of Clive and Stringer Lawrence.

There is another point of view, which I have heard advanced by French officers to whom I have spoken. They argue that when a grantee renounces his grant, the grant reverts to the grantor. Now the Northern Sircars and much of the Carnatic came into English hands as grants from the French. If we renounce these territories, they, so the French claim, will revert to themselves as the grantors.

There is a third course open to us—namely, to put down disorders ourselves. I have no doubt that our Government could do this, but think of all the blood and treasure we should thereby waste uselessly. Surely the fourth course is the best—namely, the one that Mr. Allen put before you. If you must follow the path to democracy, go slowly; be sure when you take your next step that your foot will not slip when you put it to the ground. In this way you will not create disorder in British India; and you will not rouse the resentment or excite the ambition and cupidity of other European nations.

Sir Basil Blackett: I shall not follow the last speaker into the comic history of 1950, but there are one or two things that I wish to say, especially as Sir Alfred Watson has quoted me as being entirely satisfied with the financial condition of India. I never knew a Finance Member who was entirely satisfied with anybody's financial position. I will put it in this way.

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When some of the opponents of the White Paper talk of the enormous cost of reform and the total inability of India to meet that cost, they frequently make what is a striking arithmetical blunder. They add to the total cost of reforms the amount which will be transferred from the Central Government to the pocket of the Provincial States Government or *vice versa*. They then say the Reforms will cost India Rs. 20 to Rs. 30 crores more. So the impression is left that this is the cost of extra members of Parliament and extra Governors, and so on, which will arise from reform. I think that the real extra cost in that sense is very small—that is, not more than Rs. 2 crores. All the rest is a question of transfer from one pocket to another. That raises, no doubt, very serious difficulties for the Governments who have to meet extra expenditure, when part of their income is taken from them. The position is that India has been able to balance the Budget by stern economy or by drastic additions to taxation. If you get a rise of prices and a recovery of trade there is no reason why the cost of these reforms should not be an unimportant element in the position. If you do not get the rise in prices, the Indian Government is not the only one which will find both its external and its internal debt a menace, especially the agricultural indebtedness.

The speaker, whom I welcome as an old friend and colleague in the Legislative Assembly, put forward various proposals modifying the White Paper, but by the time he had come to the end of his speech I am in agreement with you, my Lord, that there was not much left of agreement with the White Paper. There is one criticism to which those who support the White Paper are open. We support it not because we are enamoured of the new Constitution for India, but because we regard a change on the lines indicated in the White Paper as inevitable. But if you were to defend the British Constitution, is there any of you who would not riddle it with criticism and say it was not a desirable Constitution? The only difference between our affection for that and the White Paper Constitution is, that one is in existence and we practise it, but the White Paper proposals are not in existence, and it remains to be seen whether they can be worked. They are not only unavoidable, but, taken "by and large," they are better than we could have hoped for when the Simon Commission came out in 1927, or when Gandhi was at the top of his power a few years afterwards. With the help of the Princes, we have worked out a Federal Constitution and reached a state of affairs when there is a prospect of a Constitution by consent which will be workable, and which many people are trying to work. It is impossible to contemplate going on with the present Constitution.

With regard to what Mr. Kincaid said, I do not think the French, or any other nation, would find it easy to govern India without Indians' consent; we have got to govern them by consent. There are in India, including Burma, 160,000 white people, and 352 millions of Indians. Can any Government in India govern India by force when their total strength, including the whole Army, is only 160,000?

It comes to this: that the White Paper is a great improvement on anything that has been hitherto suggested. It is not ideal, and with some of the criticisms Mr. Allen put forward I am in agreement. I should like to reduce

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the number of members of the Legislature, and that, incidentally, is important from the point of view of finance. The cost of a general election, it is estimated, would be about £500,000 under the White Paper proposals, and that is an undesirable and a foolish position. And I support Sir Henry Lawrence's proposals for indirect election. That is the one big reform I should like to see the Committee and Parliament make in the White Paper. But it is impossible to imagine that any large changes in the White Paper can be introduced at this stage. It represents the least common measure of discontent; it represents something which has been hammered out by many people, and carries with it much goodwill. Parliament has the right to examine that and make proposals for changes. If, however, the changes are more than slight modifications, there is little hope of any Constitution which will be acceptable or workable in India. Whether this Constitution will work well no one can prophesy. But human beings can make anything work if they have got to, and that will be the position in India. It can be made to work, and if that happens Great Britain will have achieved the purpose of those who have thought for India since the days of Macaulay, and it will be one of the greatest achievements which any country can place to its credit, to have led a sub-continent on from the Mogul collapse to a partnership in the British Commonwealth of Nations. (Applause.)

Sir Henry Lawrence: We have learned a very great deal from Mr. Allen's paper. I think his criticism of the position of Ministers in the Legislature, in the light of experience in other countries, is a matter with which very few people have been acquainted in this country. We in England are rather disinclined to look at the experience of other countries, and I think we lose a great deal by not making such a study, and by relying entirely on some adaptation of the methods with which we ourselves are so well acquainted. Those methods are not necessarily the very best for transportation to countries which have a very different historical background. Therefore I regarded that part of Mr. Allen's interesting and most delightfully expressed paper with special approval.

Perhaps you will permit me to say I was specially delighted to hear Mr. Allen say that he thought there was some value in a suggestion which I put before the Parliamentary Committee in the House of Commons a couple of months ago, and I was surprised and pleased to hear Sir Basil Blackett sympathize with and support that suggestion. The suggestion is for indirect elections in India in place of the proposals made by the Lothian Committee for the Direct Franchise to be given to 37 million people there. As Mr. Allen has pointed out, people who have examined into the mind of these voters, people who have had experience of the conversations of villagers when they have been compelled, almost driven, to give their votes, know that very few of them have the faintest notion what they are going to the polling station for. In many cases they have stated that they thought it was in order to sign a petition for a remission of their tax. That is always a very popular proceeding, and so villagers often walked many miles to get their tax remitted, and were somewhat dissatisfied with the result of elections when they found there was no change in that respect. The suggestion I put

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forward was that the villagers should be called upon to nominate a certain number of registered voters, people who would give their votes when an election was required within the next ten years, so that when an election took place the village would send its ten or twenty registered voters, instead of its five hundred or a thousand. That would save an enormous amount of expense and annoyance and trouble to the villager, and would be a thoroughly popular movement throughout the country. And it would also be possible eventually, I believe, to get rid of some of the appalling dissensions fostered by communal electorates.

The Lothian proposals, which mean that people of different communities should vote over enormous areas, sometimes in four or five districts, for one member, those proposals must cause the greatest amount of inconvenience and the greatest amount of expense that you could imagine. Further, the present vote, according to these proposals which are accepted in the White Paper, is given on the basis of property. The vast majority of the rural inhabitants of India cannot ever obtain a vote on the basis of property. We ourselves, in this country, have gradually reduced the property qualification, until now we have practically got rid of it. Why should we now impose, in India, the very system which we have ourselves abandoned here? That is, I think, one of the chief arguments in favour of indirect elections, and I submit to this audience that it is a reform which can be introduced within the scope of the White Paper, and that it should be so introduced.

There is another point, a smaller one. Within the terms of the White Paper the Constitution must be on a stable financial basis. I was very glad to hear Sir Basil Blackett say that he does not consider the outlook to be so unsatisfactory as it has been stated to be by certain critics; for instance, Sir Arthur Macwaters has, in several addresses, greatly stressed the danger of the falling off of revenue and the results of taxation in the future. That is a point which has not been considered in the calculations that have been put forward before the Joint Select Committee or before the various Round-Table Conferences. Supposing the Government are not satisfied with the future financial basis of the Imperial and Provincial Governments and do not think that basis stable, they are bound, by their own undertakings in the White Paper, to revise the situation and reconsider their proposals. Therefore where the India Defence League and the Union of Britain and India can come to a common agreement is in urging the National Government to act up to the exact terms which they have themselves laid down in the White Paper.

Mr. J. C. French : I should like to add my humble tribute of appreciation to the excellent paper we have just heard. It is impossible for me to make any criticism of it, but I should like to venture to suggest a small addition. I am sorry Mr. Allen did not give more of his tonic to the White Paper; it would, I am sure, be greatly improved by some more treatment from such an excellent physician, but no doubt, within the limits of his paper, he was unable to do more than he has done.

Mr. Allen's critics, among them Sir Alfred Watson, deprecated his anxiety about the Army in India, and considered that anxiety unnecessary. I am in

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entire agreement with Sir Alfred Watson, on two conditions: First, that every soldier in India grows a pair of wings; secondly, that he becomes a telepathist, for if the Army, the railways, the telegraphs, the police, and many other things go under another control, there is still room for anxiety. The second point on which Sir Alfred Watson criticized Mr. Allen was on Mr. Allen's anxiety concerning finance. Sir Alfred Watson pointed out that India has never repudiated a debt. But, ladies and gentlemen, is not that equivalent to saying that hitherto we have never repudiated a debt? We have been responsible for India, and the compliment Sir Alfred Watson gave was to England.

There is another point about the finances of India under the White Paper which has occurred to me, and that is, that under the White Paper scheme the Finance Minister of the All-India Legislature will only have a small proportion to deal with out of what he collects. I am not a financier, but it has been calculated that about 80 per cent. of what he collects will have to be handed over at once to the Viceroy for the Army, the Civil Service, the debt, and many other charges. I do not pin myself to that exact amount, but you will agree that it is a very large proportion. Supposing the Viceroy and the All-India Chancellor disagreed, and that the Chancellor tells the Viceroy he cannot supply the money for the Army and the other Services? The Viceroy says, "You must do it," and he uses his special powers to obtain the money. What will be the reply? It will be non-co-operation: non-co-operation is endemic in India.

Sir Basil Blackett said we cannot govern India by force. It is impossible not to give full agreement to Sir Basil's valuable judgment on that, for consider how lightly we govern India now; how few police there are. There are small police-stations every hundred miles or so, with only a sub-inspector and a few constables. Look at the small Army we have there, unexampled in the whole world for the vast size of the population. We govern India by prestige, and that is the result of experience, now in its third century. It is based on the knowledge on the part of the people of India that they can get a straight deal from us. It is because the India Defence League, to which I have the honour to belong, consider that this prestige will be injured and damaged by the White Paper proposals that we oppose it. Otherwise you must govern India by brute force.

I was talking to a distinguished officer recently returned from India, and I said to him, "What do you think of the White Paper?" He said, "I think it is fairly good." I said, "Do you think there is any chance that the ignorant and fanatical voters will be able to give a rational vote?" He said, "No, I don't think that." I am glad Sir Henry Lawrence supports me in the fear that the voters will not know what they are voting for. I remember a story I heard in Calcutta at the time of Sir John Simon's visit. A friend of mine heard two *darwans* talking, educated people, people who can read and write, and collect money for bills. This was the time when there were shouts in the street of "Simon, go back!" One *darwan* said to the other, "Simon, Simon, bolta hai, magar Simon kya hai, khuda jane" ("Simon, Simon, is the cry, but what Simon is, God knows").

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Sir Ernest Hotson: I think we shall all agree in thanking Mr. Allen very heartily for his stimulating and interesting paper. It seemed to me to be divided into two parts; the second part being a criticism on details in the White Paper. With some of these criticisms many of us will agree. The first part of his paper was a general but rather vague attack on the principles of the White Paper, which scarcely indicated the nature of the system which the reader of the paper would wish to put in place of the scheme of the White Paper. It is not a defeatist attitude, as he suggested, to say that this scheme is not the best imaginable, but that it is the best practicable today in the circumstances in which we find ourselves. The history of the last 150 years has brought us to a point where a step forward has to be made, and that has got to be a big step and a brave step. If we go forward an inch at a time we shall not have the people of India with us. If we do not get the consent of the people of India to any scheme we try to introduce, that scheme is bound to be a complete failure. It has been said that the electorate which will be enfranchised is "ignorant and fanatical," that it does not even know what the Legislative Councils are, and that it has no experience of political life. I do not think that is true in fact nowadays, though it may have been so thirty, twenty, even ten years ago. But all over India the politicians—good, bad, indifferent, truthful, and otherwise—are speechifying in the villages; there is scarcely a village the inhabitants of which have not heard politicians who have told them of grievances, real or imaginary, and have told them how they may get them remedied. Most of them know who the member representing them in the Legislative Council is, and they know, at least in many parts of India, that by approaching these members they have a chance of having their grievances put right, or, at all events, having them ventilated. It is not accurate now to represent the people of India as being wholly ignorant politically. They do not understand all the finer points of the matter; they could not explain the exact nature of the machinery; what they do know is that they have been governed by outsiders politically for a very long time, and they now feel that they want a much larger share in the governing of their own affairs. A great many are convinced of this. Any form of Constitution which does not give them much of this self-government must fail from the start. We are told that they want to crush British trade, to tax it out of existence. That, again, is an exaggeration; they do not want to do anything of the sort; the truth is another aspect of the desire that they should have control over their own affairs. They want to have the power to do these things, but they do not want to do them. Witness the agreements between the Bombay mill-owners and the Lancashire people, which have brought about a much happier condition of affairs than existed before. You cannot make people buy things from those they do not want to trade with. It has been tried, and it cannot be done. If you want trade to prosper, there must be good temper and goodwill, and you cannot get those unless you go a long way towards gratifying the political aspirations of the Indian people. Many of us support the White Paper because we believe it represents the best approach to a Constitution with which there will be sufficient agreement

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in India to make it workable. I do not think today's paper has proved the contrary. We agree that some improvements are possible, but not that the Constitution outlined in the White Paper would imperil the centuries-old Empire, the great connection between our country and India, which it is to the interests of both to maintain. (Applause.)

Mr. ALLEN, in reply, said: Sir Alfred Watson seems to be one of those who think that democracy is always the best form of government, at all times and in all places. Personally, I cannot think like that, and people who hold such widely divergent views cannot come to an agreement. With regard to the question of America, may I point out to Sir Alfred that he differs from the American historians themselves. Sir Alfred said our cause was lost before we despatched a soldier, because our policy was wrong. This is what two American professors write, "The grievances are scarcely those which appeal to students of the period as fundamental; many seem distorted, others inconsequential; some unfair." We were not treating our Colonies in such an abominable way that there was any need for the arbitrament of arms.

Another charge he made against me was that I did not put forward a full cut-and-dried scheme in place of the White Paper, a second White Paper in fact. I obviously could not read out a second White Paper in half an hour, and I could not be expected to draft a complete new Constitution for India and try to get it substituted for the White Paper, but I have put forward suggestions which, I think, would strengthen our position there, and would not radically affect the Constitution which is now under consideration. My proposals strengthen that Constitution and are not incompatible with it.

I am told that we cannot govern India without its consent. We have to remember that there are district officers in India, Members of Council and members of the Secretariat, and the people on top are brought into contact with the politicians, but it is the district officer who is in touch with the great mass of the people. During the stages in my career when I was in the position of the toad, there was in India an extraordinary element of goodwill towards the Englishmen. I remember at the time of the Gandhi agitation, when my division was in an uproar, some villagers begged me to participate in a most intimate domestic event, although at that time Gandhi had turned the valley of the Brahmaputra into a scene of acute agitation. I have never felt anything but friendliness towards Indians, and I would lay stress on the readiness with which not only the people in India but also the people in England rally to firm Government. In Harold Nicolson's book, *Curzon, the Last Phase*, he says that Lord Curzon could not have anticipated "the limitless capacity for surrender which attacked the British people after the War." That has been our position. We give way again and again to different sections of the politicians. If we behave like that, how can we expect anybody to respect us? Even Bismarck said once, after negotiating with Austria, "You will not do what I want you to do, so I suppose I must do what you want me to do." Perpetual surrender will never rally anyone to your cause.

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There is another very crucial question, that of the Services. Sir Alfred Watson says, "What have I to complain of?" There is a provision for an enquiry after five years. But what is the use of that enquiry? Either, as a result of that enquiry, the Services will be retained, in which case the agitation will be renewed in a more violent form, or they will say the Services must go. Let us say at once that they have got to remain. (Applause.)

Lord LAMINGTON: I wish to propose a very hearty vote of thanks to you, my Lord, and to Mr. Allen, for having prepared this paper, one of very vital interest, which has given rise to an interesting and valuable discussion. The paper, while pointing out certain objections and difficulties, justifies the view expressed by our noble Chairman that, after all, the people who hold these different views about the White Paper are not so very far apart. There are extraordinary difficulties to be faced, but to these close examination has been given by the Joint Committee, and I think it is quite possible to reconcile the varying opinions.

In asking you to accord your thanks to the lecturer, I hope you will also show your gratitude to the Chairman for having come this afternoon to preside. We are very grateful to him for having come amidst his many occupations. He has experience as Viceroy in Ireland, and throughout his life has devoted himself to public duty. His speeches in the House of Lords are always listened to with great respect. In succession to the late Lord Sumner, Lord FitzAlan has been made President of the India Defence League, and that is a good indication of the esteem in which he is held.

The vote was carried by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN: On behalf of Mr. Allen and myself, I thank Lord Lamington for his kind words, and I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for the way in which you have received this vote of thanks. Let us make up our minds to take these questions very seriously. This Indian problem is one of supreme importance for the whole Empire.

Sir HUGH MCPHERSON writes:

I wish to congratulate Mr. Allen on the studied moderation with which he has presented his views on the White Paper. I am not sure, indeed, whether he ranges himself with the optimists or the pessimists on this subject. I cannot find his name in the latest U.B.I. list, but I am encouraged to hope that he may join the organization which generally supports the White Paper Proposals, for I can assure Mr. Allen that none of us regard that document as sacrosanct, as a masterpiece that it would be blasphemy to criticize. We accept its general principles, but keep an open mind regarding its details—and that, I gather, is precisely the attitude of Mr. Allen. He apparently accepts the general framework of the National Government's plan, and he asks us, *not* to reject it, but to improve it and strengthen it. That, indeed, is the only reasonable attitude to adopt, for the White Paper is the fruit of five years' enquiry and consultation with the best Indian opinion, and to suggest that it should be rejected at this late stage and a new

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plan evolved by the unaided wisdom of the British Parliament would be to raise hell in India and destroy any hope of fruitful co-operation between the two races.

On Mr. Allen's suggestions for the improvement of the White Paper, I have two general observations to make. In the first place, they are not novel suggestions. The same points have been raised at all stages of the past five years' deliberations. They have been discussed by the Simon Commissioners, by the Local Governments, by the Government of India, and at the three Round-Table Conferences—and the findings of these authorities and bodies disclose considerable differences of opinion on the points raised by Mr. Allen. The same points are doubtless being considered now, with a multitude of other suggestions, by the Joint Select Committee. I am content to await their recommendations, but, personally, I hope that that body will not adopt the whole of Mr. Allen's suggestions, for if it did so they might have the result, in the eyes of India, of improving the White Paper plan out of all recognition. And that brings me to my second general observation. What would be the cumulative effect of all these revisions on the Indian mind? We must recognize that the whole of educated India is united in its aspiration for the ultimate attainment by India of a position of equal status within the British Commonwealth. The most advanced sections of Indian political opinion are by no means satisfied with the White Paper plan, but I am convinced that there is a preponderatingly large body of opinion which is prepared to accept that plan as a general step forward and to work it faithfully in the expectation that it will lead in course of time to the attainment of the ultimate goal.

That distinguished Indian, Mr. Sastri, whose opinion has been cited more than once by Mr. Allen, a man who in intellectual force and natural eloquence stands head and shoulders above his fellows, has recently been giving his fellow-countrymen wise advice. May I quote from the report of one of his recent speeches:

> "Mr. Sastri eloquently pleaded for the working of the White Paper Constitution for what it was worth, and emphatically declared that, however much it was defective, it was a decided improvement on the present state of things. . . . He was of opinion that the success of any Constitution depended on the spirit of its working, and appealed to his hearers to work it out with a patriotic and self-sacrificing spirit. At the same time he warned the country of the dangers of narrow-minded communalists getting at the helm of affairs if the national-minded chose to keep out. Mr. Sastri further made it clear that obstruction within the Legislatures would be productive of no good, as the Government had enough reserve powers to carry on the administration. Finally, Mr. Sastri pleaded strongly for a federation of Indian States and British India for the good of both."

Now will it make their task easy for Mr. Sastri, and those Indians who think with him, if the White Paper is improved to the extent suggested by Mr. Allen?—if, for example, we make the retention of a minimum British element in the Services and the existing methods of recruitment a *permanent* feature of the new Constitution—not liable to be reviewed from time to time in the light of future developments; if we give Provincial Governors

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discretionary powers to appoint officials as Ministers in the ordinary course of events and not as an emergency measure; if we reduce the size of the Legislatures and increase the European element in them, or, contrary to British practice, maintain within them a place for the permanent officials of the administration; if we establish an untried system of election, which Indians generally oppose; if we increase the powers of interference and control exercisable by the Governor-General in Council over the provincial autonomies? Surely it is better to forego the advantages—in some cases doubtful—likely to accrue from these suggestions and endeavour to carry moderate Indian opinion with us—so that the Reforms of 1935 may start in a better atmosphere of goodwill than attended the introduction of the 1921 Reforms. In my opinion it is worth a good deal of risk to start with an unclouded sky.

My general conclusion, then, is that even if sweet reason may seem to be behind some of Mr. Allen's suggestions, this is a case where, on the whole, sentiment should prevail over logic. I feel that Indian sentiment will be overwhelmingly against any wholesale adoption of Mr. Allen's improvements, and that it is all-important to have Indian sentiment with us when we set out on this great joint adventure of Indian constitutional reform.

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THE SIXTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

For the Year ending April 30, 1934

During the past twelve months the long process of parliamentary investigation of the question of Indian constitutional change has been continued, and your Council has maintained the aim of providing an open non-party platform for the consideration of questions relating to "the welfare of the inhabitants of India," which the Association was founded in 1866 to promote.

The Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform was occupied throughout the year in the discharge of the duty laid upon it by Parliament of examining the proposals of H.M. Government contained in the White Paper published in March, 1933, and taking into account all relevant considerations. Happily this work was carried on and is being continued at a time of relative political calm in India and of growing disposition to co-operate in the working of the Constitution, following on the failure and decay of the third civil disobedience movement. During the summer and autumn the Joint Select Committee had the advantage of the presence of Indian delegates to assist in the examination of witnesses and join in private discussions, and in the last few weeks of 1933 delegates from Burma were brought into the investigation.

The Lecture Programme

A good proportion of members of and delegates to the Committee are on the rolls of the Association, and while the former were not in a position to express opinions on controversial points, both members and delegates had some share, through our proceedings, in the elucidation of the complexities of the Constitutional problem. For instance, in the summer Begum Shah Nawaz, the only Indian woman delegate, set forth the position in relation to women's share in public life in a valuable paper which, under the chairmanship of Lady Procter, elicited an animated dis-

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cussion. At an earlier meeting Sir V. T. Krishnama Chari, the Dewan of Baroda, and one of the States delegates, was in the chair when Mr. Yusuf Ali, fresh from a visit to India, examined in a spirit of friendly criticism the diversified reactions in that country to the White Paper. In November Sir John Wardlaw-Milne, M.P., a member of the Committee, presided at a meeting called to hear Sir Montagu Webb in the familiar rôle of opposition, over a long series of years, to the currency and financial policy of the Government of India, with more particular reference to the Reserve Bank Bill which has since been passed into law. He had the support of ardent bi-metallists such as Lord Desborough and Sir Daniel Hamilton, but, as usual, opposite points of view were presented.

Lord Reading, another member of the Joint Select Committee, was to have presided at a notable lecture in May by Sir John Thompson on "The Reform Proposals and their Reasons," but was detained by parliamentary business, and his place was taken by our president, Lord Lamington. Almost a year later a lecture with the similar purpose of examining the genesis of Indian constitutional reform, but conceived on more general lines, was given by Sir James Crerar, the late Home Member of the Government of India, with the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava in the chair. In the effort of the Council to elicit different opinions, Lord Meston was invited to present "A Middle View" of the White Paper, and he did so in July, under the chairmanship of Viscount Goschen. On the question whether Burma should or should not be separated from India, the Association had the great advantage of hearing a lecture in January by Sir Charles Innes, the late Governor of the province, in advocacy of separation, while the Right Hon. Sir Robert Horne, M.P., presented from the chair the cautious view of large business interests in the country. Another relevant aspect of the whole issue was presented by a land-owning witness before the Joint Select Committee, Rajah Syed Mohammed Mahdi of Pirpur, secretary of the British Indian Association, the main organization of the Taluqdars of Oudh, and with Sir Harcourt Butler, himself an honorary taluqdar, in the chair.

In order to provide material for comparative study the Council

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arranged for an exposition at the end of January of "Dutch Policy in the East Indies," and had the good fortune to secure as its exponent Dr. Neijtzell de Wilde, the holder of a responsible post in the Ministry of the Colonies at The Hague, ex-president of the Volksraad in the Netherlands East Indies, and an author of distinction. Since the subject was comparative and outside the range of the White Paper controversy, the Association had the privilege of welcoming to the meeting as chairman the Secretary of State for India, Sir Samuel Hoare, and also heard the views of Jonkheer R. de Marees van Swinderen, the Netherlands Minister in London, and of a former Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Amery, M.P. The meeting was the subject of detailed reports in the Dutch Press. In this connection note may be taken of the considerable extent to which the proceedings of the Association are reported or commented on in the British and Indian Press.

Social and Economic Problems

Though, as was appropriate in the special circumstances of the year, the programme was mainly devoted to political issues, social and economic questions had due attention. Reference has already been made to Sir Montagu Webb's strictures on currency policy. Within a very short period of the return from India of the Lancashire Textile Mission, Mr. S. S. Hammersley, M.P. for Stockport, one of its members, with Sir Stephen Demetriadi in the chair, gave an outline of the genesis and results of the Mission in securing an agreement with the Bombay millowners, the main terms of which have since been embodied in legislation.

The importance of wireless as a means of overcoming rural ignorance and apathy was brought to notice in a lecture in October on "Broadcasting in the Indian Village," given by Mr. C. F. Strickland at a meeting in the arrangement of which the Council had the co-operation of the Indian Village Welfare Association. Both as Chairman of the B.B.C. and as a student of Indian social conditions when he presided over the Royal Commission on Indian Labour, the Right Hon. J. H. Whitley, late Speaker of the House of Commons, appropriately took the chair, and he joined Sir Akbar Hydari and other authorities in supporting the detailed

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recommendations of the lecturer for a distinct and separate rural wireless service run on simple and inexpensive lines. One of our members, Lieut.-Colonel H. R. Hardinge, late Indian Army, after taking part in the discussion, visited India for the purpose of promoting an experimental service in the Punjab, and considerable progress has been made with the scheme.

At the end of February the problem of health and population in India was presented with cogency and sympathy by Major-General Sir John Megaw, formerly Director-General of the Indian Medical Service and now president of the Medical Board at the India Office. His eloquent plea for active measures, preceded by a broad general survey of the situation by a body of men with a judicial rather than a specialist outlook, was reinforced from the chair by Sir George Newman, Chief Medical Officer to the Ministry of Health and Board of Education. Remarking that leprosy, plague, and cholera have been banished from England, Sir George urged that what man had done in England, man could do in India with knowledge, understanding, and goodwill.

Discussion Meetings

The varied range of the interests of the Association was strikingly exemplified by the topics taken up at the discussion and social meetings which are limited to members, and to guests specially invited by the Council. In October Sir Henry Gidney, the leader of the Anglo-Indian community, discussed its future in the light of the White Paper proposals. In November the Romance of Tea was expounded, with lantern views, by Mrs. Lidderdale.

In December there was a general discussion under the leadership of Sir John Kerr on terrorism in Bengal. In March Mr. Hugh Wilkinson-Guillemard, late Envoy at Khatmandu, spoke of Nepal and its relations with the Government of India, and the opportunity was taken to express the sympathy of the meeting with that friendly Himalayan kingdom in the severity of its losses in the great earthquake of last January.

In April Mr. R. J. Minney, the joint author of the successful

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play *Clive of India*, spoke on "Clive, the Man of Destiny," and speeches were made not only by two historians of Modern India, Professor H. H. Dodwell and Sir William Foster, but also by Mr. Leslie Banks and Miss Gillian Lind, who take the principal parts in the play. These informal occasions are popular features of the work of the Association, and thanks are due to those whose hospitality provided the social contacts—viz., Lady Kerr and Lady McKenna (jointly), Lady (Hubert) Carr, the Maharaja of Burdwan, Lady Keymer, and Miss Percival-Hall.

While the speeches at the discussion meetings are not reported, the main address, with the permission of the speaker, is ordinarily included in our proceedings. Together with the full text of the papers and discussions thereon at the more public meetings, they provide an unrivalled range of expert and informed opinion on current Indian questions placed on permanent record. In a reference to the ASIATIC REVIEW in *The Times Literary Supplement* on January 18 last it was remarked that "in no other periodical can there be found so many expressions of opinion by well-known people on Indian questions." The knowledge of these views is extended to a wider public in libraries and elsewhere through the medium of the journal.

RECEPTION

The principal social event of the year was the afternoon reception at Grosvenor House, Park Lane, on July 21, to meet H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, who has been a Vice-President of the Association for many years. More than 300 members and guests were present, including many members of, delegates to, and witnesses before the Joint Select Committee. The Secretary of State for India had been engaged through the day in giving evidence before the Committee, but, accompanied by Lady Maud Hoare, he honoured us with his presence and paid a much-appreciated tribute to the work of the Association as providing for two generations past "a wonderful Round Table for the gathering of the friends of India of all schools of thought." He associated himself with the President, Lord Lamington, in expressions of thanks to H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda for the grant

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of £50 per annum for a period of five years for the purpose of promoting the social side of the work of the Association.

Membership

The check in the growth of membership which the Association, in common with all societies of the kind, suffered in the severe economic depression of 1931-32 was overcome in 1932-33, and in the year under report there was further advance. While there were 14 resignations and 10 names were removed from the roll by revision, no less than 71 new members were elected. The net gain has been reduced, however, to 27 by the death of 20 members. These losses were of exceptional severity, for they include Sir John Kerr, who had so admirably filled the office of Chairman of Council since the retirement of Sir Louis Dane two years ago, and Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree, who had lately been re-elected Vice-Chairman for another term of three years. As stated in the resolution of condolence with the members of his family, printed in our proceedings, Sir Mancherjee had been in membership for more than half a century, and for many years had been the "father" of the Association. We also lost Sir Henry Seymour King, a Vice-President, and General Sir Edmund Barrow and Colonel M. J. Meade, two former members of the Council. Like the list of new members given in Appendix B, the obituary list (Appendix C) bears testimony to the range and distinction of our membership, for it includes the names of three famous engineers, Sir Lionel Jacob, Sir Frederick Palmer, and Sir Francis Spring; Sir Provash Mitter, a member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bengal; Sir Rustom Vakil, a business magnate and a Minister in the Bombay Government; Sir Claude Hill, formerly a member of the Government of India; the Right Hon. Sir Dinshah Mulla, lately a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; Bishop Talbot, whose interest in India began with his membership of the Oxford Mission in Calcutta nearly half a century ago and was maintained to the end; A. Rangaswami Iyenger, one of the very ablest Indian journalists of our time; Sir Thomas Ryan, Director-General of

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Posts and Telegraphs in India; and Sir Gilbert Vyle, a leading industrialist in this country.

The vacant chairmanship has been filled by the unanimous election of Sir Malcolm Seton, until recently Deputy Under-Secretary of State for India, and the vacant vice-chairmanship by the similar election of the Maharaja of Burdwan. Owing to his return to India as Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, Sir George Anderson has retired from the Council. Members co-opted thereto during the year were Mr. Hugh Molson, M.P., Sir Charles Innes, Sir Malcolm Seton, and Sir Hugh McPherson. It is open to any member of the Association to propose a candidate for election to any vacancy in the Council on fifteen days' notice being given to the Hon. Secretary. The following Members of Council retire by rotation:

Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E.
Sir William Ovens Clark.
Sir Montagu Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E.
Sir Hubert Carr.
Sir Atul Chatterjee, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.
Sir Amberson Marten.
Mr. Stanley P. Rice.
Sir John Thompson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

Finance

In the previous Report it was announced that the Council had converted the small holding of War Stock from 5 per cent. to 3½ per cent. A similar conversion has been effected in the past year in respect to the small amount of South African Stock held by the Council. The Council has not been in a position to add to the reserves, but, on the other hand, there has been no occasion to trench upon them.

The Hon. Auditors report with satisfaction a substantial increase in receipts of subscriptions from members from £703 in 1932-33 to £759. They draw attention to the substantial advance in the value of the assets of the Association, chiefly due to the further appreciation in the market value of their investments in Indian Government securities. Of the total improvement of more than

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£264, no less than £235 is due to the appreciation of Indian Government stock.

The Council desire to express their high appreciation of the work done for the Association by the Hon. Secretary, Mr. F. H. Brown, whose zeal and energy have greatly contributed alike to the increase of the membership and the success of the meetings.

MALCOLM SETON,
Chairman of the Council.
F. H. BROWN,
Hon. Secretary.

May 15, 1934.

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ANNUAL MEETING

THE sixty-seventh Annual General Meeting of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Wednesday, June 13, 1934. The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., was in the chair, and the company included: The Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Malcolm Seton, K.C.B., Sir Amberson Marten, Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Ernest Hotson, K.C.S.I., O.B.E., Sir Harcourt Butler, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Sir Atul Chatterjee, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Reginald Glancy, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Alfred Watson, Sir Leonard C. Adami, Mr. W. R. Gourlay, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. P. R. Cadell, C.S.I., C.I.E., Professor H. G. Rawlinson, C.I.E., Mr. G. P. Dick, C.I.E., Mr. H. N. Hutchinson, O.B.E., Mr. S. Lupton, O.B.E., Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Mr. J. C. French, Mr. A. Sabonadière, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mr. J. B. Hall, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. E. F. Harris, Mrs. Jackson, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. F. A. T. Phillips and Miss Phillips, Mrs. N. B. Dewar, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Lieut.-Colonel W. G. Hamilton, Mr. and Mrs. J. J. Nolan, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The PRESIDENT: The first item on our agenda paper is consideration of the Annual Report and the Accounts. There is, I see, a very satisfactory attendance here this afternoon, despite the fact that many of our members will have been attracted to the House of Commons to hear a debate in relation to India of peculiar importance and significance. It is possible that, with so many present, people might like to criticize our doings in connection with the affairs of the Association, though, I am happy to think, that hardly ever occurs. The Report has been circulated to members, and therefore you will have had opportunity to read about the main events which have occurred during the last twelve months.

We all lament the severe losses which have been sustained by the Association in the past year, and in particular by the death of Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree, full of years and honours, and with a connection with our work which has extended over a full half century. I knew him for many years in Bombay, and it was always a pleasure to see him attending our meetings, and on any other occasions. He was a good friend, I always felt, and he did his best for the good of this Association and also for other activities in London for the good of India. We have also to lament the swift passing of Sir John Kerr, in the midst of a useful and happy life, after his retirement from high office in India, not the least of whose public services in these last years was his chairmanship of our Council. We always had a feeling of confidence in, and reliance on, his sound judgment. Those,

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with others, have been very notable losses in our ranks in the last twelve months. Those losses apart, we may feel that not only has our work been well maintained, but that real progress has been made.

My experience of public life extends over half a century, and never before, in that time, has India filled the large place in our political thinking and talking that it fills today; never has it been the subject of so much discussion on political platforms in all parts of the country. I can remember, nearly half a century ago, when the Indian debates in the House were very thinly attended. Whether the greater interference by the House of Commons with the affairs of India is for the benefit of that vast country is a matter for individual judgment. For the most part the meetings to which I have referred have been arranged by organizations advocating this or that specific policy, and, therefore, avowedly propagandist. We, in this Association, pursue no propaganda, save that of the promotion of India's welfare. We can therefore hear the most varied opinions on the great Constitutional issue, as on other aspects of Indian affairs, and discuss them in a dispassionate though, it may be, an eager spirit. We are also in the happy position of providing, through our printed proceedings in the ASIATIC REVIEW, a body of information and suggestion through the papers and speeches of authoritative persons such as is not equalled in any other unofficial field.

I am sure you will agree with me that we thus serve a most useful public function. One of the most distinguished of British administrators in India in our generation wrote to the Honorary Secretary, after receiving and perusing the Report, that he feels that the Association is "doing a great work." We are, indeed, the only body which regularly discusses the affairs of India under whose auspices the Joint Select Committee of Parliament could meet without any sort of suspicion that thereby its members were identifying themselves with a particular view of the Indian problem. Of course, the occasion must be one of a social, not of an argumentative, character. It gives me great pleasure to announce that Lord Linlithgow, one of our Vice-Presidents and Chairman of the Joint Select Committee, and Lady Linlithgow, have accepted the invitation of the Council to be our principal guests at our Annual Summer Conversazione, to be held at Grosvenor House on the afternoon of Tuesday, July 24, when other members of that Committee will also be our special guests. It is rather a late date in the season, but we thought that Lord Linlithgow might, on account of the Royal visit to Edinburgh, be prevented from attending at an earlier date. Therefore it had to be put back a week or ten days.

In reference to the social occasions known as discussion meetings mentioned in the Report, I take this opportunity, as President of the Association, to say how very much we are indebted to the ladies and gentlemen who extend to us their hospitality in this way. Meetings of the kind that I have been able to attend have been most enjoyable, and I hope that this feature of our work can be steadily maintained by a continuance of such generosity from amongst our members. The first host since the close of our financial year was a member of the Council, Sir Charles Armstrong, and I take this opportunity of thanking him for a further service. It was with great

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pleasure I heard him, when speaking from the chair at the Bombay dinner a fortnight ago, quote from a lecture given to us by Sir Frederick Sykes, and then recommend those present who were not members of the Association to join it.

I think those who have read the Report will agree it shows that we have been extraordinarily active. There are many interesting features in the Report, and I trust that all members will endeavour to secure other adherents to the Association. We never take a vote here on any matter; the meetings are simply for the purposes of discussion. And I feel that in these crucial times, these times of anxiety about India, every aspect of the future of the Constitution of India should be amply examined and studied and carefully considered. I think it is right that, whatever views they hold about the White Paper, people should examine and show to others what the dangers are and what benefits are likely to result from such a course. We shall all anxiously await the Report of the Joint Committee, the work of a body of eminent men. No doubt our position will be largely guided by what they state as their views; they have had every opportunity of considering the matter in all its bearings. While I am a general supporter of the White Paper, I know there are many vexed points to be dealt with, and until we have before us what is the considered judgment of the Select Committee I should be very sorry, on some of these points, to express a definite opinion. Before sitting down I express my pleasure at Sir Malcolm Seton, our new Chairman of Council, agreeing to serve us in that capacity. I am sure we all greet him warmly. (Cheers.)

I now ask Sir Atul Chatterjee, the well-known ex-High Commissioner, to move the adoption of the Report.

Sir Atul Chatterjee: I have very great pleasure in moving that the Report and Accounts be adopted. As you have said, sir, they have been circulated; they are very clear, and give a lucid account of the many-sided activities of the Association. The debates which were held throughout last year related not merely to the political aspects of the different questions which are interesting Indians and those concerned about India, but we have had also discussions on economic and social questions. Political and economic questions are nowadays inextricably mixed together, in India as elsewhere, and when we discuss political questions we cannot escape economic questions also, which are of great importance to India. And I think it is a matter for congratulation that that aspect of the Indian problem has not been neglected. The names of the speakers and the Chairmen who dealt with the various subjects give indication of the very high standard of the debates which have been held under the auspices of this Association, and the social discussion meetings have introduced a new feature, which, I am sure, everyone will welcome.

As you, sir, have already mentioned, we have sustained a very severe loss during the past year in the death of our most estimable and worthy Chairman, Sir John Kerr. Many interests other than those of this Association have suffered by his premature passing away. We had to look for another Chairman of Council, and have secured Sir Malcolm Seton. I am extremely

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glad that his ripe experience, wide knowledge, and broad sympathies have thus been saved for India, even though he has retired from the India Office.

The accounts, which have been duly audited, disclose a very satisfactory state of affairs. In spite of the depression which still hangs round us, the number of members is increasing. I am very glad indeed, and I think everyone here is very glad, that this old institution, founded more than seventy years ago, still continues to provide a forum where Indian problems can be discussed from many different angles without any rancour or ill-feeling. It is very desirable, as you, sir, have said, that all the different aspects of Indian questions should be ventilated, because we can only gain by such ventilation, and we shall lose nothing.

Finally, I should like to mention that most of the organizing work of the Association has fallen upon our very popular Honorary Secretary. (Applause.) We are very fortunate that Mr. Brown is able to spare so much time for the work of the Association, and I ascribe his doing so to his enduring love for India. I commend my resolution to your acceptance.

Mr. P. R. Cadell: I am in the somewhat unusual position of having retired, as I thought permanently, from India, and yet being called upon to return there for at least a period. The fact gives me this unusual advantage, that I can speak of the work of the East India Association not only in this country, of which I saw a good deal during my retirement, but also in India. And I would like to inform members how very valuable that work is held to be in that country, and that many thinking Indians read the proceedings in the Asiatic Review. Though they cannot be present, they read the reports carefully and follow the discussions which take place. I need not add to what Sir Atul Chatterjee said as to the good work of this Association save to assure you that it is held in high regard in India. Therefore I have very great pleasure in seconding the resolution.

Carried unanimously.

Sir Harcourt Butler: Ladies and gentlemen,—A very pleasant duty falls to me—namely, that of proposing the re-election of the President. I am sure you will all agree with me that you cannot have a better Chairman than our President. (Applause.) Lord Lamington is a very old friend of India, and for a dozen years at least has been President of this Association, with the results you have heard and have already read in the Report. I have very great pleasure in proposing that Lord Lamington be re-elected President. But I would add a word to say how heartily I agree with the speakers who have preceded me as to the good work done by the Association, and as to the very great services rendered to India by the Honorary Secretary, Mr. Brown. (Applause.)

Mr. H. N. Hutchinson: I have much pleasure in seconding Sir Harcourt Butler's proposal. I need add nothing to what he has said. We all appreciate the work which Lord Lamington has done for us.

Sir Harcourt Butler put the proposal to the meeting, and it was unanimously carried.

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The PRESIDENT: Year by year I sing a swan song and say it must be my last year of office, and offer to retire if you wish me to do so. I am very cognizant of your great kindness, and I consider it a distinct honour to be President of this Association. I thank Sir Harcourt Butler, a distinguished administrator, for his very generous eulogy of me, and my gratitude is extended also to Mr. Hutchinson. I do feel it is a privilege to be at the head of the Association; its achievements have been recorded year by year in the Reports. Those who are members of the Council are most constant in attending its meetings and closely examining the work of the Association. As for Mr. Brown, we all know he is an inseparable adjunct of the Association, and has done everything to forward its good work. I must also say a word of commendation of Mr. King, who, though in the background, is always working for our good.

I accept with pleasure, once again, your election of me as your President. While sensible of the honour, I realize that, as time goes on, you will require a younger and more energetic President than myself. Meanwhile I express my appreciation of the kindness you have shown me.

Mr. G. P. DICK: I have the honour to ask you to accept my proposal, which is the election and re-election of members of the Council. The names are those of retiring members given in the Report; but there is one change, the addition of the name of Sir Abdul Qadir in place of Nawab Sir Umar Hayat Khan, who has returned to India. It would be presumptuous of me to say anything regarding these members of the Council, whose standing and merit you all know so well. I ask you to accept the resolution.

I will add a word of appreciation from another body to which I have the honour of belonging, the Anglo-Indian Association—a word expressive of the great gratitude they feel to you, sir, and all the members of the Association, and in particular for the efforts on our behalf of Mr. Brown. (Applause.)

Sir LEONARD ADAMI: I have great pleasure in seconding this resolution.

Carried unanimously.

Sir JAMES MACKENNA: I have the pleasure to propose for election as members of the Association the Righ Hon. Sir Shadi Lal, Mr. C. A. Kincaid, C.V.O., I.C.S. (retired), and Mr. Ralph Nye.

Sir ERNEST HOTSON: I have much pleasure in seconding this proposal.

Carried unanimously.

This concluded the business of the meeting.

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THOUGHTS ON THE RUSSO-JAPANESE SITUATION

By Hugh Byas

The second and final article of the Manchukuo Protocol, which regulates the relations of Japan and Manchukuo, reads:

> Japan and Manchukuo, recognizing that any threat to the territory of either . . . constitutes a threat to the safety and existence of the other, agree to co-operate in the maintenance of their national security, it being understood that such Japanese forces as may be necessary for the purpose shall be stationed in Manchukuo.

Japan having thus assumed responsibility for the defence of Manchukuo, the new State has become strategically an extension of the territory of Japan. If, with this in mind, the reader will look at the map, he will see that the Russian Maritime Province is a huge salient jutting southwards into the Sea of Japan.

In time of war Japan's security requires that sea to be a *mare clausum*. Nature has powerfully collaborated with the general staff. The Japanese islands lie off the extremity of the Asian continent, a breakwater a thousand miles long like an arm crooked at the elbow. The wrist is at the Strait of Tsushima, less than a hundred miles wide, and at the shoulder only a narrow channel separates North Saghalien from the mainland. This easily closed sea is Japan's sally-port if she again has to fight Russia; it is her back door on Asia if she should ever be challenged by a fleet from the Pacific. All that has been said about Antwerp in hostile hands being "a pistol pointed at the heart of England" can be said about the Russian salient thrust into the middle of the Japan Sea with the port and fortress of Vladivostok at its tip.

This situation, in which the elements of permanence and stability seem so lacking, marks a phase in the secular contest between Japan and Russia for overlordship of the vacant lands of Eastern Asia. It is a contest between nations, but the nations are driven by impersonal forces—the irresistible expansion of Japan beyond her crowded islands and Russia's glacier-like drift towards open ports. The relations of the two countries for the past forty years are the record of that struggle. It began when modern Japan's first foreign war (with China in 1894) had given her possession of Dairen and Port Arthur. Russia, enlisting the diplomatic support of Germany and France, compelled Japan to return

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the peninsula to China. A year later the Russians installed themselves in the territory from which they had evicted Japan. They made Port Arthur a formidable naval base, and they built a railway connecting it with the Trans-Siberian system. With Dairen (Dalny) as commercial port and Port Arthur as naval fortress, Russia pegged out a claim to all Manchuria and its harbours. In the Boxer rebellion (1900) Russia overran Manchuria with troops and evacuated only under extreme diplomatic pressure.

By then it was clear that the lists were being set for a struggle to determine between Japan and Russia which was to be the subordinate and which the supreme Power in Eastern Asia. In 1901 Sir Ernest Satow wrote to Lord Salisbury that the only question was whether war would break out immediately or not until Japan and Russia had completed the preparations in which, then as now, they were engaged. The war came in 1904. The result was a division of the prize. Japan, victorious but exhausted, acquired Korea and saved herself from being perpetually excluded from the continent. North Manchuria, with the Russian direct railway to Vladivostok, remained the Russian sphere; South Manchuria became the Japanese sphere. That settlement endured for almost thirty years. Had the Japanese accepted it as a satisfactory adjustment of rival needs and ambitions? The evidence suggests that some had, but others, who proved stronger, had not. During the ill-fated Siberian intervention of the Allied and Associated Powers, Japan sent such a preponderant force to the mainland that suspicions were aroused. The intervention failed and the Japanese troops were withdrawn. In the brief clash of 1929 between Russian and Chinese armies for control of the Chinese Eastern Railway, Baron Shidehara, the Foreign Minister, stood aside and allowed the Russians to assert their rights by force of arms. Two years later the Mukden railway explosion set the Japanese garrison of Manchuria on the move, and every chancery asked how far the islanders would go. Baron Shidehara steadfastly respected Russian interests, and the Japanese advance halted at Changchun. But when Shidehara fell, the Japanese pushed forward to Harbin and Tsitsihar. The Russian sphere ceased to exist. The new state was created, its boundaries the Great Wall of China on the south and the Amur river on the north, and Japan became its guardian. Russia had suffered her second setback. The first deprived her of the great ice-free port of Dairen. The second expelled her from North Manchuria, abolished her control over the direct route to the Maritime Province, and left her with a half-frozen port at the tip of an insecure salient.

In settled parts of the earth, peopled by long-established communities, such situations may become innocuous by custom and

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duration. But Eastern Siberia, till yesterday, was no man's land. Russia has extended to the Bering Strait simply because Siberia happens to form part of the land mass of Eurasia. Unobstructed by other claimants, Russia wandered to the extremity of the continent, seeking to satisfy her immutable need for open ports. A thin sprinkling of colonists at the end of 6,000 miles of railway is hardly an adequate title. Japan is nearer than Russia, her available military resources, including transport, much greater. Of the extensive claims which Russia staked out, nothing now remains but the salient of Vladivostok. Can Japan tolerate its continued existence in her own sphere? Does Russia value it so highly that she will risk another war in its defence?

It is the situation itself, therefore, which seems pregnant with "inevitable war," unless, indeed, those "rising forces" with which Soviet Russia professes to march can find new solutions for old problems. Note that if the salient is dangerous it is dangerously weak. Russia's only approach to it (except by sea) is over the long railway which rambles round the northern boundary of Manchukuo. Russia is weak; her internal stability might scarcely resist the shock of war; and her Western neighbours are unreliable. Japan is in militant mood. Her armies have had two years' experience of campaigning in Manchuria. The temptation to round off their exploits and make Eastern Asia once and for all "secure" is obvious. Against this ominous background the recent alarm of impending war found ready credence.

But before we follow the prophets who say war will come this summer or next, it is necessary to look closely at the signs and portents on which the prophets depend. There is a difference between a situation which, if unrectified, contains germs of war and one in which war is already as good as determined. An examination of the evidence seems rather to indicate that the danger has been avoided. The situation remains, but Russian and Japanese statesmanship still has an opportunity to deal with it by peaceful means.

In judging the immediate outlook it is important to remember that the alarm was first raised in Moscow, but not until the Russians had made extensive military preparations. On October 10 President Roosevelt wrote his letter to the Soviet chief of state which resulted in American recognition. On October 9, America's intention being then known, exultant Moscow sounded the first note of the tocsin. It published intercepted dispatches, alleged to be from General Hishikari, Japanese Ambassador and Commander-in-Chief, to the Tokyo Government, which, if they were authentic, revealed Japanese complicity in plots to take possession of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

Publication of another Government's private correspondence is

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a provocative act. The Japanese Government received the challenge with studied calmness. Although the Tokyo office of Tass (the Russian official news agency) sent every Tokyo newspaper a copy, only one of the smaller journals published it. Officials treated the disclosure lightly as one more case of fabricated documents, and the press took its cue from the Foreign Office. A carillon of tocsin notes followed that opening peal. Molotoff, Litvinoff, Budennyi, Voroshiloff, and Bluecher engaged in a crescendo of challenging speeches, accusing Japan of aggressive designs and boasting of Russia's defensive powers. "We have barred our frontier with a lock of steel and concrete strong enough to resist the sharpest teeth. . . . Hayashi grumbles about our 300 airplanes (in Siberia). I will not say whether we have more or less, but I will tell you this—we surely have and will have more than the Japanese. . . . We fear no comparison with the enemy in tanks and aviation. . . ." said Bluecher to the All-Union Communist Congress on January 11. The spokesman of the Foreign Office in Tokyo complained to foreign correspondents of the Russian leaders' "violent and provocative words against Japan and Soviet press accusations that Japan intends to invade Russian territory. No such provocative speeches have been made by any responsible statesman in Tokyo," he accurately declared, and Mr. Hirota, in his opening speech to the Diet, was able to point the contrast of the Siberian frontiers: "Japan is certainly setting up no new military establishments along the Manchukuo-Soviet frontiers, Moscow propaganda notwithstanding."

The seeds of alarm were skilfully planted and the harvest was good. The Japanese Ambassador in Rome sought explanations from Mussolini regarding a syndicated article in which Il Duce had discoursed in the Hearst press about the risk of Japanese aggression in Siberia. The Foreign Office spokesman in Tokyo cited a speech in Philadelphia by Mr. William C. Bullitt, United States Ambassador to Moscow, and a statement by M. Herriot in Paris as evidence of the effects of Soviet propaganda. Shortly after Mr. Litvinoff's visit to America, the Washington correspondent of the *New York Times* was reporting that "high army and navy officers are convinced that war between Russia and Japan is just a matter of time."

The Foreign Office in Tokyo treated those alarms with quiet contempt. The spokesman suggested that if the Russians really believed in the coming attack they would be preparing instead of shouting. But shouting was a method of defence. By telling the world that Japanese militarists were making plans to seize the Maritime Province, the Russians were ensuring that public opinion would find Japan guilty if war broke out. Recognition by the United States increased Russia's self-confidence, but that

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self-confidence had firmer bases than propaganda or diplomatic gestures. It rested on Bluecher's assurance: "If war bursts like thunder in the Far East I promise you in the name of the Far Eastern Army that we will answer the attack with such a blow that the foundations of capitalism will quiver and crumble."

The Soviet's defensive preparations were complete when the barrage of propaganda began. The War Offices of Washington and Europe, as well as of Tokyo, have now a fair idea of their nature and extent. The Far Eastern Red Army, which General Vassily Bluecher commands, comprises some 200,000 troops east of Chita. This force is well equipped with tanks and possesses several hundred planes. Squadrons of bombers are stationed at Vladivostok, which is only 700 miles from Tokyo and Yokohama. Those "children of the Five-Year Plan," as Bluecher called them, are prepared to "repay their debt to the Soviet Union not only on the borders, not only on the front, but deep in the rear of our imperialist opponent." The warning is clear, and the Japanese have begun exercising in air defence the populations of Tokyo, Yokohama, Nagoya, Osaka, and Kobe, the inflammable, wooden-built cities where their administration and industry are concentrated. To guard against the risk that Vladivostok might be cut off, huge fortified positions have been constructed in at least three areas—Pogranichnaya, Blagovestchensk, and Manchuli—the "lock of steel and concrete" of which Bluecher boasted. When the Manchurian affair began in September, 1931, the Soviet Far East was virtually defenceless. It might then have been overrun by a raiding force. It is now so heavily protected that attack would mean a first-class war. Japan is not ready for that, and it is doubtful whether she considers Eastern Siberia worth a first-class war. But if the Soviet's present alarms are insincere, it must be recorded to their credit that they have removed any temptation to profit by Russia's weakness.

Whether Russian fears were well founded remains an unanswered question. Soviet speeches first drew public attention to the situation, but they did not create it. The Russians have quoted Japanese newspaper utterances threatening the invasion of Siberia, but the statements of newspapers are not always evidence of the policy of governments. They have pointed to bellicose utterances by General Araki, but General Araki talked and wrote too much to be always taken seriously. His volubility, however, created the impression abroad that the Japanese army was headstrong, and prepared foreign readers to believe the Russian charges. More substantial evidence was not lacking. The fighting services and the nationalist politicians proclaimed, in season and out, a coming emergency, a national crisis. Their campaign was accompanied by large military and naval programmes. For two

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successive years the Budget has been loaded with a deficit almost as large as the total revenue, and the munitions industry has boomed. While the fighting services strengthened themselves at home, Manchukuo was constructing ports, railways, and roads with a speed suggestive of something more urgent than commercial enterprise. A new port was opened at Seishin and Rashin on the coast of Korea, and a railway carried across the mountains to connect the port with the Manchurian system. Next a line was carried from Lafa (east of Kirin) to Harbin. Work is proceeding at a rapid pace on another new railway which will bring the Japanese up to Heiho on the Amur, opposite Blagovestchensk. Another new line from Yenchi to Hailin brings the new port at Rashin within 200 miles of the Russian frontier in the rear of Vladivostok. Some 2,000 kilometres of motor roads have been constructed, and the Russians allege that fifty air-fields have been prepared. The roads and air-fields are essential if Manchukuo is to be delivered from banditry, and the railways will conduce to the development of the country, but their strategic value is plain. They give Japan an additional line of communication with North Manchuria, they bring her communications up to the Russian frontier, and they facilitate the cutting of the Trans-Siberian route and the isolation of the Maritime Province.

It must not be forgotten that Japan is responsible for the defence of Manchukuo, and these may be defensive measures. It may be honestly argued that Japan has as much reason to fear Russia as Russia to fear Japan. That the Japanese army should assure itself of the strategic advantages Manchukuo offers is, in the opinion of most Japanese, not a premonition of war, but a safeguard against it. But those preparations, the speed with which they are being made, the strengthening of the army and navy, and the bombastic talk which has furnished an obligato to the deeper music of the arsenals, are the not negligible materials with which Russia has painted her picture of coming war.

It was not surprising that the Russians should be alarmed. But if there ever was any danger of a Japanese surprise attack it has been warded off. The Russians have made themselves too strong. The fact that Japan allowed Russia to complete those elaborate defensive preparations strongly suggests that the danger was less concrete than it appeared to the anxious watchers in Moscow. There may well have been soldiers who thought the time opportune to secure Japan's safety by making the Sea of Japan a Japanese lake and thrusting Russia's frontiers back, but it is a long step from such strategical aspirations to a national war. The risk, if there was any, that some frontier incident during Japan's bandit-hunting operations might give the army an excuse to act without waiting for the Government has been dispelled by the

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Russian preparations. The opportunity has so clearly been lost that one must doubt whether it was really sought. At all events, it is plain that nothing can be settled by raids or surprise attacks. Mr. Hirota's policy of seeking a solution of all outstanding issues by diplomatic means holds the field. That policy was approved by the Cabinet after it had been exhaustively examined by a committee consisting of the Prime Minister and the Ministers of Finance, War, Marine and Foreign Affairs. General Araki soon afterwards found an opportunity to resign. The first of the outstanding questions, the transfer to Manchukuo of Russia's rights in the Chinese Eastern Railway, is now being negotiated at Tokyo. Mr. Hirota has informally thrown out a pregnant suggestion that Russia and Japan and Manchukuo might refrain from military concentrations near their respective frontiers. In this proposal may lie the clue to an agreement about Vladivostok. While these efforts to establish a better relationship are in progress, time for reflection has been gained. The war which has been avoided so far may be avoided altogether.

The situation with all its unanswered questions remains. Is Russia reconciled to a position which leaves her vast territory of Siberia without an ice-free port under her own flag? Is she prepared to dismantle Vladivostok and make it a peaceful port as the price of retaining her gateway in the Japan Sea? Is it beyond the power of statesmanship to provide a land-locked area like Siberia with access to the sea? One surveys the problem and feels that if national destinies are still to be decided by nationalist principles, another Russo-Japanese war is "inevitable." But the last was inevitable only because the clique then in power in Petersburg refused the moderate concessions which would have satisfied Japan. Governments of tomorrow, concerned with economic issues which touch the forgotten man more closely than frontiers and flags, may find new ways of reconciling differences as great as those which constitute the Russo-Japanese question.

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FRANCO-BRITISH CO-OPERATION IN THE FAR EAST

By René Tranchand

(Attaché au Cabinet du Gouverneur-Général de l'Indochine)

The reasons for a policy of co-operation between France and England in their Far Eastern possessions are obvious; but a clear statement of them seems needed for that large public which, sometimes, remains indifferent to colonial questions, and does not always realize the importance of the problems that arise in the relations between the national capitals and the colonies.

These two great powers which govern or control the two greatest colonial empires are in closest agreement in performing a duty which is similar for each and which each has to bring to a successful issue, far away from the metropolis, and in face of largely similar difficulties.

In the first place, they cannot with safety ignore the teachings of their common experience in the civilizing mission which they have to fulfil, and which is the justification for their presence in a foreign land. The training of the indigenous people in our manners and customs and our Western science requires great care, and when the master has given the pupil the groundwork there still remains what is by no means his least duty. Indeed, as experience has shown in India and Indo-China alike, it is those who have acquired some knowledge of our culture, but have not assimilated it rightly, who need the greatest care in handling; as they are supplied with instruments which they think they are quite capable of using their susceptibilities increase, and it takes all the wisdom of our two nations to solve with fairness the new problems which thus arise. In particular, the communist propaganda carried on among our neighbours as among ourselves will be all the more easily restrained after we have considered together the means of protecting from it the young people trained in our schools, whose European education makes them more open to a Utopia which they think to be generous, without being aware of its impracticability and its serious social danger.

In pursuance of this social outlook, a closer co-operation between France and England in the Far East seems no less expedient as regards their economic interests. For instance, Indo-Chinese exports to Hong-Kong and Singapore, merely in rice and dried fish, amount to a hundred million francs yearly; from the same ports, especially the Straits Settlements, our Asian colony imports

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a large quantity of varied products which balances those exports. These exchanges, which form a large proportion of the foreign trade between the two French and English possessions, fully justify attention to some common study of the markets and their possible development. An agreement in principle would allow of their pursuing a reasonable economic expansion and carrying on their trade with better knowledge, with advantages alike for the colonies and the mother countries.

Lastly, the similarity of their soil and their products brings English Malaya and French Indo-China still closer together. Useful exchanges of scientific information have already been made between many private agencies, and it is desirable that similar exchanges should be arranged between the higher administrative staffs. Such measures, together with colonial science, will promote the prosperity of our possessions.

And thus the task which the United Kingdom and the Republic have undertaken can be achieved by their fraternizing beyond the seas in their mission of civilization and progress.

(*Translated.*)

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ANGLO-FRANCO-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP

A banquet of the Réunion-Mauritius Society was given on May 12 at the Iéna Club in Paris, in honour of Dr. J. Rivière and Maître Ribet, on the occasion of their recent promotions in the Order of the Légion d'Honneur. The dinner was presided over by Admiral Lacaze, formerly Minister of Marine, President of the Colonial Institute, and Battonier of Saint-Auban. The speakers for Dr. Rivière were: Admiral Lacaze, who handed to him the Insignia of Commander of the Légion d'Honneur; Professor d'Arsonval, of the Institute; Joseph Bedier, of the French Academy and Director of the College of France; Dr. Dartigues, President of the Latin Medical Union; Dr. Molinery, on behalf of the medical press; Mr. Pezzani, in the name of the Mauritians. For Maître Ribet, the Battonier of Saint-Auban spoke. At the banquet Dr. Rivière eulogized the close Anglo-Franco-American co-operation for the greatest good of civilization. There were present: Sir Robert Cahill, Counsellor of the British Embassy; Captain le Breton, military and naval attaché of the United States in Paris; Senator Benard; Deputy Auguste Brunet, formerly Minister, representing the Island of Réunion; Mr. Laurence Hills; Colonel Dr. Fiske, the new Governor of the Island of Réunion; Mr. Chateau; and many personages, colonial, medical, and of the Paris Bar.

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THE NATIONAL PARKS IN JAPAN

(See Plates A-D at the end of the article)

In March of this year, following the detailed investigations and preliminary discussions between the authorities concerned, the three scenic areas of Unzen, Kirishima, and Seto-Naikai—the last named being known abroad as the Inland Sea of Japan—were officially designated as national parks. The three places were selected from among the twelve scenic sites, which had been provisionally chosen for national parks in October of 1932, the rest being Akan, Daisetsuzan, Towada, Nikko, Mount Fuji, Japan Alps, Yoshino-and-Kumano, Daisen and Aso.

General Descriptions of the Three Designated National Parks

Of the three national parks thus far designated, Unzen and Kirishima, both in the island of Kyūshū, are volcanic in character and exceedingly rich in diverse natural features.

The Unzen National Park covers the central part of the historically famous Shimabara Peninsula, near the port of Nagasaki, to the extent of 32,000 acres, and contains the Unzen Park, which was formerly maintained by the Prefecture of Nagasaki at an outlay of several million yen, besides Mount Fugen, 4,300 feet high, and other volcanoes, and here and there plateaus and tablelands covered with different kinds of vegetation. In the upper part of the peaks grow various deciduous and broad-leaved trees, whose crimson foliage in autumn gives a touch of exquisite colour to the scene, while in winter they are gloriously laden with hoarfrost. Half-way up the mountains there are found, among the thick grasses, gorgeous clumps of the round-leaved Japan dwarf hollies and azaleas which are peculiar to this district. From the park, one can command a very picturesque vista of the coastlines and mountains far and near. Nature has lavishly endowed the Unzen National Park with colourful attractions.

The Jigoku Bonchi or the "Hell Terrace," constituting the centre of the Unzen area, where the Unzen Spa is, lies 2,000 feet above sea-level. Here the mean temperature in summer is about 20 degrees Centigrade, while in winter time there is little or no snow. For this reason, the place has been for many years a

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favourite holiday resort for foreigners residing in China and the South Seas region. The park is provided with excellent railway and motor transport services, as well as first-class hotels, bungalows, golf links, swimming pool, archery ground, skating rink, riding grounds, and other facilities and accommodation for tourists.

The Kirishima National Park, extending over the Prefecture of Kagoshima and the Prefecture of Miyazaki, covers a vast area of 55,000 acres. The park possesses the romantic atmosphere of the South and contains many spots of historical and legendary interests. Its configuration, like that of Unzen, is volcanic, and is naturally very rich in scenic attractions. Eighteen lofty volcanoes shoot up in close proximity, including the Kankoku-dake, towering to the height of 5,600 feet, the Takachiho, sacred to the hearts of all Japanese as the mountain on which the grandchild of the Sun Goddess made his descent from the heavenly abode to found the Empire of Japan. The craters of these volcanoes are exceptionally large. Some of them are still active and pour out voluminous smoke high into the sky, and others are dotted with hot springs, while still others are turned into lakes of crystal water. The scene, as viewed from above, is typical of the volcanic landscapes of Japan. Within the precincts of the park are scattered more than twenty hot springs, most of which are found above the altitude of 2,500 feet. Naturally the climate is very mild and agreeable, making the place an ideal resort in summer, as well as in winter, for snow falls rarely in the district.

Apart from its interesting natural formation, the Kirishima National Park has an abundant wealth of vegetation. From the base to half-way up, the mountain is covered with forests of evergreen broad-leaved trees, including the vast primitive forest of 15,000 acres, and above this level to almost the top are found immense clumps of azaleas, which in the months of May and July blossom forth in their full glory, transforming the entire mountain into a multi-coloured fairyland where one literally wades through flowers. It is to this fact that the popular use throughout Japan of the name of "Kirishima" for azaleas owes its origin. No less beautiful is the autumnal scene. In the month of October the foliage of the entire mountain is tinged with crimson, and especially wonderful is the sight around the Lake Onamiike, five miles in circumference, where the glowing tints of the leaves are vividly reflected in the calm waters.

Mount Kirishima comprises two peaks, the Eastern and the Western. The Eastern Peak is the celebrated one of Takachiho, already mentioned as the holy spot where the ancestral god of the Imperial House descended from heaven. The mountain rises to the height of 5,200 feet, overlooking, beyond the undulating

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hills and mountains that cluster at its foot, the vast panoramic view of the mountains and rivers of both the Kagoshima and Miyazaki Prefectures, including the active volcano of Sakurajima, Mount Kaimon, and the Bay of Kagoshima. On its south-western slope, at an altitude of more than 1,600 feet, stands the shrine dedicated to the grandson of the Sun Goddess Amaterasu O-mikami, which was erected more than two hundred years ago. The edifice with its embellishment of red lacquer and gold, blending harmoniously with the verdure of the surrounding forest, is extremely impressive.

The Kirishima National Park, by virtue of its ideal site and incomparable beauty, is destined to become a favourite tourist resort. The work of providing the park with all necessary conveniences and accommodation is progressing rapidly.

While the two parks already described are mountain parks, the Seto-Naikai National Park is an ideal marine park. It covers an immense area, the Bisan Seto, which embraces the most representative archipelago of the Inland Sea, consisting of 124 islands of different sizes, and is on the coasts of the three Prefectures of Okayama, Hiroshima, and Kagawa.

The beauty of the scenery in this newly designated national park is beyond description. Numerous pine-clad islands, large and small, rise above the clear blue waters of the sea, exposing to the sun here and there their weather-beaten bodies of red-brown granite. Their shapes vary and reveal the artistic workmanship of the elements. On the polished shores of gleaming sand grow age-old pine trees whose gnarled branches hang down over the surface of the water. The park, as a whole, may well be called a floating dreamland. Its surpassing beauty is celebrated all over the world. The scenery is more alluring if viewed from one of the islands or a height along the coast than when it is seen from a steamer.

The park contains many places of special interest, such as Yashima, the site of the famous battle of yore, Gokenzan and the Kanka-kei canyon, and the Ritsurin Park of Takamatsu. There are many other scenic spots which have been recently introduced to the public. With the establishment, which is now under consideration, of modern hotels, camping grounds, seaside houses, and other conveniences on several of the most suitable islands, the Seto-Naikai National Park will be perfectly equipped to give comfort and joy to all comers.

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The Nine Provisionally Selected Places to be Designated Later as National Parks

1. *The Selected National Park Site of Akan.*

This site consists of two extensive areas of Akan and Kussharo in Hokkaido, which constitute a world-famous volcanic caldera. The place abounds in lakes of varied size, of which Akan, Kussharo, and Mashu are noted, each with its peculiar beauty, while there are rugged chains of active volcanoes, such as O-akan, Me-akan, and Kamuinupuri. The magnificence and variety of the geological features of the place are the most remarkable in the scenery of volcanic origin in Japan. The forest covering the greater part of the place consists of so-called northern coniferous trees, another characteristic feature of this site.

In addition to the above, it is possible to use the place for sightseeing drives and walks, mountain-climbing, recreation, boating, fishing, and other pastimes. Notwithstanding the fact that it is situated in the remote eastern part of Hokkaido, it is comparatively easy of access, and therefore has a bright prospect as a national park.

2. *The Selected National Park Site of Daisetsu-Zan.*

This site is in an alpine region which forms the ridge of Hokkaido, with three large volcano groups, Daisetsu-Zan, Takachi, and Shikaribetsu. Of all the proposed sites, it has the largest area of primitive scenery. The forest of northern coniferous trees which covers the greater part of the present site is the largest representative virgin forest in Japan. A number of spacious plateaus which connect mountain peaks, and the imposing old craters, magnificent gorges, waterfalls, marshy meadows, permanent snow valleys, alpine flower-beds are all here in one area, an excellent feature of the proposed park.

It is situated in the central part of Hokkaido, and can be utilized for nature-study, sightseeing, mountain-climbing, and particularly for various kinds of winter sports.

There is no private land within the area, and this is considered a great advantage for the scheme of a national park.

3. *The Selected National Park Site of Towada.*

The special feature of this site, not far from Aomori, is that it has as its centre the noted Towada Lake, most conspicuous among the volcanic caldera-lakes, and that it is favoured with an exquisite natural arrangement of diverse elements of scenic beauty

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such as mountains, valleys, lakes, and marshy meadows, among which the quiet and sequestered gorges of Oirase and the view of the Hakkoda volcanic ranges are most conspicuous.

The woods of deciduous latifoliate trees that cover the greater part of the area are one of the most beautiful groves in the country.

Not only can the place be utilized for the usual purposes of study and recreation, but it has the advantage that the greater part is state property, and suitably situated for the general plan of national parks throughout the country. In addition, there are fairly good facilities for communications.

4. *The Selected National Park Site of Nikko.*

This site consists of a number of volcanic ranges such as Nantai-zan, Shirane-san, and Hiuchi-dake. Within the area, there are such artificial lakes as Chuzenji-ko, Yuno-ko, and Ozenuma; and such famous marshy meadows as Senjoga-hara, Ozega-hara, Shobu-daira, and Kinu-numa. The varied scenery presents an interesting panorama, and in addition a wealth of deciduous, latifoliate and coniferous trees, alpine plants and other peculiar marsh vegetation embellish the neighbourhood. In short, the scenery of the environs can be said to represent one of the loveliest spots in the country.

The place may be visited for its shrines, temples, and places of historical interest, as well as for various pleasure-seeking objects. It is very conveniently situated.

5. *The Selected National Park Site of Fuji.*

Mount Fuji, which is the centre of this site, is a typical single conical volcano. It is greatly admired and revered by the Japanese as a sacred mountain. Its imposing and graceful outline is well known all over the world as representative of the Japanese scenic beauty. On the summit there is a large crater, and forty more parasite cones stud other parts of the mountain. An extensive plain sweeps up to its base. Lava-streams, five picturesque lakes, the belt of tall trees, the ocean of woodland, extend around the northern base of the mountain; everything combines to make the view of the spot so superb that it defies description.

The present site is not only advantageously situated, but also is well suited for pilgrimage to the temples, shrines, and spots of historical association, and the existing park arrangement would facilitate its future development as a national park.

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6. The Selected National Park Site of the Japan Alps.

The site occupies the whole area of the so-called "Northern Japan Alps," which include Kami-kochi, Shirouma, and Tateyama, and is a typical mountain district of the Alps type in Japan. Geologically, the region is mostly of granite formation, but in such parts as Midagahara, Goshikiga-hara, Kumono-taira, Yake-dake, and Norikura-dake volcanic configuration still exists, and this is a feature peculiar to the present site. The lofty peaks of Shirouma, Tateyama, Yari, and Hodaka are all so imposing and majestic, and the snowy valleys surrounding those mountains, together with the alpine flower-gardens, are a wonderful sight. Added to this, the quiet and mystery borderland of Kamikochi and the rough, primeval region of Kurobe valleys make this site most enjoyable. The area of this site is larger than that of any other, and accordingly the area of beauty spots is also relatively extensive.

The study of nature, sightseeing, mountain-climbing, and camping are the principal attractions. There is very little private land within the area.

7. The Selected National Park Site of Yoshino and Kumano.

This site occupies a vast region in the south of Nara, extending from the Yoshino mountain range, with Omine-san and Odaigahara in its chain, to the valleys of the Kitayama and the Kumano, and stretches to the shores of the Kumano sea. The Kitayama and Kumano rivers flow through the rocky districts, forming the gorges of Osugidani and Kitayama-kyo, both of which are noted for their unique beauty. Again, the coast of Kishu which faces the outer sea is typical of the seashore scenery in Japan. In short, the site is a combination of excellent mountains, forests, valleys, rivers, and seashores such as is not seen in any other of the proposed sites.

The site is dotted with places of historical interest, and there are also temples, shrines, and places of historical interest in the neighbourhood.

8. The Selected National Park Site of Daisen.

This site consists of a number of tholoids. Mount Daisen, the loftiest of them, is not only the highest mountain in the Chugoku district, but its height is surpassed by none of the tholoids in this country. The base of this mount stretches into an extensive plain, with undulating peaks of Mounts Hiru-sen, Yahazu-sen, Senjo-zan, and others in its train, and offers a magnificent

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view. In addition, the place looks out upon the Japan Sea, and commands a fine view of Yumiga-hama, Nakaumi, and Shinji-ko. An extensive virgin forest of beech trees surrounds the upper portion of the mountain, while pine-groves cover the lower half, and aloes are found on the summit.

The site is suitable for the visit of shrines, temples, and historical places, and for sightseeing, mountain-climbing, and various winter sports.

9. *The Selected Site of Aso National Park.*

This site is on a compact volcano with a lake base which is of striking magnitude, where Naka-dake, one of the central volcanic cones, is still active, and the sight of its furious eruption is most awe-inspiring. The mountain range that circles twenty miles around the ancient crater forms an extensive belt, and particularly its Eastern portion, known as Naminogahara, reaches far up to Kuju with a rolling chain of hills in its train. Its wonderful view, large proportions, together with that of the surrounding mountains, deserve to be known all over the world. Behind the mountains there is Neko-dake, noted for curious peaks, and the Kikuchi River, with beautiful valleys and ravines, both of which add charm to the scenery of the place.

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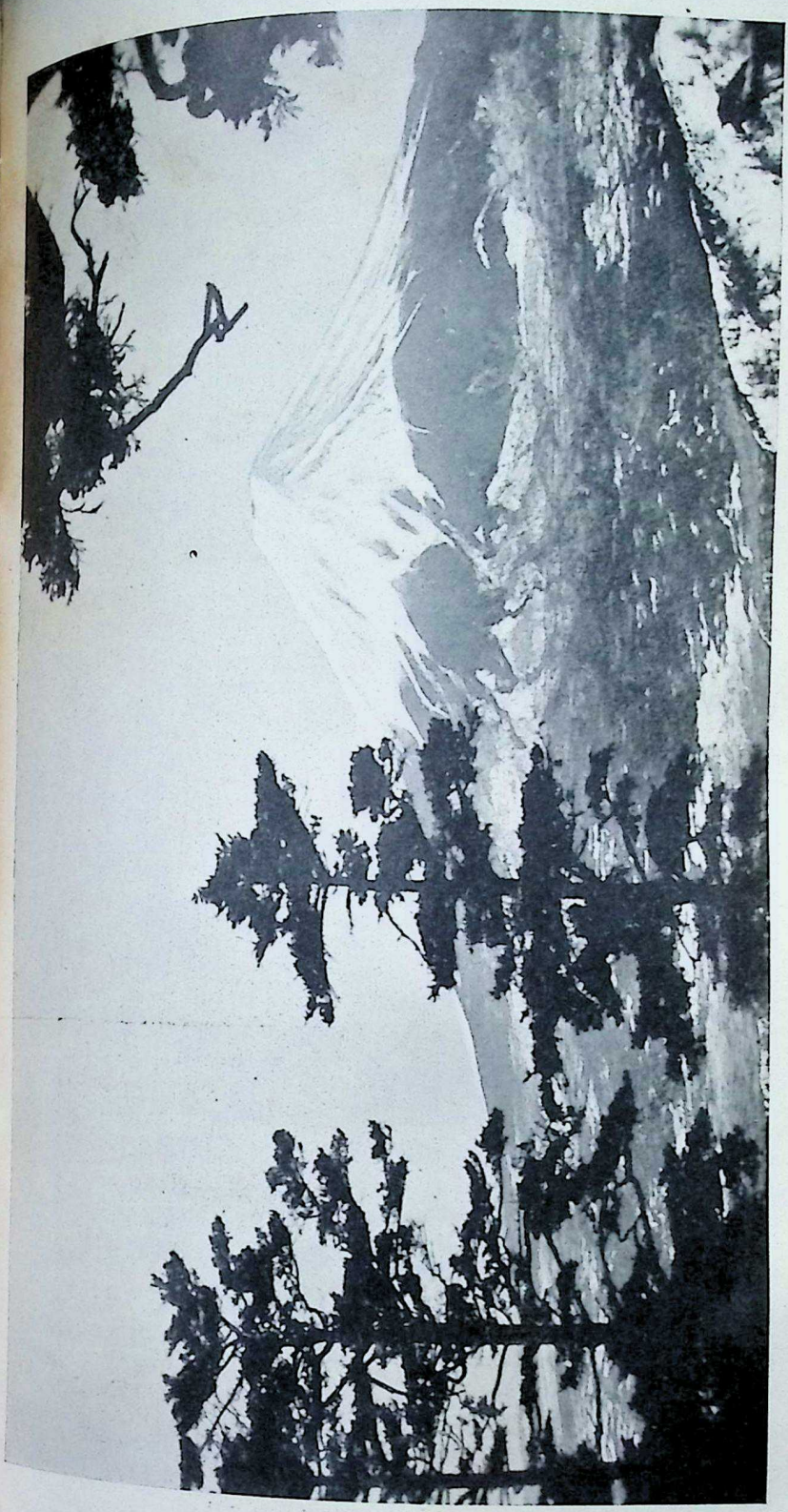

VIEW OF MT. FUJI FROM THE PASS OF MITSU.
The National Parks of Japan.

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PLATE B

THE SUMMIT OF TAKACHIHO AS VIEWED FROM MT. KANGOKU, KIRISHIMA NATIONAL PARK, KYŪSHŪ.

KINUGASA-YAMA IN THE NATIONAL PARK OF UNZEN, KYŪSHŪ.

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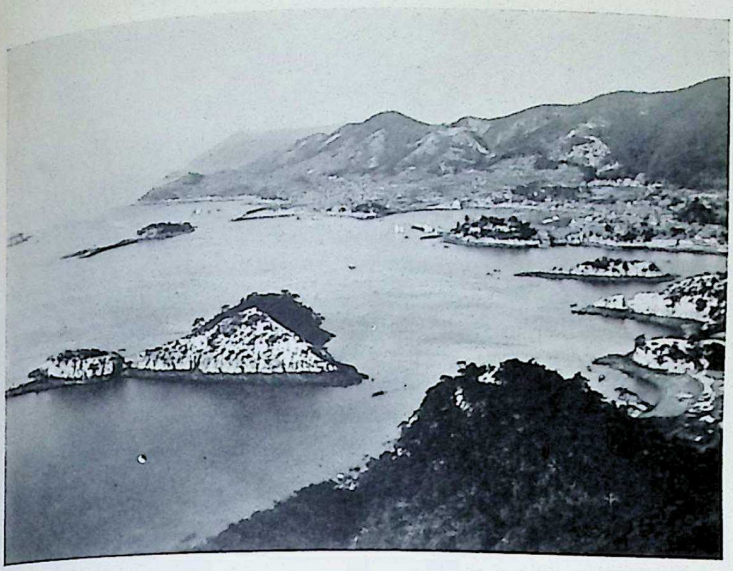
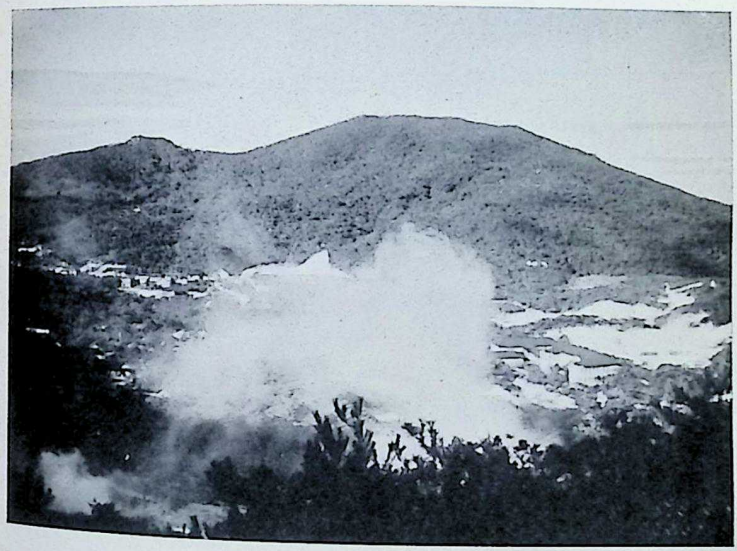


THE SETO INLAND SEA, NATIONAL PARK.



A HOT SPRING IN THE UNZEN NATIONAL PARK, KYŪSHŪ.

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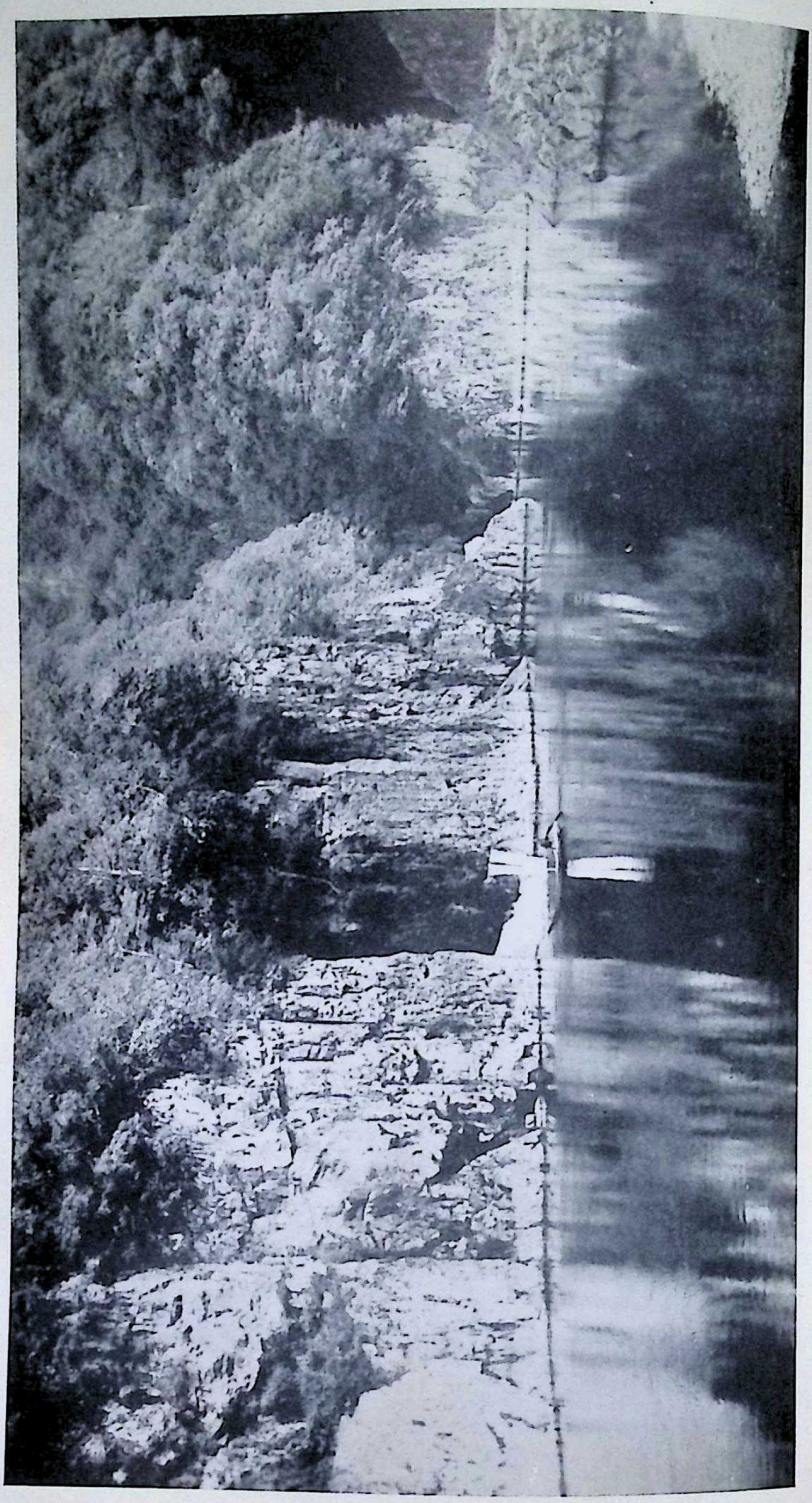

STILL WATERS AT DOROHATCHO, YOSHINO PROVINCE.

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THE JAPANESE ALPS

STILL WATERS AT DOROHATCHO, YOSHINO PROVINCE.

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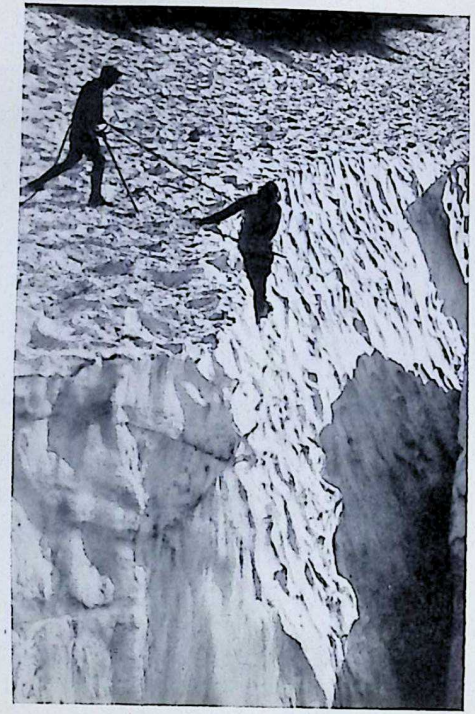
PLATE III



MOUNTAIN CLIMBING IN THE NORTHERN ALPS.

PLATE I

YARIGATAKE

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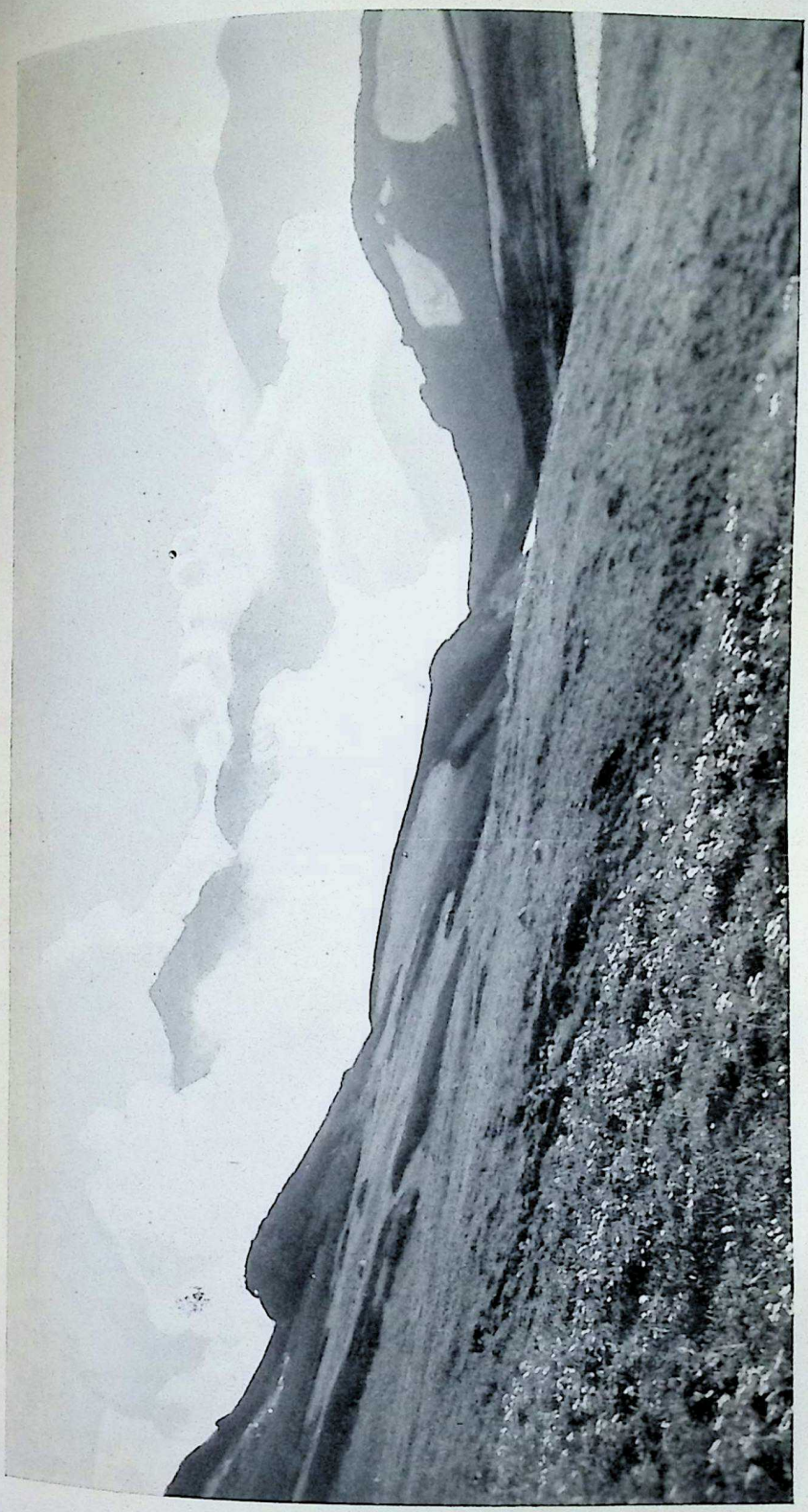

O-HANA-BATAKE, MT. SHIROUMA.

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LAKE "OH-ÌKE," NEAR THE SUMMIT OF SHIROUMA.

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ence will be made later, was first climbed by a Buddhistic monk called Banryu, in 1828.

When a party of surveyors first climbed Tsurugi (9,853 feet) of the Tateyama Group, about twenty-five years ago, they discovered to their amazement the broken head of a monk's staff hidden in a little cave quite near the summit. This evidence of a former climber gave the party a real shock, because they discovered it while they were glorying in what they thought was the first ascent of this difficult mountain.

The Tateyama Group, particularly the mountain called Oyama (9,816 feet) had for many years been regarded as something sacred by the people who lived in the region of its northern base. A young man was not quite a "man" until he had climbed this mountain. At the summit of Oyama, one finds a shrine around which innumerable pebbles are scattered. These pebbles were brought up from below by generations after generations of these youthful climbers. There is a kind of folk-lore story which tells that once upon a time, Oyama and Hakusan (9,787 feet, about 50 miles west of Oyama) tried to see which was taller, and discovered that Oyama was "the height of a saddle" shorter than Hakusan. The pebbles, you see, were brought up to the summit by young local patriots in order to make their own mountain higher than its rival!

General Characteristics

The general characteristics of the Japanese Alps are: (1) The altitude around 10,000 feet. (2) The amount of snow found in summer. (3) The existence of "cirques" said to denote that these mountains once had glaciers. (4) The exposed rock-faces. (5) The existence of "O-hana-batake" (Plate II.) (flower fields) where various alpine flora blossom in profusion quite near the summit of the mountains. (6) The abundance of natural hot-springs in the mountains.

Comparison between the Northern and Southern Japanese Alps

Of these mountain ranges, the most climbed is the Northern; comparatively few visit the Southern Alps. Since the Central Alps are the least climbed, we shall omit this range entirely and focus our attention on the first two named. There are some interesting reasons given for this difference in popularity, which I will introduce here, because they give the characteristics of the Japanese Alps which a foreign reader might like to know.

The geologist tells us that the Northern Alps are chiefly made

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INTRODUCING THE JAPANESE ALPS

By Kin-ichi Ishikawa
(Member of the Japanese Alpine Club)

The Name "The Japanese Alps"

In the middle part of the main island of Japan there are three important mountain ranges. They are, from north to south, the Hida Range, the Kiso Range, and the Aka-ishi Range, which are more commonly known as the Northern, Central, and the Southern Japanese Alps. It is not definitely known, I believe, who first called these mountain ranges the Japanese Alps, but there is no doubt that the publication, in 1896 in London, of a book called *Mountaineering and Exploration in the Japanese Alps*, by Rev. Walter Weston, gave them this name. The reason why I refer to the point is this: In recent years there has been a great epidemic of naming mountains, rivers, ski-ing centres, and so on after foreign names. Nippon (Japan) Rhine, Nippon Riviera, Nippon St. Moritz, Nippon this and Nippon that. Nippon Lorelei in the Nippon Rhine was perhaps the most far-fetched of all, because there was hardly any similarity between these two rocks, either in form, colour, or surroundings. This epidemic had spread to such an extent that it provoked a natural reaction, with the result that most places dropped their "Nippon" suffix and foreign names, but the "Japanese Alps" remained.

It is interesting to note that Englishmen were the first people to climb the Japanese Alps out of love for climbing and also for the purpose of scientific observation. In Japan, various mountains had always been climbed for some religious purposes. The world-famous Mount Fuji (12,390 feet) still draws thousands of people in summer. To these people the mountain is the embodiment of a spirit, a goddess whom they worship. These climbers are divided into groups, each headed by a leader who is not only a guide but also a spiritual teacher, and whose orders the members of the groups must strictly obey. Of course, a great many people climb Mount Fuji purely for the sake of climbing. Today climbing is done throughout the year. Winter climbing of Fuji, unheard of until quite recently, is enjoyed by many first-class mountaineers because the feat combines ski-ing and ice technique.

There are also many high mountains which religious persons climbed in bygone days. Yari-ga-Take (Plate I.), to which refer-

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of granite, quartz, with aqueous rock, and here and there spouts of volcanic rock of later age. The Southern Alps, however, are mostly of aqueous nature. Added to this, the difference in temperature and amount of snowfall give these ranges quite a difference in appearance. The Northern Alps have more peaks of "aiguille" form than the Southern, the mountain-tops of which are mostly round and gently-sloping. Consequently, the number of peaks differ greatly between these two ranges. The Yari-Hodaka ridge, the highest point in the Northern Alps, has eight peaks within four miles, whereas the Shirane group in the Southern Alps has only four within the same distance. The highest of the latter, Kita-dake, has the altitude of 1,047 feet, the same as the Inner Hodaka peak. The names of the peaks, too, tell their own stories. Whereas in the Northern Alps there are such names as "Yari" (Spear), "Tsurugi" (Swords), "Gaki" (Hungry Devil), and "Aka-oni" (Red Devil), in the Southern Alps the mountains have less fearsome names, such as "Kita-dake" (North Mountain), "Aino-take" (Midway), "Hijiri" (Saint), and so on, and the only awe-inspiring name is "Noko-giri" (Saw), which, after all, is not at all as shocking as "Hungry Devil" for example.

There is another important reason why the Northern Alps attract more climbers than the Southern, and that is the abundance of snow in the former in summer. (Plates I. and III.) The prevailing wind in Japan in winter is north-west, which brings vapour from the Sea of Japan, dashes against the screen-like formation of the Northern Alps, and turns the vapour into snow. One finds at least two snow gorges extending over nearly two miles, more than a dozen about one mile in the latter part of July and beginning of August, in the Northern Alps, whereas there is scarcely any in the Southern Alps. This fact is responsible for the existence of numerous lakelets and pools of crystal-clear water at a considerable height in the Northern Alps. Any mountaineer would appreciate these lakelets and pools, not only for their beauty but also as a source of supply of water for camping and so forth, which is utterly lacking in the Southern. (Plate IV.)

The abundance of moisture in the soil of the Northern mountains may be the explanation why there are so many more varieties of alpine flora in that region than in the Southern mountains. The beautiful flowers of the Primula variety which greet the eyes of climbers of the Northern mountains are very seldom seen in the Southern mountains.

The "cirque," known as the relics of glaciers, are numerous in the Northern and rare in the Southern Alps. This is also explained by the difference in the snowfall.

To me the joy of mountaineering consists in lying full length

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on the soft, green grass of a high plateau, sort of "alp," after two or three hours of strenuous climbing. The Northern Alps are full of such plateaus, good places for lazy climbers like myself, and also for camping. These plateaus form a contrast to the knife-like ridges and sharp aiguilles in the vicinity. The ridges of the Southern Alps are much wider, and here and there form themselves into such plateaus.

As for hot-springs, the Southern Alps, which are not volcanic in structure, have only two or three, while the Northern Alps can really be proud of their number. It is such a comfort to discover hot, clear water, gurgling out of sand along a mountain torrent, dig the sand, put some little rocks and stones into a circle, and bathe, especially after a long day's walking. The Shiro-uma Group, which lies at the northern end of the Northern Alps, boasts of a hot-spring bath-house at an altitude of 8,514 feet!

Popularity of Mountaineering in Japan

Perhaps the most popular mountain in the Japanese Alps is Yari-ga-Take (10,432 feet), which stands at the northern end of the Yari-Hodaka Ridge. (Plate I.) From the "shoulder," where stands quite a modern mountain-hut, a huge spear-shaped rock rises to a magnificent height. This rock is accompanied by a smaller rock called "Ko-yari" (Little Spear), to ascend which is only possible for those who thoroughly understand the technique of rock-climbing.

There are several routes leading to the summit of "Yari-ga-Take." The easiest and the most pleasant is to go by motor-coach to Kamikochi, thence walk along the Azusa-gawa River, which runs along the foot of Yari-Hodaka Ridge, having as its source the snow-field which lies on the eastern side of the mountain.

Kamikochi is certainly a beautiful place and attracts a great number of visitors. The latest statistics that are available (1929) tell me that during that year 15,000 climbers visited Kamikochi, and 10,000 out of this number climbed the Yari. Since then the motor road from Matsumoto, a city where one gets off the train from Tokyo, Osaka, or elsewhere, was constructed, and naturally the number of visitors increased. The majority of people go in summer, and Kamikochi of today is a very gay climbing centre. However, in 1919 from five to six thousand climbers came to Kamikochi: in 1909, seventy or eighty. When the Rev. Walter Weston first visited this place in 1891, he found only one man, with the name of Kamonji, living there, fishing and hunting all by himself; he took Kamonji as his guide for his climbs in the Japanese Alps.

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This increase of visitors to Kamikochi shows the tremendous increase in popularity, in recent years, of mountaineering in Japan. When I first climbed Shiro-uma in 1913, there was only one hut near the summit, large enough to hold about twenty; bare earth was the floor, walls made of piled pieces of rock, very uncomfortable and draughty. Today, there are several huts near the summit, and one of them is said to be capable of "packing in" one thousand people. When I made an eight-day climbing tour in 1914, we had tents, blankets, ground-sheets, pots and pans for cooking, provisions and so forth, and we did not meet a single party during those eight days. Today, the same route is dotted with huts where food, bedding, and at some even a hot bath, are provided, so that all one needs to take along is a small rucksack, into which a rain-coat, sweater, camera, knife, a tooth-brush, and so on are crammed.

The climbing of the Japanese Alps primarily was done in summer only, but in recent years more and more people began to climb in early spring, late autumn, and in winter. The popularity of ski-ing has much to do with winter climbing. As an unfortunate accompaniment of winter climbing, quite a number of people get killed. Between January, 1923, and August, 1933, 125 were killed, out of which only 49 met their death in summer—that is to say, during June, July, and August. This list included a few cases which took place at various mountains which do not belong to the Japanese Alps; and as to skiers, only those who used skis as a means of climbing were listed. Those killed by volcanic eruptions are also omitted.

The causes of death are as varied as those found in any other mountains. They include avalanches, snow-storms, and consequent exposure, falling, lightning, and heart-failure. In January, 1934, a party of six skiers, while climbing Asama Yama, an active volcano not far from Tokyo, was overwhelmed by an avalanche and all were killed. The fact that there were two young girls in the party shows the popularity of ski-ing and mountaineering among Japanese women.

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ADMINISTRATION AND ECONOMICS IN THE NETHERLANDS INDIES

By Professor J. Coatman

There has long been a pressing need for a first-class book in English on the Dutch East Indies. De Kat Angelino's massive second volume has many merits, but it is not easy to get a clear picture of the system of administration, the economic structure, and the social and political development of the islands from its pages, ably and conscientiously written as they are. Angoulvant's *Les Indes Neerlandaises* is a most valuable treatise on all sides of life in the great Dutch dependency, but it is not an easy book for English-speaking readers to tackle. But Professor Amry Vandenbosch's book, *The Dutch East Indies*, published by Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. (Michigan) last year, is exactly what we want. In less than 400 pages he deals clearly, adequately, and authoritatively with all aspects of the public and social life, the economic structure, and the politics of the Netherlands Indies. The place of the islands in world politics is shown and there is a deeply interesting chapter on the nationalist movement in Java. Here is a book which nobody can afford not to have read if he aspires to anything more than the most superficial knowledge—newspaper headline knowledge, in fact—of one of the most important of recent developments in Colonial Policy. Every year brings Colonial Policy more and more into the forefront of world attention and deeper and deeper into the heart of international relations. For colonial possessions are all the time increasing in importance as sources of supply of vital tropical products, and as markets for the industries of distracted metropolitan countries desperately looking for outlets in a world hag-ridden by economic nationalism. Professor Vandenbosch has given us a study of weight and power, dynamic in quality and presentment, as befits his subject, which is itself dynamic and ever developing and changing.

The customary division of the Dutch East Indies possessions is into two groups—Java and its tiny neighbour Madura; and the "Outer Possessions," namely Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, and the great number of lesser islands strung out through the waters east of Java. The latter is the centre of the whole of the Dutch East Indies—geographically, economically, politically. Although Java has less than one-fourteenth of the total area of 733,000 square miles, she has over two-thirds of the total population of 61,000,000.

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Her population growth has been prodigious, the numbers of her people having multiplied at least tenfold since the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is inevitable that her development should determine the development of the other possessions, that to outsiders she and her conditions should be synonymous with the whole of the Dutch East Indies and their conditions, and that Dutch Colonial Policy should centre in her. In the discussion which follows we shall, therefore, be talking of Java except when some other parts of Netherlands India are specifically mentioned.

It is clear that the great expansion of population, mentioned above, could not have occurred had not two main conditions been fulfilled. The first is the existence of a quite extraordinary combination of physical circumstances. The second is immunity from external attack and internal disorder. Both these conditions have been fulfilled, and today we see Java and Madura supporting a population of 41,000,000 on an area of a trifle over 51,000 square miles. Thus Java has the densest population in the world, and, *mirabile dictu*, only 6 per cent. of the people live in cities of 24,000 and upwards. The almost incredible fertility of Java's soil is the explanation of this phenomenon, and the fact that there is very little of her surface which cannot be utilized. From sea-level to her highest hilltops there is cultivation everywhere, three crops a year in places, and almost every kind of economic vegetable life is, or could if necessary be, produced within her borders. Added to her unique physical advantages is the devoted and brilliant scientific research which has made the country the *locus classicus* in certain branches of agricultural scientific research.

The population figures for the Outer Possessions are of a more normal colonial complexion. Sumatra, with an area more than three times as great as Java and Madura, has only one-fifth of their population. Dutch Borneo, which is more than eight times as large as Java and Madura, has one-tenth of their people, whilst Dutch New Guinea, with almost exactly three times the area of the two central islands, has less than one-fortieth the number of inhabitants. Naturally, the economic, administrative, and social conditions and problems of the Outer Possessions are immeasurably more simple than those of Java. Their economic development has begun and their potentialities are vast, but it will be long before they present their Dutch rulers with very complicated or intractable problems. At first sight it would seem to be a natural solution of certain Javanese economic and social problems to get millions of Java's people to migrate to the Outer Possessions, notably to Sumatra, which is separated from her by hardly more than a stone's throw of water. But the Javanese are un-

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willing to migrate, and the Dutch have to turn to foreign Asiatics, particularly to the Chinese, for their labour supply. In this fact there lies latent the germ of many a formidable problem of the future.

Java, then, is the brightest jewel in the crown of Holland, and Dutch policy in regard to her is the pith and marrow of their whole Colonial Policy. The mere historical narrative of the Dutch dealings with Java has an infinity of interest and importance for us. From the naked exploitation of old Dutch East India Company days, through the régime of forced culture to the more humane and enlightened policy of the present day, Professor Vandenbosch takes us in one ably written chapter (Chapter III.). It is a pity that space did not permit him to bring out the quite extraordinary comparison between Netherlands and British India. In conditions of all sorts, in problems of administration, even to some extent in population, the two countries are strikingly similar, whilst the character of the problems which they both afford to their foreign rulers seems to have steadily approximated with the passage of time. It is impossible now to say what form the Dutch administration of Java would have taken had there never been the period of British rule. It is possible that the Dutch would have developed a satisfactory form of indirect government which would have left the Native States as real living units like the Indian Native States. Raffles, the British administrator, put this out of the question. He applied to Java the notions of the Bengal Permanent Settlement with the Javanese "Regents" playing the rôle of the Bengal "Zemindars." There is no reason to doubt that, had British government of the island continued, the system of administration in Java today would have been that of a British Indian province. The interesting growth of the present highly individual form of indirect government in Java is more fully described by Angelino than by Vandenbosch, although the latter is far more clear and concise. To a student of comparative colonial administration nothing could possibly be more instructive than a comparison of the growth of the principles on which the administration of Java is based with the growth of the corresponding principles in India on the one hand, and in Nigeria on the other. Better than all, perhaps, would be such a comparison between the Dutch East Indies and Malaya, where perhaps the most satisfactory of all forms of indirect government is being worked out in the Federated States. Here is a rich field for students to work in the future.

But the Dutch in Java have a problem which does not face the administrators of "indirect" rule anywhere else in the colonial world. For they have a full-fledged representative system of government superimposed on the simpler organs of adminis-

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tration which make up the framework of their "indirect" government. The Volksraad, both in complexity of composition, in its system of communal election, in its powers and limitations, and in its actions is singularly like the Legislative Assembly of British India, and, indeed, it is obvious that the latter is the model for much of what is done by the nationalist members of the Volksraad. American readers will find a similar close analogy in the system set up by the Jones Act in the Philippines. There is much that is attractive to British readers in the Regent system, whereby the greater part of the day-to-day contact between the administration and the man in the fields is entrusted to natives, and, moreover, to natives who command respect by reason of hereditary position, and who have received a thorough and up-to-date training. Naturally, final control is in the hands of higher Dutch authorities, but the control is normally not very obtrusive, and the Regents, assisted by the Regency Councils and their executive off-shoots, the Regency boards of deputies, have a much freer hand than do their confrères in directly administered countries such as British India. But it remains to be seen how this system will fit in with the growing democratization of the Central Legislature and Government. At present, there does not seem to be any fixed policy of devolution of autonomous power on the natives of Java by extending the functions and authority of the Volksraad and the Provincial Councils. It may be that the authorities hope that the present development of indirect government through the regencies, and the continuous growth of the functions and powers of the municipalities, will render any important changes at the centre unnecessary. This hope, if it be indeed held, would seem to be a vain one in view of the trend of opinion inside the Volksraad and inside Java at large. However that may be, the coexistence, and the development side by side, of a system of "indirect" government and a representative system modelled on Western democratic lines, make Java one of the most interesting countries in the whole world from the point of view of the student of colonial administration. The interest becomes even more apparent when we remember that Java now is the theatre of political life in the real and accepted sense of the word. For the intelligentsia and many of the working-classes are now politically self-conscious and are organized in regular bodies for the achievement of defined and definite ends. Professor Vandenbosch's chapter on "The National Awakening" is of high interest and should be read by all who want to understand the tides of feeling which are now sweeping through the Far East. All the time one reads this chapter, the conditions of British India are brought powerfully into one's mind, and here again it can hardly be doubted that much of the actual technique and method of

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political agitation is being imported from British India together with the general inspiration. Indeed, it would be most instructive for the serious student to read with Professor Vandenbosch's work some authoritative book on contemporary Indian political developments.

The economic problems of the Dutch East Indies are far from negligible despite the unrivalled natural resources of both Java and the Outer Possessions. In the first place, the Government itself introduced the cultivation of such crops as sugar, rubber, tea, coffee, quinine, palm-oil, and tobacco and then gradually allowed it to be undertaken by private enterprise. But the latter was, and is, almost entirely foreign. There are, for example, practically no native-owned sugar plantations, although the natives have undertaken the cultivation of certain of the other "money" crops, notably rubber. Large-scale enterprises have thus grown up, and although the natives' rights in the land are now protected as far as possible inside the framework of the system which has grown up, the alienation of land in *latifundia* and the growth of population have resulted in the typical family plot of land in Java being reduced to about two acres. Further, there are very few natives in executive posts in the big agricultural enterprises, whilst the middlemen are mostly Chinese. Therefore we have now a picture of a dual Java, so to speak—the small-scale native cultivations and the big agricultural estates of 1,000 acres and upwards. The stockholders of the latter are non-resident and profits go abroad. We find in Java the same problem of unemployed intelligentsia as we do in India, and, further, during the slump, there has been unemployment among the workers in the big agricultural and mining enterprises. Naturally, in these features of the economic life of the country there are causes for grave perturbation, and the Governments of Holland and the Netherlands Indies are by no means unmindful of them. The danger of the general situation can be inferred to some extent from the fact that rice, the staple food of the people, has to be imported into Java.

The islands are richly endowed with mineral as well as agricultural resources and potentialities.[1] They rank third among the tin-producing areas of the world, and gold, silver, coal, and oil, to mention the more important commodities, are also exploited. The Government keeps a very tight control over mining concessions, and, in fact, operates important mining concerns itself. Most of the mineral resources are in the Outer Possessions and, as we have seen, it is a strange and arresting fact that, in spite of the over-population of Java, it is all but impossible to get any migration from that island to the other possessions, even to Sumatra. Foreign labour, mostly Chinese, has to be employed.

Quite rightly, the Dutch are proceeding cautiously in the matter

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of industrial development. Java has already a quite impressive list of manufacturing industries, but they are mostly ancillary to the agricultural and transport industries. The slump has hit the islands very hard indeed, and the Government are feeling their way to permanent economic policy. The further development of scientific research and increase of production of primary materials are features of the economic policy of the islands today, but, obviously, in view of world conditions, these cannot bring permanent economic safety and prosperity to the country. The tariff policy of the Dutch East Indies has always been a liberal one. Holland clearly has no interest in embarking on a restrictive policy since she is not a great manufacturing country herself, and freedom of international trade is as important to her Far Eastern possessions as it is to Malaya.

Altogether, the political and economic problems of the Dutch East Indies are of first-class importance and of fascinating interest, and Professor Vandenbosch's book will help all its readers to understand them.

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BENGAL AND ITS JUTE INDUSTRY

By R. W. Brock
(Late Editor of *Capital*.)

Of all the Indian Provinces, Bengal probably benefited least by the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Constitution, and for two main reasons: one financial, the other economic. Financially, in contrast to Madras and certain other Provinces, Bengal obtained no appreciable addition to its resources under the Meston Settlement; on the contrary, in order to preserve the semblance of a balanced Budget, the Provincial Administration was forced to impose heavy new taxation, the proceeds of which were almost entirely monopolized by the Reserved Departments, leaving only the most insignificant sums at the disposal of the new ministers. In such circumstances the unreadiness of the Swarajist Party and its allies to work the new Constitution, however reprehensible, was not altogether surprising, and the political unrest so peculiarly evident in the Province in the last decade has been due largely to the position of Constitutional sterility so created. Had the financial resources allocated to Bengal been adequate to enable reasonable grants to be made to the Transferred Departments, it is safe to assert that no great difficulty would have been encountered by successive Governors, either in selecting competent ministers or in securing adequate support for them in the Provincial Legislature. In reality, however, mainly owing to financial difficulties, the Transferred Departments in Bengal under the present Constitution have achieved very little, and, despite the diversion of half the proceeds of the jute export duty to the Provincial Government in Sir George Schuster's last Budget, the prospects of more substantial achievement under the new Constitution are not very much brighter. It is hardly necessary to adduce detailed justification for that statement: suffice it to say that, in a Province with a population numbering approximately fifty millions, the Provincial Government has a revenue not exceeding £10,000,000 to finance requirements so varied and comprehensive as Police, Education, General Administration, Civil Works, Justice, Medical, Jails, Excise, Public Health, Agriculture, Registrations, Stationery and Printing, Forests, and, last but not least, Industries. In other words—to quote only one illuminating comparison—under the Montagu-Chelmsford Constitution the Bengal Government was allotted, for all purposes, a smaller sum

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than the London County Council spends on education alone. In effect, under the Meston Settlement, all the expanding revenues —such as Customs duties and income tax—were retained by the Government of India, while most of the Departments calling for larger expenditure were assigned to the Provincial Governments, and, in particular, to the Indian Ministers, such as health, education, agricultural improvements, etc. It was peculiarly unfortunate that in Bengal, as I have already noted, the ministers were left to face the Legislature with empty pockets: a position not conducive either to political popularity or constructive achievement. Provincial taxation in Bengal was extended to the limits of tolerance and productivity; but of the total revenues collected in the Province from all sources, about two-thirds were taken by the Central Government, whose expenditure is mainly incurred outside the Province, leaving the Provincial Administration only the exiguous income already mentioned.

Calcutta, that is to say, collects revenues which the Delhi Administration distributes—mainly in Upper India. Perhaps the process I refer to can be illustrated most vividly by instancing the yield of the jute export duty. Jute is grown virtually only in Bengal, and in the rural areas is the principal source of income, while in Calcutta jute manufacture is the principal industry. In the last decade, however, the Central Government has collected between £30,000,000 and £40,000,000 by this form of taxation, and has retained the whole amount, allowing the Provincial Government to finance, for example, even the Agricultural Department, to whose efforts, prior to the world depression, the progressive improvement in the outturn and quality of the jute crop was largely due. Analogously, while the extension of the mill industry in Calcutta threw additional expenditure on the Bengal Government, the Central Government monopolized the revenue from income-tax, which represents the principal method of securing for the State a reasonable percentage of the substantial profits this industry, until recently, has obtained. Here again, therefore, Bengal was unable to retain any share of the taxation collected within its own borders. Very large sums flowed out: only insignificant rivulets flowed back.

Furthermore, since the adoption by the Central Government and Legislature of the policy of industrial protection, the "drain" of taxation from Bengal has been supplemented by an equally formidable, but more insidious and indefensible, denudation of its resources in the form of the higher prices charged to consumers for a large and increasing variety of manufactured goods produced by industries located in other parts of India. It is possible to argue, with some semblance of justification, that the imposition of protective tariffs has yielded substantial gains to

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India as a whole and that, from this very broad standpoint, Bengal has shared in the gains so derived. Directly, however, as an economic and administrative unit, Bengal has suffered as a consumer of industrial products, as the result of the protectionist policy, without deriving any compensating benefits as a producer owing to the fact that none of the important industries protected are located within her own borders. Paper manufacture is a partial exception, but the capital and employment involved in this industry are relatively insignificant, and in regard to the major industries protected, such as cotton manufacture, steel and associated industries, salt, sugar, etc., no elaborate calculations are required to demonstrate that the cost of high protection and high prices to Bengal has greatly exceeded the gains. Quite clearly, protective tariffs are framed, in India as elsewhere, exclusively in the interests of industries producing mainly for the domestic market, whereas of the three industries in which Bengal is primarily interested—jute, tea, and coal—the jute and tea industries are essentially exporting industries, depending pre-eminently on markets overseas, while the coal industry has never been materially prejudiced by foreign imports and only desires (but has never yet secured) "protection" from the subsidized competition of the Government of India's own collieries. Consequently, the cultivator in Bengal, in the interests of industrial development, is paying very much more for his clothing, for certain building materials such as galvanized sheets, for such a simple but universal necessity as matches, and for such foodstuffs as salt and sugar, than would be necessary if protective tariffs, reinforced by revenue surcharges, had not forced prices to such artificially high levels. The burden of protectionist price levels was heavy enough when the cultivator was receiving reasonable prices for his own produce; it is, of course, still heavier now that the cash value of his staple products has been approximately halved by the incidence of the world depression. Somewhat ironically, indeed, in the interests of the Indian Budget, the lower the level to which commodity prices have fallen, the higher has been the level to which import duties have been raised, in order to maintain the revenue from Customs, despite the smaller volume of imports, at its pre-slump total.

Perhaps enough has been said to show that Bengal, at least, has little reason to enthuse concerning its political or economic situation, whether it looks backward or forward. As a result of the distribution of financial resources between the Central and Provincial Governments the Bengal Administration is left with an annual revenue, as we have seen, of approximately £10,000,000, to meet the varying administrative and social needs of a population of 50 millions, or say four shillings per head per annum for

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all purposes excluding only defence. As there is no reason to anticipate any early or substantial increase in this income, the chances of increasing the present attenuated expenditure on what are called the "nation building" services such as education and health are correspondingly limited. It must not be overlooked that the diminutive scale of Provincial revenues rules out any considerable expansion in the volume of State employment, while the limited scope for further industrial expansion in Bengal precludes any considerable increase in the near future in the volume of industrial employment. Most of the professions, unfortunately, are already overcrowded relative to the scope available, and there remains only agriculture. In this industry the position and prospects are measured by the official calculation that since 1929 the cash value of the staple crops of India has fallen by 47 per cent. In this cataclysmic decline no product has fallen from a greater height or to a lower level than jute, on which the rural and industrial welfare of Bengal is mainly dependent. Probably the political future and the economic structure of Bengal are more closely linked with the fluctuating fortunes of the jute industry than is generally realized. Without jute, it is no exaggeration to assert, rural Bengal would sink into chronic insolvency and Calcutta would fall to the commercial and industrial status of Madras. In such a situation there is food for gloomy reflection in the grim circumstance that the future of the jute industry will be determined less by any measures of rehabilitation that may be attempted in India than by the trend of world prices and world trade. In support of that estimate it is enough to recall the events of the last four years.

As observed in the recently published Report of the Bengal Jute Enquiry Committee, an average jute crop at the beginning of the century was about 6,000,000 bales; but in 1926-27 the enormous output of about 12,000,000 bales was reached.* Average harvest prices rose gradually from about Rs. 4-1 per maund at the beginning of the century until the peak year 1925, when the abnormal average harvest price of Rs. 16 per maund was realized. Since 1930-31, however, the Committee lament, "we have been in the grip of the worst depression the world has known, and the value of jute has fallen as low as a harvest price

* One rupee = 1s. 6d.; one lakh Rs. = £7,500; one crore Rs. = £750,000; one bale of jute = 400lbs.

"In Bengal," the Jute Enquiry Committee say, "there is the same chaos in regard to weights and measures as in other parts of India. . . . The weights vary according to the number of *tolas* in a *seer*—40 *seers* always making a *maund*. Thus while the standard *seer* is 80 *tolas*, a local *seer* may vary from only 60 *tolas*, or 60 *sicca* weight, to 110 *tolas* (110 *sicca*)." Nominally, however, a bale of raw jute is regarded as containing 400 lbs., or 5 *maunds*.

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of little over Rs. 3 per maund. On this basis the aggregate value of jute to Bengal was probably not more than one-fifth of what it was in 1926. The result was something approaching financial paralysis in the Province, which itself was a demonstration of the very great importance which jute has assumed in the economic life of Bengal." In Bengal today there are 94 jute mills, with approximately 60,000 looms, consuming about 60 per cent. of the total production of jute. The total number of looms in other countries is estimated at about 45,000. Unfortunately, America, the biggest buyer of Bengal jute manufactures, has had to reduce its purchases, owing to acute trade depression, and other large buyers have had to follow suit. A more serious factor is that the decline in the demand for jute is not due exclusively to the trade depression, which sooner or later should disappear, but, as pointed out by the Indian Jute Mills Association, to competition, as a result of which the industry is faced with the possibility of a permanent diminution in the demand for its goods. Competition, it is pointed out, has developed along two main lines—viz., (1) the increased adoption of bulk handling of grain is progressively eliminating jute sacks as containers for grain in transit; (2) the substitution of jute by paper, and to a less extent by cotton, for the making of bags. In the opinion of the Jute Enquiry Committee, it is probable that the losses due to bulk handling and to the use of paper are permanent, also that they may increase. This "means correspondingly reduced jute production, and, therefore, less income for the cultivator. The danger is real, and the remedy is to put forward every effort to retain trade which the industry now holds; also to initiate at the earliest possible date a policy of research, vigorously pursued, with the object of discovering fresh markets or new uses for jute, thus minimizing the loss of trade caused by competition." The future economic welfare of Bengal depends upon the vigour and success with which these important recommendations are implemented.

Jute is of vital importance not only to Bengal but to India as a whole. The value of the annual exports of jute and jute manufactures, as noted in the minority report of the Jute Enquiry Committee, accounts for about half the total value of exports from Bengal and over 25 per cent. of the total value of Indian exports as a whole. Directly, jute is of great economic value to the agricultural masses, who account for 80 per cent. of the population—to such an extent, indeed, that the proportion of the value of jute to the total value of the marketable crops of the Province exceeded in some years even 80 per cent., the average for the ten years 1920-21 to 1929-30 being 48 per cent.—*i.e.*, about half the total. The extent to which the cultivators have benefited from the development of the industry is measured by the calculation

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that the value obtained by them from the sale of this single crop in the decade ending 1929-30 exceeded Rs. 35½ crores, or approximately Rs. 7-8 per head of the total population of Bengal, including men, women, and children. In 1925-26, a year of exceptionally high prices, this average income was practically doubled, rising to Rs. 15 per head. Today, no primary commodity shows a steeper decline from the high level thus achieved.

In the survey conducted by the Indian Jute Mills Association, already mentioned, it is pointed out that competition from paper bags has affected the demand for jute goods principally in the United Kingdom, South Africa, Australia, and America. Paper interests have, during recent years, carried out an extensive campaign in favour of the adoption of their goods at the expense of jute, and this has been responsible for a considerable loss of trade in jute bags, not only in the major industries but also—and perhaps to a greater proportionate extent—in the retail trades which formerly used large quantities of small makes of jute bags for the marketing of their goods. But the principal loss to the Calcutta mills has undoubtedly been in respect of the cement trade of the United Kingdom, South Africa, America, Germany, and Denmark. A conservative estimate places the loss to the jute industry of Bengal involved in the change-over to paper in the United Kingdom and South Africa alone at upwards of twenty million cement bags per annum. Wide hessians have been displaced largely in the Australian dried fruit trade by a product known as "Sisal-kraft," and it is quite probable that competition of this nature may extend to other fruit-producing countries. In the United States cotton bagging is gaining in use and popularity: the diminished demand for cotton having stimulated American cotton interests to take active steps to foster the adoption of cotton bags and bagging in preference to jute both internally and in foreign markets. The low price of cotton recently, its lightness and the consequent saving in freight, its greater strength and its more attractive appearance, especially from the point of view of the retail trades, have contributed to the success of the campaign carried out in its favour. Jute goods in short—and this applies throughout, in the consideration of substitutes—have, to a large extent, lost their former advantage of comparative cheapness. Agitation in favour of the bulk handling of grain is active in the United States and Australia and has recently extended to the Argentine, where a Government Committee has been appointed to prepare detailed plans. In Egypt, Government is banning the use of jute for cotton baling, while in Australia the abandonment of jute woolpacks, in favour of some alternative material less deleterious to the wool, is under active consideration.

A factor not mentioned in the report of the Indian Jute Mills

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Association, but one which is bound to reduce the demand for jute bags, is the apparently permanent contraction in the international grain trade owing to the increasing tendency in industrial countries to revive their own agricultural production: a tendency reflected in the recent history of wheat production and distribution. In this direction the jute industry is subject to the same handicaps as the shipping industry, one of whose spokesmen, the Chairman of the United British Steamship Company, recently pointed out the extent to which international trade in cereals is contracting. For example, in 1929 Germany produced for herself 3,000,000 tons of wheat. In 1933 she grew 5,000,000 tons, reducing by 2,000,000 tons what she would otherwise have imported overseas. Italy in 1929 produced over 6,000,000 tons of wheat and in 1933 over 7,000,000 tons. Great Britain has grown 500,000 tons more wheat and 500,000 tons of sugar which otherwise would have been imported. In these three countries alone increased agricultural production has deprived about 600 vessels of employment for one-third of a year, and the conditions which curtail the utilization of shipping also curtail the demand for jute packing. In view of such considerations, it appears probable that world consumption of the limited range of jute manufactures on which the Calcutta mills have hitherto concentrated has passed its zenith and that, if output within any calculable period is to return to productive capacity, an indispensable pre-requisite is a greater diversification of production than has heretofore been attempted or even contemplated. It would be shortsighted to underrate the commercial, as well as the technical, impedimenta to the fulfilment of such a programme, for its adoption would undoubtedly intensify competition with mills overseas, and tariff obstructions would probably be fully employed to hinder the entry of new products into new markets. Nevertheless, no possible line of development can be neglected, and the Calcutta industry has indicated its realization of the needs of the situation by the adoption of a programme of action comprising, not only the appointment of Jute Trade Commissioners to be located in the principal consuming countries, but also the establishment of a Technological and Scientific Research Department, in which connection Dr. S. G. Barker, Director of Research to the British Wool Industries Research Association, has been invited to visit India in the near future for the purpose of studying the position on the spot and of formulating a research scheme suitable to the industry's requirements. In a recent circular to the Calcutta mills recommending the provision of funds adequate to meet the expenditure involved the Indian Jute Mills Association alludes to a preliminary note on the subject of jute research, in which Dr. Barker has emphasized that it is just as necessary that work on

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behalf of the jute industry should be carried out at an organized Research Institution in Great Britain as it is that laboratories should be established in India itself.

Scientific research, however, is a form of long-term planning, and, recognizing that economic research is an essential prerequisite, the Association, as already noted, contemplate the employment abroad of travelling agents with an intimate knowledge of the trade: one to operate in Great Britain and the Continent of Europe, the second in North and South America, and the third in Australia, New Zealand, and the Far East. It is frankly acknowledged by the Jute Mills Association that the manufacturing side of the Indian industry at present lacks an organized system of following up the uses to which its products are ultimately applied, and that it has so far made no endeavour either to keep in touch with consumers or to push the sale of its goods in competition with others. This administrative deficiency, which has been for so many years a source of loss and reproach, will be overcome by the appointment of the new Trade Commissioners, whose duties will vary according to the circumstances obtaining in the particular countries in which their investigations will be pursued. For instance, it is suggested, in Europe one of the initial tasks will be to obtain accurate information relating to the working of the Continental mills, the extent to which their trade is expanding overseas and further possibilities in that direction; and also to report on the factors which are diverting business from Calcutta. Analogously in Australia and the Far East attention will be devoted to the compilation of a report on the increasing use of grain elevators, accompanied by a survey of the jute industry in Japan. Apart from these necessary variations, the functions common to each of the oversea agents, it is contemplated, would be to conduct an economic survey—from the point of view of the jute industry—of each of the territories concerned, to collect reliable data regarding crops, the uses to which jute goods are put, the possibilities of finding new outlets for jute, and on any other subject having a bearing on the jute industry of Bengal; they would keep in close touch with manufacturers in the matter of complaints, would assist buyers in obtaining the article best suited to their needs, and would generally provide the necessary link between the mills and their consumers, working as far as possible in collaboration with the trade agencies which at present exist. In brief, what the Jute Mills Association "visualize is that the trade should eventually have, in each of the principal consuming countries, intelligence officers acting, under instructions from headquarters, as the trade's own Commissioners and providing the necessary liaison between the manufacturer and the consumer."

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In concluding this inadequate survey of jute problems and prospects, I have space only for one short additional comment.

Economic planning has recently become one of the major preoccupations of the Bengal, as of the Central and other Provincial Governments in India; but it is clear that, to the Province immediately concerned, no issue is of greater immediate urgency and importance than the rehabilitation of the jute growing and manufacturing industry, which has suffered, and continues to suffer, from the violent derangement of world trade and the disastrous decline in commodity prices. Constitutional Reform, however desirable *per se*, will bring neither peace nor prosperity to Bengal unless the inauguration of the new Constitution coincides with a recovery in the price level of—and the world demand for—jute and jute products; and such a recovery, as the evidence testifies, although conceivable, is, despite the somewhat belated campaign of the Jute Mills Association, by no means assured.

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THE ROMANCE OF TWO RUINS

By Ranjee G. Shahani, B.A., D.Litt., F.R.S.L.

I

Beauty and sadness, in the Hindu mind, are near akin. And this is a sentiment that is more than merely racial: it belongs to the essence of the critique of taste.

But the critique of taste is manifestly very incomplete. We look in vain among philosophers for any clear pronouncement concerning the relation between death and beauty. The poets give us whatever glimpses we have. Shelley says:

"Our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought."

Keats, again:

"Ay, in the very temple of Delight
Veil'd Melancholy has her sovran shrine . . ."

These are utterances that give much food for thought. It is not my purpose to elaborate any theory of æsthetics: I will only say that by the testimony of the poets themselves fragility is in itself a charm and grace. The dog-rose, the May-fly, the lightning flash—these are things that touch us most, perhaps because of their very evanescence. Durability, it seems to me, somehow detracts from the miracle of beauty. As Virgil puts it:

"Sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt."

Yes, it is mortal things that move the soul.

No wonder that some have so great a passion for ruins. To me, at least, they are things inexpressibly beautiful. The mid-day sun is a tyrant devoid of beauty: his splendour is dearly purchased. The calm evening has a benediction of its own. So power in retrospect: all its contemptible elements have burnt out: only its romantic appeal remains. Distance, by itself, seems to throw a magic haze over all things. True enough. But our problem goes deeper than that. The fact is, the phenomenon of death is inherently beautiful. Is it any wonder that the most dainty of peoples, the Japanese, have chosen the cherry blossom as their emblem? This is an apt tribute to the miracle of the moment.

"Beauty," said Lafcadio Hearn, "is an anticipation of sorrow." This was a penetrating thought—a thought in which the entire East will participate. Ruins, many of us Easterns will

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tell you, are an embodiment of sorrow itself. They are like patience on a monument, smiling at grief. This is the secret of their appeal.

But how few English know anything of the grandeur of their splendid Raj in India! Few indeed. What poet has been moved to write an ode to the splendour of the Taj Mahal? I know of none. Lord Curzon, be it said to his glory, is one of the rare spirits who seems to have been captivated by its glamour. But few of the British writers appear to have been thrilled by this dream in marble.

May I venture to hope that the ordinary educated Englishman at least will acquaint himself more deeply with the finest jewel in the British Crown. But, alas! India, as a whole, is a sealed book to him. Let me evoke for him the bygone grandeur of two places of which possibly he has never heard—Golconda and Warangal. But of the first he has doubtless some sort of notion. With the Koh-i-Nûr (the Mountain of Light) in the British Crown he has probably some dim acquaintance. It is said to have come from the mines of Golconda. Let us linger over this.

II

On a granite ridge, some six miles north-west of Hyderabad, stand the remains of the ancient city of Golconda, the impregnable stronghold of the Deccan. The narrow stream of the Musi runs within gunshot of the walls. And the surrounding country is made by the successive outpourings of volcanic rocks building up a series of plateaux of lava-sheets. From the military point of view no better location could have been chosen for strategic purposes.

In outline the fort is diamond-shaped, with a rough pentagon (the *Naya Quila*) joined on to one of its faces. A strong castellated wall three miles in circumference, with eighty-seven well-preserved bastions, each from fifty to sixty feet high and built of massive blocks of granite, some of the blocks more than a ton in weight, encloses the fort. The eight ponderous gates would have defied any artillery of the seventeenth century. The sharply piked facings of the gates made them immune against the advance of elephants.

On the walls were mounted a great display of the guns of the period, some of them really effective—in function as well as appearance. A deep ditch, fifty feet broad, runs outside, and along the southern side there are traces of a second parallel moat.

But Golconda is really a series of separate forts included within the same lines of circumvallation. The lowest of these is the outermost enclosure into which we enter by the *Fath Darwaza*

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near the south-eastern corner; it is an immense area strewn with the remains of mansions, bazaars, temples, mosques, barracks, powder magazines, stables, and even cultivated fields. Here, in times of stress, the entire population of Hyderabad could take refuge.

As we proceed inside along the grand main road for some quarter of a mile, we arrive at the *Bala Hissar* gate. This leads us, up a toilsome ascent, to a higher level. Here we find a wealth of structures: a three-storied armoury, powder magazines, stables, mosques, audience chambers, harems, beautiful gardens, large wells, lodgment places for travellers, and even a temple dedicated to Hanuman!

Further west, a flight of steps cut in the solid rock leads the traveller up to the very apex of the edifice, which stands on a foundation of solid granite, its walls composed of huge blocks, massive and shapeless. This is the heart of the citadel, the Acropolis of Golconda; and here the ancient Dravidian Rajas of the land built their first stronghold, filling the gaps in the natural rocky walls with mud and rough stones. Here also stand, cut in the rocks, the cave-temples of these ancient people. Certainly it was a true poetic fancy that guided the primitive designer of this ancient fortress. Not only does the citadel dominate the landscape, but somehow seems to shape it. This brings to mind the fact that primitive peoples show a curious predilection for picturesque outlooks for their resting-places. There is a grave in South Devonshire looking out upon the sea. The view is splendid, almost the choice of a primitive parent; for the burial-place goes back beyond the Stone Age. Some primitive peoples, it would seem, were possessed of a faculty rising above genius. One can only call it inspiration.

Such thoughts crowd upon the mind as one contemplates the ancient structures of Golconda. But here also one is in presence of the stratification of human cultures; pre-Vedism and Hinduism and Islam interfused without conflict. It is a tragic irony that, whilst this is so, the peoples themselves were ever at each other's throats. There is peace between the dead: war is a sign of life, not of death. The *isms* can get on well together, but it is very, very seldom that we find them alive. Life means struggle. . . .

But let us take a look round from the top of the two-storied palace of the Qutb Shahi kings. A magnificent panorama unfolds itself in endless vista. On a clear evening the dim outline of the ancient fort of Bhonagar, some thirty-five miles distant, can be seen to the north-east, rising from the plain like some monstrous egg of an invisible roc. To the east lies the city of Hyderabad, its domes and minarets gleaming in the light of the setting sun like lanterns in a Chinese garden. Far away to the

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north-east we glimpse the mirror of the Hussan Sagar lake, and farther beyond glisten the white barracks of the British troops. Away to the right of these is the sacred Moula Ali hill, at the foot of which a palace nestles in a garden—a favourite retreat of His Highness the Nizam during the hot months of the Indian summer. Below, at our feet, we see the ruins of which we have already spoken—the Fort of Golconda, the massive fortifications of which defied for eight months the redoubtable Aurangzib and, but for treachery, would have kept him away altogether.

Since the days of Akbar the Imperial armies had been pouring into the Deccan, but Golconda had defied all their efforts. Aurangzib was determined to overcome its stubborn resistance. He had despatched one of his sons with that intention. But the prince, a good-natured, easy-going young man, had secret sympathies with the indolent ruler of Golconda, and deliberately procrastinated. Bungling, petty jealousies, ineffective skirmishes which vainly harassed the Mogul troops, filled up the programme. Fresh levies, supplies of money, insistent orders from the Emperor were in vain. Aurangzib decided to continue the operations in person. A touching incident is narrated of his conduct. One day Aurangzib was reconnoitring outside the fort. An expert gunner of the King of Golconda came running to his master, and, pointing to a figure on the plain, said: "There's the Emperor! Give me the order, and I'll shoot him." Abu-l-Hassan shook his head. "No," he said, "gentlemen don't fight like that." The gunner obeyed, but to show his skill, demolished the tent of one of the generals. This caused panic, and the Emperor realized in what peril he had stood.

At last, after a protracted siege and treachery, Golconda succumbed. "The Moguls," an Indian historian tells us, "poured into the fortress and raised a shout of triumph. The King, hearing it, knew that his hour had come. He went into the harem and tried to comfort the women, and then, taking his seat in the audience chamber, waited calmly for his unbidden guests. He would not suffer his dinner hour to be postponed for such a trifle as the Mogul triumph. When the officers of Aurangzib appeared, he saluted them as became a king and received them courteously. He then called for his horse and rode with them to Prince Azam, and was presented to Aurangzib, who treated him with grave courtesy, as king to king, for the gallantry of his defence of Golconda atoned for many sins of his licentious past." Yes, Aurangzib was outwardly courteous to his foe, but never forgave. The unhappy Abu-l-Hassan was sent as a captive to Daulatabad, where he languished in prison for fourteen years, till his death from some unknown cause in 1701. He was buried near the tomb of Syed Rayual Raoya, and his unfinished

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mausoleum, which he was himself erecting before his downfall, may still be seen there. Abu-l-Hassan, with all his faults and shortcomings, was popular with his subjects, and many tales of his personal prowess and valour are still current in the Deccan.

Aurangzib immediately took possession of the conquered territories; and it was from this time that Golconda was practically deserted in favour of Hyderabad, and little by little its glory waned.

But a swift Nemesis overtook the victor. His enforced absence from his capital had brought on trouble at home: the North was seething with discontent. The Deccan had been conquered at a great sacrifice, yet all to no purpose. The Emperor was an old man of ninety, disillusioned, broken, utterly disheartened. At the moment when his power reached its zenith, and was greater than that of Akbar, he saw with fearful clarity that, when he laid down his sceptre, his empire would come to naught. He had staked all on Golconda, and Golconda had broken him.

But what had Golconda been? The mart of the Eastern world. Here, in its great bazaars and rich emporiums, merchants from all parts of the world congregated and bartered and heaped up fortunes. One might see Persians, Abyssinians, Greeks, Dutch, Portuguese, French, and already English.

Yet the country was, as it still is, mainly agricultural. In the lowlands the staple crops were rice, millets, and pulses, while, on a smaller scale, the dye-crops, indigo and chay-root, were produced for use in connection with the weaving industry, and tobacco, then a recent introduction, was grown largely for export. The chief mineral products were iron and steel of high quality, manufactured some distance inland, and exported from Masulipatam; but soon diamond-mining on a large scale had developed at Kollur. But more about this last in due course.

The main exports of Golconda were cotton goods, iron and steel. Indigo was transported across the peninsula and shipped to Persia from the West Coast; cotton yarn was sent to Burma; and various other items contributed to what was, for the time, a large export trade.

Methwold, a contemporary writer, was specially struck by the cheapness of provisions. "In briefe," he tells us in his Relation, "it is a very fruitfull countrey, and, occasioned by many of the inhabitants abstinence from any thing that hath life, all kind of victuall are very cheape and plentifull, as eight hens for twelve pence, a goat or sheepe for ten pence, and for eighteen pence or two shillings a very good hogge; the like of fish and all other provisions in the towne, but in the countrey much better cheape." This account must have appeared to the people in England a miracle of cheapness. Golconda was verily a country of heart's

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desire. But what follows must have taken away their breath with sheer wonderment. "A citie that for sweetnesse of ayre," continues the chronicler, "conveniencie of water, and fertility of soyle, is accounted the best situated in India, not to speak of the King's Palace, which for bignesse and sumptuousnesse, in the judgement of such as have travelled India, exceedeth all belonging to the Mogull or any other prince: it being twelve miles in circumference, built all of stone, and, within, the most eminent places garnished with massie gold in such things as we commonly use iron, as in barres of windowes, bolts, and such like, and in all other points fitted to the majesty of so great a King, who in elephants and jewels is accounted one of the richest Princes of India." This must have excited, not only admiration, but also cupidity. Here, in truth, was another Eldorado.

Not less enthusiastic are the narratives of Tavernier and Thevenot. Reading them, one feels that the kingdom of Golconda must have been of boundless resources. Marco Polo's account is scarcely less exuberant. Milton himself, Puritan as he was, could not resist the appeal of so rich a word as Golconda, and managed to find place for it in his verse. So great was the magic of the name that a French writer, Marquis de Boufflers, composed a story, *La Reine de Golconda*, in which his mistress appears under the guise of the Queen of Golconda. This is the highest destiny he could devise for the simple peasant girl that he adored. Indeed, some are bold enough to assert that the "Valley of Diamonds" in the Sinbad story relates to the mines of Golconda. Other narrators are more sober. Methwold, for instance, tells us that the diamond mines were discovered by accident. A simple goatherd came across a strange-looking stone, and, not knowing that it had any value, sold it for a trifle of rice. The diamond, thus idly picked up, passed from one to another, until it fell into the hands of some who recognised its worth. One question led to another, until they found out the source. Then began what we can only call a scramble.

People from various parts of the kingdom flocked to the new mines. No fewer than 30,000 souls could be found at work, some digging, some filling baskets, some lading out water with buckets, others carrying earth to a certain selected patch of ground, and then, after exposing the material for a day to the hot sun, sorting out what remained. In the residue were found the diamonds. The King farmed the workings to a body of goldsmiths, reserving all diamonds above ten carats to himself.

The barren land that had proved so rich in mineral wealth was its own undoing. The Emperor at Delhi had heard of the wonderful output, and sent ambassadors to claim his share. The mines were closed down.

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Later on, we are told, Mir Jumla, who at one time had farmed the mines of Kollur in Golconda, and was reputed to be the wealthiest man in the kingdom, after a difference with his sovereign, transferred his allegiance to the Mogul. When Shahjahan was leading an expedition to Kandhar, Mir Jumla presented to him a priceless diamond, with the intimation that it would pay him far better to go for Golconda than for the rough hazard of a stony waste. This gift to Shahjahan was no less than the splendid diamond that now shines in the Crown of Britain. But its fortunes (a thrilling story) are less widely known. Suffice it to say that Tavernier saw it and handled it in the reign of Aurangzib. From Aurangzib it passed to his feeble descendants. Then it was appropriated by Nadir Shah, who, on seeing it, named it *Koh-i-Nûr*, or the Mountain of Light. Eventually it came into the hands of Ranjitsingh, the "Lion of the Punjab," and was one of his proudest possessions. On his death it passed on to his heirs. When the British annexed the Punjab it was part of the booty they annexed from the treasury. These are the fortunes of a little stone.

Such reflections come to the mind of anyone who from the Acropolis of Golconda gazes on the scene around. One is drawn again and again to the spot whose human tide has ebbed, perhaps for ever, and where all intrigues and human ties are over. All is peace. Overhead fly the kites, and the small birds twitter in the branches beneath. There is but solitude and silence and the "noiseless noise" of the wind among the leaves.

Here one is almost enamoured of death. What better place for the last sleep under the stars? One would lie undisturbed by the paltry troubles of human greatness until the very bones were dust and the world itself had become a shadow.

Such thoughts may have been in the minds of the founders of Golconda. Not far from the old fort stand the tombs of the Qutb Shahi dynasty, an apt reminder to each new ruler that, whatever might be his power and prestige, death lay not far away. He had only to look around to see the littleness of human greatness.

III

In antiquity, it seems, Warangal does not yield pride of place to Golconda. Very probably the two forts were contemporaneous. But history in the proper sense of the word is scarcely met with in the Hindu world with which we are dealing. It may be that the writers of the day were so preoccupied with the things of the spirit that they had neither time nor inclination to spend themselves over what they would have considered trivialities. So it

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comes about that we have innumerable commentaries about the utterances of Kalidasa and even of Buddha, but concerning their precise dates we have only conjecture. It is a racial peculiarity, and we can dismiss the matter at that.

It is therefore futile to pursue further any quest of dates in matters special to Hinduism. It is to Muslim invaders that we owe any chronological precision. "The authentic history of the Deccan," says the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, "only begins with the thirteenth century A.D." Alas, this is only too true. The preceding period is practically a blank. But we may claim to know when Warangal came to an end. "When in the beginning of the fourteenth century," says Fergusson, "the Muhammadans from Delhi first made their power seriously felt in the south, they struck down the Kingdom of Hoysala Ballâlas in 1310, and destroyed the capital of Helebîd; and in 1322 Orangal or Worangal, which had been previously attacked, was finally destroyed." If Fergusson is to be relied upon, the end of Warangal came before that of Golconda.

But what is Warangal? In the first place, it is an ancient fortified town after which a district and a division in the Hyderabad State receive their name. The Warangal division forms the eastern portion of the Nizam's dominions and extends from the river Penganga in the north to the Kistna in the south. The ancient town of Warangal is situated on the Nizam's State Railway, some eighty-six miles north of Hyderabad. It is some 1,000 feet above sea level and lies on the watershed separating the basins of the Godavari and the Kistna in the lower part of their course. The land surrounding it consists of large undulating plains of reddish sandy loam and black soil, broken here and there by fantastically shaped piles of enormous granite boulders and basaltic dikes. From all this it is clear that, from a military point of view, Warangal occupied an advantageous position, for access to it was difficult. Owing to this reason, evidently, the place was found suitable for erecting a fort in the period that we are dealing with.

The fortress of Warangal was founded, so historians tell us, by the Kakatiya King Ganpati, and was completed, according to some, by his daughter, or, according to others, by his wife. Her name in either case seems to have been Rudramba. It appears from all the evidences that she was a remarkable character. As there was no male heir to the throne, she assumed the reins of government. Her rule lasted no less than thirty-eight years and was marked by most able administration throughout. Marco Polo, who visited the Court, bears eloquent testimony to her capabilities as a ruler. "This kingdom," he writes, "was formerly under the rule of a king, and since his death, some forty

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years past, it has been under his queen, a lady of much discretion, who, for the great love she bore him, never would marry another husband. And I can assure you that during all that space of forty years she had administered her realm as well as ever her husband did, or better, and as she was a lover of justice, of equity, and of peace, she was more beloved by those of her kingdom than ever was lady or lord of theirs before." It would seem that the East has been prolific in masterful women—women the equals and even superiors of men. Such a type, so far as my knowledge goes, is less in evidence in the Western world. History does not furnish us with many women of the calibre of Nur Jahan and European literature is not rich in such types. But India itself affords us many notable examples. Rudramba certainly belonged to this special class. In A.D. 1295 she abdicated in favour of her grandson, who had just attained his majority. The young man justified her selection, and became one of the most powerful princes of his time.

After this the history of the fort became kaleidoscopic—it passed from hand to hand with varying fortunes. At last Warangal was captured by the Bahmani forces, and, on the break-up of that kingdom, it fell into the hands of the Qutb Shahis of Golconda. There is nothing heroic or splendid about the decline and fall of Warangal. It passed on its way to oblivion. One can still admire its relics and the ruins that the Nizam and his Government still keep in repair. The world owes a debt of gratitude to His Exalted Highness for his scholarly interest in Art, and to that patron of learning, Sir Akbar Hydari, the Finance Member. The publications of his Government do honour to the Nizam's patriotism and to his taste. A learned friend suggests to me that these publications might be made even more attractive by a somewhat more sensitive and delicate literary style.

But why linger over minor points? Our concern just now is with the ruins themselves.

Some memorials of the Kakatiyas may still be seen at Warangal, and at Hanamkonda, the original capital of the Hindu Rajas. The earliest of these, according to the legend, is the magnificent "temple of the thousand pillars" at Hanamkonda. This edifice was built by Prataparndradeva I., and is esteemed one of the finest examples of Chalukyan architecture now extant. It exhibits the best characteristics of that style. The temple is dedicated to the god Rudra (the thunderer), who was possibly the tutelary deity of the Kakatiyas, and contains, carved on a square pillar in what is now an outlying portion of the temple, a long Sanskrit inscription in the old Kanarese character with an exordium of eight lines in old Telegu commemorating Mahama-

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ndaleshwara ("the great Lord") Rudradeva, son of Prolaraja. To this inscription, which is dated in Shaka 1084 (A.D. 1162-1163), we are indebted for all the knowledge we possess of this dynasty. The temple also contains another inscription of much later date, in Telegu, commemorating the heroism of a Muhammadan general named Shitab Khan. The existence in a Hindu temple of a laudatory inscription to a Mussalman general distinctly calls for some explanation. The fact is, as Dr. Hirananda Sastri has pointed out in his able monograph on Warangal, Shitab Khan was by birth a Hindu of no particular caste. Indeed, he was very possibly a pariah to whom a transfer of his religious allegiance was a thing of no moment. All that counted in his life was the satisfaction of vanity. A perusal of the inscription in his honour lends countenance to this interpretation.

The next monument of importance is the inner or stone wall of Warangal. This was begun by Ganpati and completed by Rudramba, who also built the outer wall of the city. The circumference of the stone wall is 4 miles 630 yards, and though it is evidently of Hindu workmanship, as appears from the architecture of the gateways, it must frequently have been repaired by Mussalmans, for countless stones carved with figures of Hindu gods and their attendants, which have been removed from the large temple which stood in the centre of the inner fort, have been built at random into the wall, their carved surfaces being sometimes turned inwards for the better concealment of representations abhorrent to the piety of the Muslim.

Of the immense temple of which we have been speaking there remains nothing but four magnificent gates. The former enclosing walls have disappeared, leaving aimless gaps. From the large area that the wall must have enclosed, and from the exquisite carvings of the stones used in repairing the fort wall, there can be no doubt that the Warangal temple far excelled in magnificence the "temple of the thousand pillars" at Hanamkonda. What it must have been in its perfection almost baffles imagination.

Now the hand of death is over all. At Warangal we are privileged to see Art in one of its twilights. It is like walking in a graveyard, where we tread on relics that were once vividly alive. Pathos and beauty are here at one. And so good-bye to our ruins. "Our brain is scented," as Jahângir would have said, "with the odour of crushed petals," the odour of the Past.

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MYSORE: ITS PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE*

By M. C. B. Sayer

If there is one figure in all the Empire which appeals to the imagination of the British public it is the Indian Maharaja. His palace is one of the few secure retreats left to romance by our prosaic civilizations. His name conjures up visions of all the splendour of the East—elephants and tigers and hosts of magnificent retainers, and emeralds the size of pigeons' eggs. In a limited sense this popular conception is right. There may be a difference in degree between the six hundred odd States, ranging from Hyderabad, with an area of 83,000 square miles, a population of 12½ millions and a revenue of over £5,000,000, down to minute holdings in Kathiawar, only a few acres in extent, with an annual income equivalent to little more than that of an ordinary artisan. Yet many are patriarchal or semi-feudal in character and their medieval atmosphere still lingers. "The marching life of Moghul and Mahratta times has yielded to the sustained quiet of British rule, but the old spirit survives in many a story and many a hope."

There could be, nevertheless, no greater mistake than to think of the Indian States simply as effete survivals in the picturesque, which endure only through our support and survive by reason of our half-contemptuous toleration. "Even the great festivals which are celebrated every year on the ancient occasions in every Indian State," as Professor Rushbrook Williams has so aptly said, "are something more than opportunities for pomp and pageantry. However archaic or even obsolete they may appear to the sophisticated eyes of the Western observer, they still stand for the ancient identification of the government with the governed; for that intimate personal touch between ruler and ruled which the West has been content to lose. As the elephant procession winds slowly through the streets of the capital city, and as the celebrations of the day find their culmination in the stately assemblage of the Durbar, the observer who penetrates beneath the surface of things can detect the traces of an unbroken political tradition which is still vividly real to the heart of India."

We in British India have lost much by the isolation imposed on us by the differences of culture and of faith which divide us from the mass of the people. In the Indian States there may still be found obtaining through each limited area a sense of unity which

* Mysore Revenue Administration Report for 1932-33, with the Government's review thereon.

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goes far to transcend even the bitterness of the Hindu-Muslim feud. There are, of course, more prosaic reasons for the relative immunity of the States as a body, though the number of exceptions is, unfortunately, growing, from the virus of communalism. Despite the improvement in communications, the States for the most part are still somewhat inaccessible, and their general remoteness, combined with their smaller natural fertility, have precluded the growth and advance seen in the past three generations in British territory. Through the same two factors—the comparative isolation and the relatively sparse population—apart from all other considerations, the States have been slower than British India to be affected by the changed economic conditions resulting from British leadership. The continuity of their political forms has helped also the survival of their earlier economic organizations, and viewed from the standpoint of Western industrialism the States have been more backward than British India. This has in some measure been remedied in recent years, but, in any case, if the States were slower to adopt new forms and to make industrialization their aim, their rulers were in their own generation wise. They were not necessarily conservative, though many of them were; they were not even apathetic. They simply did not happen to be Europeans, convinced without argument or experiment that whatever was best for Europe was best for India. They had other reasons for their hesitancy. The problems of economic reconstruction are on broad outlines the same as in British India. Increased education, better sanitation and medical aid, the improvement of agriculture, the resuscitation and reorganization of handicrafts—assisted where necessary by modern mechanical improvements—these all involve increased governmental revenue and expenditure. The States, contrary to the popular belief, are not so wealthy as British India. They have no considerable rich middle-class and the banking system in general is less developed.

In spite of these and other disabilities, to which we shall refer later, at least one State has gone further in some respects than British India in recognizing that good government today consists as much, if not more, in providing for a people's physical and economic well-being as in ministering to its moral and spiritual needs. This State is Mysore. More than half a century ago, before ideas of constitutional reform had assumed definite shape in British India, Mysore was the first Indian State—indeed, the first part of India—to make a genuine attempt to associate the people in the work of administration. Within a few years of its rendition in 1881, under the wise direction of the late Maharaja, aided by a Prime Minister of exceptional foresight and ability, Mysore was universally acknowledged as a model State; and this proud distinction has been worthily sustained during the thirty-two years

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of the rule of the present Maharaja, H.H. Sir Sri Krishneraja Wadiyar Bahadur.

But without going so far as to imply that the inhabitants of some Indian States are better off, materially as well as morally, than under the more comprehensive régime of the British Indian provinces, the events of the last ten years dispassionately observed would certainly seem to suggest that the results of enlightened Indian rule, as measured by the contentment of the sixty-nine million Indian States subjects, are not necessarily in all respects inferior to the benefits of Western civilization. It is not an accident that the District Officer who, as the masses view government, is the real governor of British India, is popular and respected in his district, inasmuch as he establishes the relations which should prevail between a beloved Chief and his subjects. But has this fact, and all the knowledge of Indian character which lies behind it, been sufficiently appreciated by the framers of the White Paper?

Far from being "mere historic survivals of an unburied past," the rulers of Indian India, with some few exceptions, are experienced and hard-working men of affairs whose dominions require to be governed no less than Ireland and the Black Country, and whose standards of administration, when due allowance has been made for the essential differences of aim, if not methods, compare not unfavourably with those of neighbouring British Indian provinces. To argue, for instance, that the population of the Civil and Military Station of Bangalore will be worse off from the standpoint of the ratepayer accustomed to a high level of municipal efficiency, if and when the area is retroceded to the State, is to invite a retort which is as strictly in accordance with hard facts as it is damaging to our own self-esteem.

Behind the scenes of Eastern splendour which marked the visit of the Viceroy and Lady Willingdon, last December, to one of the most enchanting cities that it has ever been the writer's lot to see and which can rightly claim to be "the Garden City of India," there stands as excellent an example of sound and efficient administration as India has to show. To do justice to this more prosaic side without destroying the element of romance is not easy. It is rather like trying to challenge the fitness of Cinderella to discharge the functions of a Crown Princess; to probe too deeply would rob the fairy tale of its charm. But the task must be essayed if we desire not only to see Indian ideas of government in operation but also to grasp the true significance of India's long history.

Try as we may, we can never ignore India's past in any plans for her constitutional future. For it is a commonplace among careful observers of Indian conditions that no bureaucratic system,

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however enlightened and efficient; no system of representative Western institutions, no matter how liberal, really suffices to satisfy the need which the ordinary man experiences of being able to go with all his troubles to the individual in whose power lies the effective redress of wrongs. The record of Mysore shows that this insistence of the ancient right of personal access to the ruler, which even today is so marked a characteristic of the constitution of every Indian State, is in no way inconsistent with modern constitutional practice. Thus "the model State," as it is called, has a peculiar interest for the student of Indian institutions and administration.

As in all parts of India, Mysore's present pre-eminence is due in great measure to its past history. The story is long and as yet imperfectly deciphered, but perhaps its most significant chapters have been lived within quite recent years. Muslim rule has existed in the territory which now constitutes the State, but its duration was short. Its mark is less apparent than in the countries lying further to the North, and British rule, after fifty years of vigour, was terminated by the rendition of the State to the present ruling family. The modern State thus consists of an indigenous superstructure erected on a British foundation which owed comparatively little to its Muslim predecessors.

This fact has considerable significance when conditions in Mysore are compared with those in British India, on the one hand, or in the more northerly States on the other. One striking peculiarity of the State may be mentioned in the first place—the differentiation of the legislative body from the official organ of public opinion. In British India the Central and provincial legislatures are expected to fulfil two functions, not necessarily connected: they frame laws but at the same time voice popular aspirations by way of resolutions and interpellations. In Mysore, a distinction, perhaps more apparent than real, is drawn between the deliberative and the legislative functions.

The Representative Assembly was first established by executive order in 1881 to enable the representatives of the people, especially in rural areas, to approach the Government with local grievances and problems and to receive at intervals an account of the Durbar's aims and achievements. This body, under the scheme of constitutional reform introduced ten years ago, has been put on a statutory basis and has also now to be consulted on all proposals for the levy of new taxes as well as on the general principles of legislative measures before their introduction into the separate Legislative Council. The franchise, at the same time, has extended and women are no longer disqualified on the ground of sex from standing for election. The Legislative Council, a much smaller body, with a non-official majority, exercises under the re-

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formed constitution powers, generally speaking, similar to those of the provincial legislatures in British India.

In addition to these two constitutional bodies, there is another council, known as the Mysore Economic Conference, which was inaugurated by His Highness in 1911 with the object of associating public-spirited non-officials with the officers of government in the examination of problems connected with the development of the economic resources of the State. It was rightly considered that such questions, as distinct from those of general administration, required special treatment and that their solution in many cases could only be attempted by joint action. This pioneer effort in economic planning on a national scale, which British India at long last has decided to emulate, has already many notable constructive achievements to its credit. The Economic Conference is mainly responsible for the large expenditure on education, the establishment of the University of Mysore and of the Bank of Mysore, the creation of the Department of Industries and the starting of several new indigenous industries, large and small.

The practical consequences of this differentiation between legislative and deliberative functions is worthy of consideration in connection with the White Paper proposals, either in conjunction with, or as a possible alternative to the setting up of Second Chambers in the provinces. It may be argued, conceivably, that even the existing provincial Legislative Councils are too unwieldy for efficient law-making and at the same time too small to permit of the adequate representation of a numerous and heterogeneous population. This dual disability will be accentuated if and when the Councils are enlarged in accordance with the recommendations of the Franchise Committee. It may well be that a more satisfactory line of development is indicated in the direction to which Mysore has managed successfully to conduct its own affairs.

Nor is this the only respect in which the Joint Select Committee can derive valuable guidance from Mysore's pioneer experience in the art of popular representation. The Franchise Committee considered at some length whether, if the immediate adoption of adult franchise were impracticable, it might not be possible to make the village an electoral unit. This suggestion, attractive as it appeared at first sight, was rejected on the ground that the villages of modern India had in the vast majority of cases no self-governing institutions of their own and, therefore, no representative body which could be made the medium for placing electors on the electoral roll. "The revival of the panchayat system," the Committee added, "is of quite modern origin, and the total number of panchayats in British India today is only 11,770 out of a total of some 458,000 villages." Although the great majority of the 16,483 villages in which the population of Mysore, according to

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the 1931 Census, is distributed are small—the average is less than 350—there are now some 10,600 village panchayats, or councils, responsible for public health, sanitation, roads, wells and, in some cases, forests, tanks, and temple charities in their respective areas.

Admittedly, the results have not been uniformly satisfactory. Almost all the councils have levied obligatory taxes and twelve of them had recourse as well to optional levies. As democratic bodies in more advanced Western centres have often found to their cost, it is comparatively easy to impose taxation; the difficulty is to collect the proceeds. Some of the councils have sought a way out in insistence upon weekly labour for communal purposes—an expedient which might advantageously be more widely adopted in the West—and work to the value of over one and a half lakhs of rupees is reported to have been completed during the year under this system, which is being extended.

Although the period under review was one of relative prosperity for the agriculturist, the bumper harvests were considerably discounted in Mysore, as elsewhere, by the continued fall in prices of food grains and other primary commodities. The ryot had great difficulty in paying the annual assessment and other Government demands, in spite of the grant of substantial concessions. It is hardly surprising, therefore, to find that the Revenue Commissioner again remarks upon the unsatisfactory character of the collection work, which is attributed partly to the economic depression and also to the "negligence of the Village Panchayats themselves in not taking timely and effective steps to collect their dues." A considerable portion of the outstanding arrears, more than half of which, as in previous years, have accumulated in two districts, are a legacy of the old Panchayats and Unions and in due course will be written off. On the whole, though, the system is stated to "be gaining ground and becoming very popular" and striking results have been achieved in some villages.

A great deal, naturally, depends on the enthusiasm and energy of the Amildars, who are evidently becoming more alive to their responsibilities in this respect. Many councils, taking advantage of the cheapness and availability of electricity, for example, are gradually substituting electric light, or petromax lamps, for the familiar kerosene "buttis" in street lighting. Twenty villages are already lighted by electricity, and plans to promote its extended use are under official consideration.

The annual expenditure on revenue account for which the councils are responsible exceeds £60,000 and the large accumulated funds in hand for works of permanent utility have enabled the State Government to sanction a scheme for the recruitment of a special staff of Panchayat Inspectors with technical experience to assist in the construction of new roads, bridges, and causeways

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and the layout of villages in accordance with a settled programme of rural development. Not the least gratifying feature of the growth of these village councils has been the keen and active interest shown by non-official members of the community in their work, thereby laying the foundations in Mysore of a social service movement, much as we know it in this country.

The revival of the ancient form of local self-government, in short, is yielding encouraging results and the Mysore Durbar, which has wisely rendered every aid and encouragement to the movement, is apparently in a fair way to solve a problem with which practically every province in British India has tried in vain to grapple. It is, incidentally, not always realized how many of the activities which we in the West regard as being inherent in the State have in Indian India for many centuries been discharged by semi-voluntary co-operative effort through the family, the village and the caste. For just as even now in many Indian States the family and the kin accept a considerable degree of responsibility for the good conduct of the individual citizen, traditionally the Indian village has always constituted the real governmental unit in India.

In many other parts of the country, particularly in those areas where British centralization has not impaired the ancient political structure, the village is still charged with ordinary police duties; the village council still remains the tribunal for petty cases, both civil and criminal; and the village possesses and exercises the right to tax itself, quite independent of State permission, for common village purposes. Caste, in which generic term for convenience may be included the occupational guilds, moreover, provides a higher integration of social life along particular lines than that which the village with its restricted area can compass. The caste guilds and caste councils still play the most important part in the life of the ordinary citizen throughout India as a whole; but while in British India their direct political influence has tended to operate through less overt methods, they are openly recognized in the Indian States as among the major directing forces in the sphere of politics.

Nowhere more notably, perhaps, than in Mysore have the benefits of Western civilization, in the shape of representative institutions as well as the many public utility and industrial enterprises for which the State is justly famous, been secured at less sacrifice of all that is best in the traditional usage and ancient customs. Sir Mirza Ismail's addresses to the Representative Assembly are remarkably clear and businesslike documents in which the essential is distinguished from the relatively less important to a degree unusual in India, and it is in no arrogant spirit that the material and moral progress of Mysore are invari-

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ably contrasted with such progressive Empire countries as Canada and Australia. Sir Mirza Ismail is fully conscious of the fact that adverse natural conditions may permanently prohibit advance to the level of the examples which he has selected for comparison. The selection is made deliberately on the sound ground that it is desirable to set a high ideal at which to aim so that there may be no temptation to be content with a record that, judged by most standards, undoubtedly represents a remarkable achievement.

Many factors have contributed to Mysore's renown and prosperity. First, it is equipped with a modern and efficient administration and appears to have found a happy solution of the problem of recruiting its personnel, which is the occasion of such anxiety in many Indian States. Secondly, the organization of the departments designed to assist public enterprise in matters of agriculture, mining, and industrial development, though not perhaps theoretically perfect, has been built up on sound and practical lines. Thirdly, in spite of the fact that the service of its funded debt, including the archaic tribute, or cash contribution, to the Paramount Power, for which there is no longer any moral or economic justification, absorbs nearly one-sixth of the gross revenues of the State, the financial position is eminently sound; taxation is not severe and a small surplus is assured in ordinary years after making substantial provision for remunerative capital expenditure. Finally, the State is the owner of valuable and productive property; its assets include the railway system, the irrigation works and the great hydro-electric enterprise, yielding a net return even today of over 4 per cent. on the capital at charge.

Particular stress is laid on the stability of the State's finances for the reason that finance in the past has rarely been a strong point in Indian administration. Few of the changes resulting from the advent of British rule have been more beneficial to the people than the introduction and gradual popularization of wise and orthodox financial principles. But Mysore, as we have said, is by no means satisfied with this record.

The Government aspires to progress in many directions, of which only a few need be mentioned. The exploration of the forests is considered to be still incomplete, the sugar industry is being revived and many minor forms of industrial development, like the new trade with this country in granite, are being taken in hand, though the heavy drain of the tribute is proving a formidable obstacle to progress in every field. The great need is still for improved communications—that cry of so large a part of India. More roads and many internal lines of railway are still wanted, while the State should not, and probably will not, be content until it has a line leading down to the Western Ghats to a serviceable seaport. A glance at the railway map is sufficient

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to afford convincing proof of the reality of this need. If a new natural port does not exist, one will have to be made, and the writer is confident that the new Federal Railway Board will not allow differences of jurisdiction between port and hinterland, or the conflicting interests of existing lines, to delay unnecessarily the realization of a project of such importance to the South of India.

Nor do material needs only exhaust the aspirations of this progressive State, which comprise still further extensions of education, a larger and more effective measure of Local Government and other schemes of which space forbids mention. Taking, however, the record of the State as a whole, congratulations are due alike to the founders and to the builders for a standard of attainment which means so much to the population—over six million souls—inhabiting its territories.

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THE KASHMIR CENSUS REPORT

(See Plates E and F at the end of the article)

THE taking of a Census in a country presenting such geographical, racial, and social difficulties as Jammu and Kashmir must be very great. The large measure of success that has attended the present work is due to the elaborate preparations and tireless endeavour of the officers concerned, assisted by the cordial co-operation and the "friendly attitude and goodwill of the people," some account of which is given in the Introduction.

The Report opens with a description of the geographical position and extent of the country and mentions some of the physical features. The total area of the State, as adopted for the Census, is 84,471 square miles, the greatest in size of all the Indian States, the next being Hyderabad with 82,698 square miles. For administrative purposes it is divided into two parts: (*a*) comprising ten districts and (*b*) consisting of two jagirs and seven illaqas.

On the night of February 26, 1931, when the Census was taken, the population numbered 3,646,243, of which 1,938,338 were males and 1,707,905 females. This gives an average of 43 persons to the square mile, but in an agricultural country such as Kashmir the density varies very greatly in different areas, being governed by natural conditions, the extent of irrigation by means of canals, and other causes.

Canal engineering was extensively practised in Kashmir from remote times; the Report refers to a 21-mile-long canal constructed by Raja Ram Dev 5,000 years ago to bring water to Martand temple. The existing ruins of the great temple at Martand, built by Lalitaditya, are of about the early eighth century A.D., so Raja Ram Dev's was evidently an earlier one. The present Martand canal takes off from the Liddar river and with its distributaries has a total length of $34\frac{1}{4}$ miles, irrigating an area of about 1,500 acres. Up to 1923 there were also six other large canals in the Jammu and Kashmir Provinces with an aggregate length of about 370 miles, estimated to irrigate an area of about 146,500 acres.

After 1923 the Public Works Department was divided into three administrative sections: (1) Roads and Buildings; (2) Irrigation; (3) Electricity, each under a separate engineer; and, says the Report: "Since this scheme marks an era in the inauguration of a vigorous policy of development it is only fair to quote briefly the highly beneficial intentions of the Ruler, which show the

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depth of patriotic feelings and irresistible love for the welfare of the people." The quotation from the Ruler's note referred to expresses the recognition of the need for better roads of communication and for further development of irrigation. These two needs he rightly considers can be most efficiently served by entrusting them to the care of separate officers.

During 1931 the Zainagir canal, started in 1932, was completed, and adds a further potential area of irrigation of 18,000 acres. Other extensions are in progress. The result of this activity is declared to be that "places which at one time appeared wilderness and uninhabitable . . . are now full of green fields and well-grown fruit gardens. The price of the land has considerably increased and the inhabitants are now in a comparatively prosperous condition."

This extension of available agricultural land and the provision of running water ought to contribute towards improvement in the health of the country. During the ten years ending in 1930 there have been nine visitations of plague in Jammu and one in Kashmir. The deaths from this cause in Jammu were over 5,000, but as the previous decade showed a mortality nearly 50 per cent. higher an improvement of some kind is indicated. Cholera and smallpox have taken heavy toll, the deaths for the ten years being over 25,000. Both of these diseases seem to be worse in Kashmir than in Jammu. There is, however, a slight drop in these figures as compared with the previous decade. 388,478 deaths are vaguely attributed to fever. But in spite of these drawbacks the Report says: "To sum up, it may be safely concluded that the decade has been exceptionally fortunate and propitious as compared to its predecessor on account of its enjoying complete immunity from the hellish visitation of influenza which carried away about 45,000 souls. . . ."

Hospitals and dispensaries have increased from seventy-six in 1921 to ninety-one in 1930, and the number of out-patients rose from 735,395 to 1,130,412. The work of these institutions would be considerably lightened if a livelier sense of hygiene could be awakened among the people and sufficient facilities provided for its application. Primitive habits which may be relatively innocuous in rural places are dangerous when practised in crowded towns and cities, and so long as these remain diseases directly due to uncleanliness must continue to scourge the unfortunate masses. It is, however, reassuring to read in the Administrative Reports for the past three years that great efforts are being made to provide a proper system of drainage and sewage disposal.

An interesting account is given of the improvements in communications. The difficulties presented to the engineer in constructing and maintaining roads over a country of hills and

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forests, subject to the erosive action of drainage from lofty mountain ranges under the seasonal changes of temperature and rainfall with the consequent fluctuations in the rivers and streams, are exceedingly great. The manner in which these have been met and overcome is testimony enough to the skill, experience, and tenacity of all concerned in the work. The seriousness of the need for the extension of proper roads was shown during the recent disturbances, when military and police were greatly hampered in their movements.

But the best of roads can be rendered useless when Nature's forces are in destructive mood. How often has one been held up on the Jhelum Valley road by sudden landslides and wrecked bridges! The floods of August, 1929, in the Jhelum and Indus Valleys carried away the Kohala, Kishengunga, and Domel bridges, cutting off all road communications between Kashmir and the Punjab. On that occasion the disaster was partly caused by the bursting of the Shayok Dam, when the Shayok river rose to a height of 93 feet. With their usual promptitude, however, the Public Works Department quickly restored communications. The whole of the city of Srinagar was threatened by inundation, as it has often been before, but thanks to the prompt and energetic action of the authorities, encouraged by the personal and untiring supervision of the Maharajah himself, the weak points in the bunds were strengthened and the danger averted.

The Jhelum Valley road runs for a distance of 132 miles in Kashmir territory, from the Kohala bridge to Srinagar, and is a splendid motor road carrying a ceaseless stream of traffic. The additional 64 miles from Kohala to Rawalpindi is in British territory. This is the main artery connecting Kashmir with India. Then there is the Garhi-Habibullah road branching off from the Jhelum Valley road at Domel and joining the railway at Abbotabad. A third cart road, joining Kashmir and Jammu, is the Banihal road, opened in 1922 and described as "the biggest and costliest feat accomplished in the history of the State Public Works Department." It has a total length of 203 miles and crosses two passes—those of Patani, 7,000 feet, and Banihal, 9,000 feet. It took about twelve years to complete and cost Rs. 43,000,000. There are several other good roads serving various parts of the country of which 2,522 are unmetalled or kachcha (spelt variously "katcha" and "kutcha" in the Report), the total road mileage in 1930 being 3,035.

Industrial development is dealt with at some length and records steady growth, whether always in the right direction must be left to time to prove. A new portfolio of Commerce and Industries was provided in 1922, "resulting in the creation of a new

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Department of Industries under an expert." This is said to have had the effect of "spreading an industrial atmosphere" and "creating a desire in the people to take to industrial pursuits," a statement supported by a list of "important industries established during the decade." Among these are included cotton carpet factories, said to be employing 1,210 persons. Presumably this is distinct from the woollen carpet industry which has been in active operation for many years, thanks to the enterprise of a few Europeans. "Willow Works," one of the new industries, were started in the Amar Singh Technical Institute. Suitable willow trees from England were imported, for curiously enough none of the indigenous willows were suitable for good class work. These first trees, raised from cuttings, were most carefully planted and grown by an expert from Yorkshire, who was selected with the approval of the Durbar. He not only created a splendid model willow-garth in which he taught students how to grow and cut the rods, but he also taught them how to prepare and make them up into high-class baskets, chairs, etc., for which a considerable demand immediately arose.

With the exception of match-making, which employs only 20 persons, the industries enumerated could all be moderately successful in meeting local demands. Fruit preserving could, under efficient direction and management, find a more extended market in India. The future of silk is beset by formidable obstacles which may prove too much for it. At present the two factories at Srinagar and Jammu respectively employ 1,538 persons, and the cottage industry of silk-rearing affords supplementary employment to thousands of villagers.

Some of the activities named would perhaps be better dropped as their chance of success is very doubtful. The ambition of so many States to emulate the mass-production of others, who have the advantages of a long start and a different and perhaps more suitable mentality, is deplorable. The charm and commercial value of the products of each country lie in individuality. With the extinction of this quality the distinctive attraction fails. The resultant decay by atrophy of skilled craftsmanship is one of the most disastrous sequelæ of modern human progress. Close acquaintance extending over some years with the crafts and craftsmen of Kashmir convinced the writer that for skill they were second to none, but it was obvious that such skill, although still to be found, was being rapidly dulled and destroyed by commercial exploitation. One of the latest proposals is to introduce improved looms for the manufacture of *puttu*. This is the first step towards changing the character of a hand-spun and hand-woven cloth which now has a distinctive character. Can it be supposed that when it is so developed as to have lost its peculiar qualities

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and its appeal to those who like such fabrics it will successfully compete with the products of Bradford or any of the other great cloth-weaving centres? In the long run it would be far more profitable to encourage and develop excellence in the handicrafts of the country for which it has become famous, than to risk being swamped in the maelstrom of world competition.

That the natural resources of the country are rich is well known, and although many of these are unusable at present on account of their inaccessibility, this difficulty in course of time will doubtless be overcome.

The forests under the control of the Forest Department are extensive, covering an area of 10,141 square miles, and the net revenue in 1930-31 was 47.80 lakhs of rupees, having nearly doubled in ten years, and representing about 29 million cubic feet of timber extracted. Crude resin to the extent of 55,000 maunds were tapped. These activities have provided work for about 1,000 of the rural population.

The promotion of education in agriculture has been in progress for some years, but the zemindar does not appear to have responded to the efforts made in his interests so enthusiastically as could be wished. The Census shows a total of 751,385 agricultural workers. It speaks of hordes of intermediaries between grower and consumer "who intercept a major portion of the profit, and while the agriculturist gets very little the consumer has to pay much more." Quite a Western touch, this.

Fruit growing should be a very profitable industry, and in recent years the apples and pears grown from imported trees were highly successful, but latterly there seems to have been deterioration. The ravages of the San José scale has taken heavy toll, and whole orchards of fine trees have had to be burnt in the efforts to arrest the spread of the disease. What amount of success has attended these measures does not appear.

Steps to improve livestock are being taken and eighteen veterinary hospitals are now in operation in the State. Co-operative societies seem to have spread all over the country and are said to be beneficial to the agriculturist and to artisans. Courts of Law have increased although litigation is said to have decreased.

The Police Force has been enlarged and the status and pay of all ranks raised at an increased cost of 71·8 per cent. "As regards offences, those against State and public tranquillity, murders and other offences against person exhibited an increase, while dacoities, thefts, and house-trespasses suffered a decline. In murders, dacoities, and other offences against the person the district of Mirpur holds an unenviable position, while in theft the Srinagar district stands first. In house-breaking and trespass the Jammu district seems abnormally adept."

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The Army include the Imperial troops (829) and Indian States Army (4,794).

Speaking of female occupation, we are told that 7 per cent. are employed in foodstuffs, while trade in fuel is also "a favourite pastime."

In dealing with vital statistics we are told bluntly that they are unreliable, "rotten and fictitious" as "the agency through which these records are gathered is both illiterate and irresponsible." Details of the distribution and movement of the population occupy about twenty-seven pages. The province of Jammu seems to be slow in the growth of its population and during the ten years lost heavily by influenza and in some districts by malaria. Kashmir Province, on the other hand, presents a brighter aspect, the Census figures showing "that the decade has been blessed with piping times, except for the disastrous floods of 1985 and 1986 [1925, 1926].

The Report goes on to deal with incomes of individuals and housing. Comparisons of income per head and standards of comfort between countries if used to indicate relative degrees of happiness or contentment are usually misleading. They are especially so when applied to such utterly different modes of life as those of East and West respectively. There is just as much, probably more, discontent between Western communities in regard to relative standards of so-called comfort as between those of East and West. Taking the relative average annual incomes of Great Britain and India, as quoted at £95 and £8 respectively, it is quite possible that the Indian enjoys a higher average of contentment than the Briton. The complex ways of life in the West do not necessarily bring contentment, and the imitation of these ways by the East with inadequate pecuniary means can only result in dissatisfaction. To quote the Report: "It is now become the fashion for the well-to-do to take their wives with them to the cinemas"; and again, "women have discarded the loose and untidy dress of centuries and are seen in up-to-date India *saris*. The return of scholars of various communities after training in the foreign countries has imported far more advanced and liberal ideas the permeation of which in their respective communities is every day liberalizing the atmosphere." Well, of course, £8 a year will not discharge these liberalizing demands, and so discontent must follow. This may make for what is called progress, but will carry with it increasing mental and bodily discomfort and unhappiness. But the whole subject is too controversial to enter upon in this short review.

A note on decaying industries refers to shawl weaving. This was killed by the machine-made imitations produced in great quantities in France and England. The same fate has overtaken

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the blanket (*loi*) industry. Whether this is entirely due to machinery may be questioned. During the Great War, under the rule of the late Maharaja, there was urgent demand for woollen cloth and Kashmir was asked to arrange for large quantities of *puttu* to be made. Samples were called for, produced and approved. Orders were placed, but when the goods were tendered for delivery they failed to come up to standard and the matter had to be dropped.

Paper-making is an ancient industry in Kashmir and the paper was of excellent quality. In course of time the makers became careless and the quality suffered. The Durbar, anxious to help the paper-making community and to rescue an old and reputable industry from extinction, engaged a European expert to investigate and report. The report showed that good hand-made paper could be produced, and in fact was produced under the expert's supervision, and that all the needs of the State could have been met at sufficiently economical rates. But the makers themselves resented interference and preferred to run in the old grooves.

The number of literates in the State is 123,885, showing an increase of 71 per cent. over the 1921 figures, "which is a proof positive of the State's concern for the welfare of the masses." In fact, "literacy is spreading at such a high rate that the corresponding increase of the population dwindled into insignificance, and it is clear that the citadel of illiteracy, strong though it looks, is not impregnable and is sure to be blown up some day." This is a very inspiriting prognosis. In the table showing the variation in the advance of literacy in the various religious sects we find that Brahmanic Hindus have increased by 56 per cent., Arya Hindus by 418 per cent., and Muslims by 88 per cent. "The progress of literacy amongst Christians, 42 per cent., shows what the Missions have done for amelioration of the lot of the lower strata of public life in the country." There are eight female to every hundred male literates.

In a comparative statement of progress in literacy of all castes, it is sad to see that the Balti is "guarding the rear while the Jats, the Arains, and the Sheikhs have grown sick of the precipitous climb." But "no doubt their weariness . . . will soon yield to a resolute will to resume the uphill march which, though at first dreary, is bestrewn with the roses of a happier and fuller life." These encouraging words should stir the laggards to be up and doing. Out of a total population of 3,646,243 only 19,469 are literate in English. There are 1,246 educational institutions as against 670 in 1921. Of these the number for girls is 133. The indigenous Maktabs and Pathshalas number 144 and are dying out as the more popular Government schools increase. The number of scholars is 77,574. In 1931, 172 students from the

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Prince of Wales College, Jammu, went up for the University examinations, of whom 87 were successful. In 1930, 257 went up from the Sri Pratap College, Srinagar, and 106 passed. Technical education is controlled by the Director of Industries. There are nine technical institutes, as compared with one in 1921, and the number of students has risen from 81 to 484.

Under the head of Literary Activity we are told that "the outstanding event of the decade was the success of journalism in finding a couple of votaries in Mr. Mulk Raj Saraf, B.A., and Pandit Ganga Nath, B.A.," who started the first weekly in the State, the *Ranbir*, which "has the largest circulation in the State and the number of its readers is considerable." This was followed by several others and there is expectation of the number increasing. These and the papers imported from India constitute the chief evidence of literary activity.

Language is dealt with in an interesting chapter and shows a bewildering number of tongues. Kashmiri, with its five dialects, is spoken by 1,413,166. Shina, the language of Gilgit Valley, is used by 63,918. Panjabi is spoken in Jammu and Mirpur by 392,201. Gojari, a dialect used by Gujjars, 317,762; and there are many other varieties of speech.

Under Religion is the following interesting statement: "The fate of the country seems at present inextricably bound with religion, since each of the religious communities have their separate personal laws which govern their daily life and conduct, and the development of the country towards democracy is also proceeding on religious or communal rather than nationalistic lines. Since franchise and representation to the various public bodies, the provincial legislative councils, and the central legislature is again based on communal considerations, it is but natural that the people have become habituated to class themselves under religious labels instead of economic or social divisions."

The religions represented in Kashmir and Jammu are grouped under the following heads: Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Buddhist, Christian, and Jain. Each of these is split up into many different sects and castes. This part of the Report is contained in Chapter XII., and is full of interesting matter relating to the many races, tribes, and hereditary occupations which constitute the subjects of the State.

The Report is lavishly furnished with statistical tables and graphic charts, sufficient to satisfy the demands of the keenest enthusiast for such form of instruction.

On the whole, the typography is good. Measured by the usual Government Press, Calcutta, standard, it is in many respects definitely superior, and the Jammu Ranbir Government Press is to be congratulated on its achievement.

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Rai Bahadur Pandit Anant Ram, B.A., Census Commissioner, and Pandit Hira Nand Raina, B.SC., LL.B., Assistant Census Commissioner, the compilers of the Report, have done their work with a thoroughness which calls for the highest praise, and in doing it have surmounted difficulties which to many would have been overwhelming.

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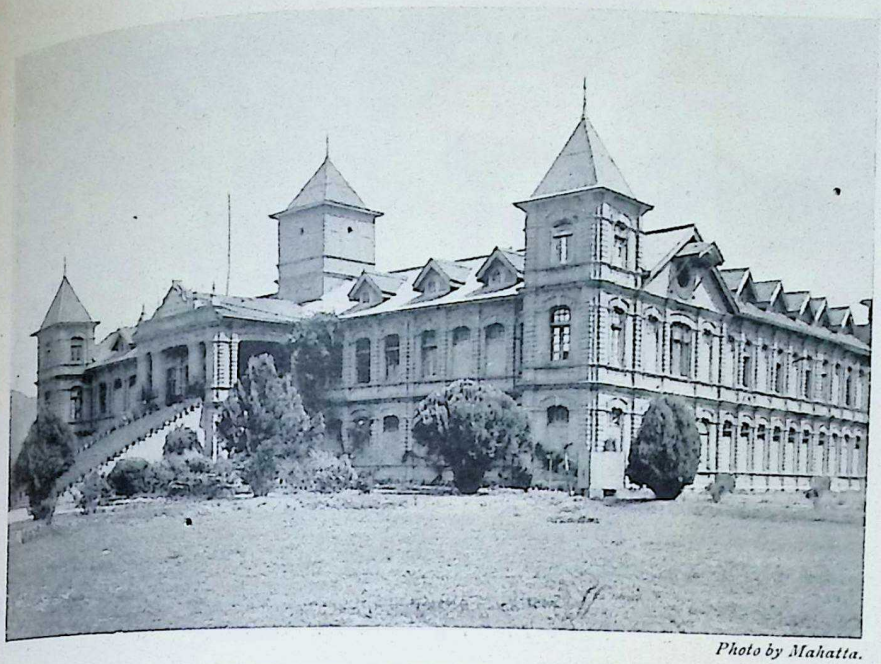

Photo by Mahatta.

THE TECHNICAL INSTITUTE AT SRINAGAR.

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A CANAL IN SRINAGAR.

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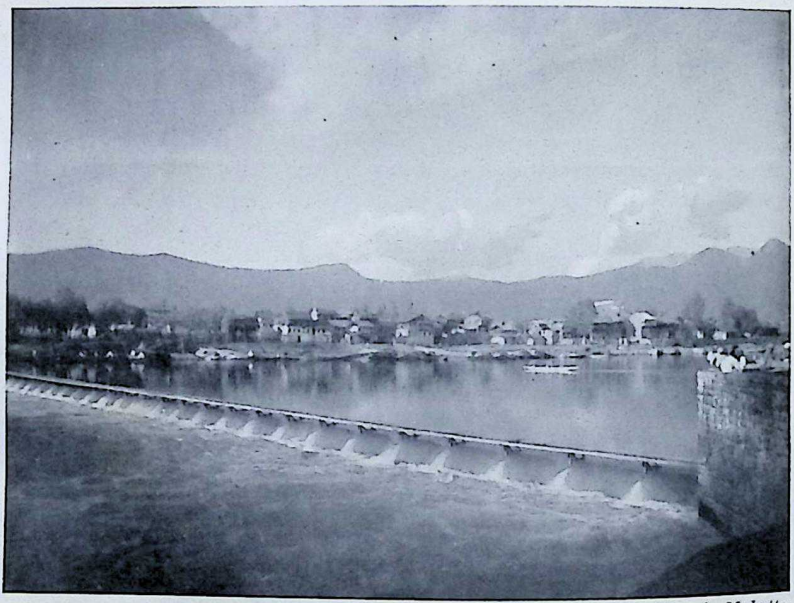
PLATE F

Photo by Mahatta.

THE UPPER STRETCHES OF THE BANIHAL CART ROAD.



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THE BARRAGE AT SRINAGAR.

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PROGRESS IN INDIAN STATES

By John de La Valette

I

Gwalior: A Prosperous State—A Martial People

The time is drawing near when the youthful Ruler of the important State of Gwalior will reach the age at which he will assume personal responsibility for the government of his realm. Since his accession in 1925, this has been exercised by a Council of Regency, having his mother, the Dowager Maharanee, widow of the late Maharaja Madhav Rao Sindhia, for its president. It is, therefore, appropriate to take stock of the past history and present position of the State, and this is clearly and concisely done in a book, recently published by the Government of Gwalior under the title of *Gwalior of To-day*.*

In its opening chapters a rapid description is presented of the scattered portions of this State, which aggregates some 26,400 square miles in area and the population of which, according to the 1931 census, exceeds $3\frac{1}{2}$ million souls. There is also a useful sketch of the country's history and that of its dynasty, ending with the well-known late Maharaja, who suddenly fell ill and died in Paris, whilst on his way to London, in 1925. Maharaja Madhav Rao had succeeded his father in 1886, and took over the reins of government in 1894. From then until his untimely death more than thirty years later he was the initiator and guiding spirit of the many reforms which were carried out in his State. Among these special attention is drawn to the separation of judicial and executive functions which, it is claimed, has been advanced beyond the stage reached in British India. It is to his late Highness, too, that his subjects owe the establishment of representative institutions, such as the various municipal and district boards, the Auqaf Committees, the Majlis-i-Am, and the Majlis-i-Quanun. The latter is the expert body which advises the Government on legislation to be promulgated, and comprises, in addition to the members of the Government, unofficial members from the Majlis-i-Am, this being a representative body the members of which are, unlike those of corresponding assemblies in other parts of India, not elected direct, but nominated to repre-

* Published by the Publicity Department of the Government of Gwalior under the orders of the Home Member, and printed at the Alijah Darbar Press, Lashkar, Gwalior.

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sent different group interests. It supplies, therefore, a corporate type of representation, rather than one based on constituent areas.

In other directions, too, his late Highness brought about numerous improvements within the State—for instance, in the matters of education and public health, and also in protecting and making better known the remarkable archæological treasures of Gwalior.

Western methods of medicine and surgery were practically unknown in Gwalior State before the commencement of his reign. A modest beginning was made in 1887 by organizing a Department to provide medical assistance on Western lines. Starting with half a dozen small institutions in 1887 and an outlay of 18,000 rupees, the organization grew until at present there are 135 hospitals and other medical institutions, both for treatment on European and on indigenous lines, entailing an annual outlay by the Government of over five lakhs of rupees.

Somewhat similar progress is shown in regard to education. There was hardly anything in the nature of public instruction before 1860, when Maharaja Jayaji Rao sanctioned a budget provision of some 17,000 rupees, increased the following year to 20,000 rupees. From 1863, when Sir Michael Filose was appointed Director of Education, a steady programme of expansion was started and carried on to this day, when the annual budget is around thirteen lakhs of rupees. In addition to primary and secondary education, there are now opportunities for higher education, the institutions being affiliated to the University of Agra. Provision has also been made for special classes of students, such as on the one hand the sons of the nobles, an important class in the State, and on the other the children of the backward criminal tribes, which are gradually being induced to settle down peaceably.

Other special institutions provide technical education or cater for students of Sanskrit, whilst the education of girls also receives careful attention.

In a State like Gwalior, which was carved out by conquest during the troubled times when the rapid disintegration of the Mughal Empire gave the Mahrattas a chance of which they availed themselves to the full, chiefs and petty nobles naturally played an important part. On the one hand, there were the military adherents of the Sindhias, like these Mahratta by race, who accompanied them in the course of their campaigns, and, having shared in their exploits, were rewarded with grants of land in the conquered territories, most of which their descendants hold to this day.

Next came the chiefs and nobles who had been settled in these parts prior to the advent of the Mahrattas, the majority of them being Rajputs. These either maintained the grants bestowed on

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them by earlier Rulers, or else held their lands from the subsequent Mahratta princes.

To these classes should be added a few families founded by adventurous and successful soldiers of fortune. All of them today form the large land-owning class in the State. An interesting chapter is devoted to their histories, including those of the principal families. Lovers of mediæval lore should, it seems, find material in Gwalior for a whole series of historical novels.

Nor has the military spirit of these warrior chiefs abated in recent times. Whenever Britain has been at war, the Ruler of Gwalior and his subjects have loyally come to her support. In 1900, for instance, when hostilities broke out in China, his late Highness Maharaja Madhav Rao Sindhia not only presented a hospital ship to the British Government, but proceeded in person on General Gaselee's staff. Again in the Boer War, as in the European conflagration of 1914, the resources of the State were promptly placed at Britain's disposal, and in the latter case also its armed forces.

Forthwith the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Gwalior Lancers furnished units and detachments for remount purposes in France and Mesopotamia, whilst other detachments proceeded to the North-West Frontier districts, eventually taking part in the Waziristan campaign of 1916-17 and the Afghan war of 1919. The third Gwalior Infantry battalion was mobilized as early as September, 1914, and proceeded to Africa, taking part, on the morning after its arrival, in the unsuccessful attack on Tonga. After this it was despatched to Mombasa and joined in the operations in East Africa until 1917, and subsequently in the Waziristan campaign. The fourth battalion arrived at Suez in November, 1914, and, after taking part in the defence of the Suez Canal, was eventually incorporated in the forces which conquered Palestine. In the course of this campaign the battalion took over a section of the trenches in front of Gaza, and, as part of the 20th Infantry Brigade, gave a good account of itself in the third battle of Gaza. It was not until January, 1919, that this battalion returned to Suez and thence to Bombay, after more than four years' continuous service overseas.

The Gwalior Transport Corps showed itself a worthy successor to the Gwalior Imperial Service Transport which took part in the Chitral Expedition of 1897-98 and the Punjab and Tirah Expeditions of the same period. Detachments of it arrived at Marseilles as early as November, 1914, and, soon proceeding to the front, were present at the battles of Festubert, Neuve Chapelle, La Couture, La Bassée, Bethune, and Ypres.

Subsequently other detachments proceeded to Gallipoli and Salonika, the remainder eventually being sent to Mesopotamia, where it took part in the battle of Kut and many another engage-

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ment. Returning to India after $3\frac{1}{2}$ years' service abroad, the outbreak of the Afghan war caused it forthwith to be despatched to the forces operating in that theatre. It was only after more than five years' absence abroad that these detachments reached their home quarters again. Altogether a record of which the Ruler and the martial people of Gwalior may well be proud.

The romantic thoughts engendered by the bare enumeration of the movements of these Gwalior troops, joining in British battles in many parts of the globe, have made me, I fear, encroach upon the space allowed for reference to the more matter-of-fact contents of this interesting book on Gwalior. For here are to be found meticulous accounts of the working of its central government and municipal administration. Of law and justice you may read; of humanized prisons and sumptuous darbars. How revenue is spent on vast irrigation works, and in turn is by it engendered; how communications have been improved by railway enterprise, and more recently by motor services; how trade and commerce are fostered, and industry created and led—of all this you may read. And—strangely fascinating, though somewhat baffling to the Briton—of a sort of inland "free port," without any sea around, you will find a thrilling account, and how it seems to work, and stimulates industrial enterprise and trade.

But to me the lure of Gwalior would seem to lie in its numerous artistic treasures, its gorgeous palaces and formidable forts, even though I miss some of the more modest but entirely enchanting specimens of the indigenous master-builder's achievements with which those of us who are interested in the living art of India have been made familiar.

In conclusion, here is an excellent work on Gwalior. It leaves the clear impression that the young prince, His Highness Maharaja George Jivaji Rao Sindhia, when he will shortly assume the personal rule of his prosperous State, will do so under the most favourable auspices. Having, moreover, the noble and eminent examples of his immediate predecessors to guide him, his people and the well-wishers of his State will feel assured that he will worthily carry on their work.

II

Nawanagar: "Ranji"—and After

For those who knew, and therefore admired, the late Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, His Highness Ranjitsinhji Vibhaji, the recently published Administration Report for that State* will have a pathetic interest. They will see it once more in the businesslike,

* *Administration Report for the Nawanagar State*, 1932-33. (Printed at the Nawanagar State Press, Jamnagar.)

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informative mould into which he shaped it, illumined here and there by some of those telling graphic charts the full meaning of which he had so completely mastered, that he could quote facts and figures in minute detail from memory—and never go wrong.

But, for the first time in twenty-five years, it is not to him that this report is presented. The administrative year with which it deals had scarcely been completed, and the drafting of the report itself had not been put in hand, when, on April 2, 1933, the twenty-sixth anniversary of his accession to the gadi, that brilliant sportsman and fine gentleman suddenly passed away after a very short illness.

It is fitting, therefore, that the present report should contain a biographical sketch of the life of the late Jam Saheb, who, apart from having been an outstanding example of a wise Ruler of an Indian State, will, under the affectionate name of "Ranji," live in the hearts of the British people as long as cricket counts for anything among them.

Of the great strides which were made in Nawanagar during the twenty-six years of his reign a few figures must here suffice to give an indication.* One of the Prince's earliest reforms was the placing of land revenue on a cash basis, combined with various measures for the securing of their land to the occupants, and the granting to them of transfer rights theretofore unknown. The effect which these various measures had upon the better utilization of the soil is demonstrated by the fact that, whilst the value of all crops was in 1907 barely 66 lakhs of rupees, it attained in 1929, the last normal year which preceded the world-wide slump in agricultural prices, the figure of 287 lakhs. Not only so, but the share of this revenue taken by the State, though, in absolute figures, it increased from 16¾ lakhs of rupees in 1907 to 28½ lakhs in 1929, actually declined as to its percentage of the total from 25 per cent. in the former to 10 per cent. in the latter year. In consequence the cultivators' share of the total yield of agricultural produce rose from 49 lakhs of rupees in 1907 to 258¾ lakhs in 1929, or more than five times.

Another sphere in which a great deal of constructive work was achieved is that of public works of all kinds. In a letter to the late Jam Saheb a Political Officer, describing the condition of Jamnagar at the time when his late Highness succeeded, wrote:

> "I have realized that your work from the beginning has been a rather difficult one, because you have been left a place

* For those interested in a fuller account of these remarkable achievements, it may, perhaps, be permissible to refer to my book, published on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Prince's accession, entitled *An Atlas of the Progress in Nawanagar State*, published for the Nawanagar Government by Messrs. East and West, Ltd., London.

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which is fit for the abode of a gallant but dirty animal, and you will find it very hard, in the unsatisfactory finances to which you have succeeded, to convert it within a reasonable period into a place where a gentleman of the modern ideas with which you are imbued can reside without dismay and difficulty and without creating intolerable liabilities."

Yet that is exactly what the late Jam Saheb achieved. "Within a reasonable period" and without in any way burdening his subjects, or "creating intolerable liabilities," three hundred miles of new roads were built and brought up to the standard required by modern motor traffic which he provided; slums were cleared throughout the capital and replaced, not only by a new palace, but by a whole string of public buildings, including an excellent market, by shops and dwelling-houses. Of the opportunities for acquiring the building land made available by these clearances, the population availed itself by buying sites in Jamnagar valued at some £517,575 and in the country to an aggregate of over two hundred thousand pounds. Adding to this the value of the buildings erected on these sites, £1,600,000 sterling was spent by private individuals or by the Municipality of Jamnagar, in addition to the outlays financed by the Government. Furthermore, land was reclaimed and port accommodation improved, the great works at Bedi Port being a remarkable achievement in themselves. Finally, irrigation works were undertaken on an effective scale. On all of this, excluding the Bedi works and the railways, over one million sterling was spent. And, as we have seen, at the same time the incidence of taxation on the population was reduced from one-fourth to one-tenth of their income.

Bedi was an undertaking that lay close to His Highness's heart. Visualizing its great possibilities, he improved the port until it was capable of accommodating steamers of 12,000 tons and providing them with rapid despatch, as well as with warehousing and railway accommodation, adequate to handle the increased traffic which resulted. To this end over a million and a quarter sterling was spent. But the result is demonstrated by the increase in traffic figures. Import traffic rose from 26,000 tons with a value of 37½ lakhs of rupees in 1907 to 152,000 tons and 241¾ lakhs in 1931, an improvement of more than five times in volume and over six times in value. During the same period exports increased in weight from 15,000 to 40,000 tons and in value from 22 to 71 lakhs of rupees, an improvement not so marked as that in regard of inward traffic—which latter was, of course, to an appreciable extent, accounted for by the Java sugar trade which Bedi attracted and developed—but still one worthy of note.

On railway construction, too, important sums were spent,

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amounting to about one million sterling. Part of them were raised by the issue of debentures, the remainder being financed out of current State revenue. As all the railway and tram lines are on a profit-earning basis, this investment has proved both of direct advantage to the State and of benefit to the people.

If in addition to all this we take account of the work done to stimulate trade and industry, to improve public health and provide widespread educational facilities, to raise the standard of agricultural methods by systematic research, propaganda, and encouragement, and at the same time bear in mind the dilapidated condition of the State and its finances twenty-five years ago, as well as the famine and other calamities which overtook it in the early years of Ranjitsinhji's rule, we may confidently assert that his were a well-spent life and a beneficent reign.

Two projects in which he was keenly interested he did not live to complete. The settlement of the dispute with the Indian Government over the arrangements affecting Bedi Port, though it had come within closer distance of achievement, is still outstanding. The method of federation which is to embrace all parts of India within one entity will have to be settled without him. If the latter will largely depend upon the attitude of his brother princes, the former is one of the problems that await his successor to the gadi of Nawanagar. To no one could the late Prince have delegated this task, together with the others which he left to be continued, with greater confidence than to him whom he selected to be his successor: his nephew, the present Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, His Highness Shri Digvijaysinhji Saheb Bahadur, who, with the approval of the Government of India, was placed upon the gadi on the afternoon of April 3, 1933.

About forty years of age, the present Jam Saheb was, like the other members of the late Ruler's family, carefully educated with an eye to the taking of a constructive part in the government and administration of the State, and thus benefiting the people by example and advice. His Highness served in the Indian Army, where he proved himself a capable and keen soldier. From here he was called by his uncle to take charge of the Nawanagar Infantry, and, as we now know, generally to prepare himself for the task which was to devolve upon him. As enthusiastic a sportsman as his predecessor, he is not only an excellent cricketer, but a noted tennis player. The sporting traditions of his uncle seem, therefore, likely to be continued under the present Ruler.

The main task which awaits him is that of consolidating the great improvements achieved during the preceding twenty-five years and of providing for his State's place in the new India which is shaping. As the basis for this great work, His Highness has received a State which is in a thoroughly sound and satisfactory

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condition. Not very extensive in size (barely 3,800 square miles), with a population of rather over 400,000 souls, Nawanagar State is financially sound and administratively well organized. In his efforts to consolidate and build up on that which he has inherited, the new Ruler of Nawanagar will receive the hearty good wishes of all those who have followed the progress of his State with interest and admiration.

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BRAINS VERSUS BALLOT-BOXES

By K. K. Lalkaka

To whatever quarter of the globe we turn today, the inherent weakness of democratic forms of government is becoming more and more evident. Dictatorships are springing up out of the crumbling debris of democracies. These will prove beneficent in so far as the dictators are wise and use their power for the good of the people. A well-meaning but foolish autocrat will bring as much misery and suffering to his people as would an intelligent man who used his power to gain selfish and unworthy ends. Human nature being what it is, even large and sufficiently enlightened democratic groups have not been free from the scourge of corrupt politics. Such a state of affairs makes for instability. Even in the benevolent despotism of an honest, capable, and intelligent dictator, the element of instability is present, since he is mortal. In such circumstances the continuation of wise and efficient government becomes problematic.

Perhaps the only exception today is Great Britain. Though some of her Dominions have in recent years suffered from the ravages of dishonest and inefficient politicians, Great Britain herself has, in the main, maintained a standard of government which would deter an impartial observer from recording an unqualified verdict against Democracy. Yet on a careful examination of the British system of government one begins to realize that over nine hundred years of experience, strife and suffering have gone into the making of the present British Constitution.

Looking at England today one asks whether, after all, the best form of government would not be an aristocracy of intellect, even though it is realized that, while there are some brilliant men engaged in the political life of the British Isles, the best brains of the British people, nevertheless, have been kept out of politics. Furthermore, it is not sufficiently recognized that in a plethora of scientific technique, invention, and discovery, we are suffering from the results of maladjustments of all kinds because of our inaptitude to bring to bear a scientific outlook upon the highest form of corporate management which in the last analysis is what a government amounts to.

There is, however, one great Dependency on which Great Britain has conferred the blessing of an impartial, stable, and efficient government distinguished for its even-handed and honest

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administration. Till 1921, the year in which the Government of India Act of 1919 came in force, India can be said to have been governed by an aristocracy of intellect, an oligarchy of experts carefully picked and well trained in the art of governing. Even as far back as in the eighteenth century, whenever the time came to renew the charter of the East India Company, the British Parliament directed an exhaustive enquiry into the Company's administration. The result of such enquiries is embodied in a series of reports—a veritable storehouse of valuable information gathered with considerable labour—at an interval of every twenty years, beginning with 1773. The last report of this series was published in 1853. However, soon after the Indian Mutiny of 1857, India passed into the hands of the British Crown.

There followed competitive examinations in England for the Indian Civil Service, the members of which have won for it world-wide fame. For over half a century they were responsible for the legislative as well as executive administration of India. There have been nevertheless occasions when the ignorance of the British Parliamentarian has foiled the good intentions of these civilians in India. The Service has been distinguished for the efficient and honest administration of a large, heterogeneous Dependency just because, for the most part, its personnel has been confined to men of exceptional ability with brilliant academic careers, and it has been called upon to maintain very high traditions. Particularly in the case of some of the British members of this Service, the question of tradition has been a personal matter since the family has been distinguished, generation after generation, for giving its best in serving India. Thus it may truly be said that the Indian Civil Service is the finest of its kind in the world.

It is characteristic of this senior service that with the very valuable assistance of sister services like the Indian Medical Service, the Imperial Forest Service, the Imperial Police, etc., but in face of innumerable difficulties, its members have concentrated every ounce of their energy on the stupendous task of evolving order out of chaos, of building up and maintaining in efficient condition a machinery of administration wherein no personal motives serve as grist to the mill. All the same—in spite of the misleading representations of a noisy and turbulent but not disinterested minority—its members, who even today are looked upon by the vast majority of Indian people as their rulers, have not failed to maintain personal contact with the ruled. By holding the scales evenly, these experts in the art of ruling have given wide currency to such expressions of gratitude as *ma-bap sarkar* (government which may be likened to one's parents) and *gharib-parvar* (which means protector of the poor).

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Today all this is changing, greatly to the disadvantage of the poor Indian masses whose ancient customs and internal dissensions keep them ignorant, illiterate, and poverty-stricken. Attempts are being made to scrap one of the finest administrative systems in the world which has been the envy of all nations. In its place it is proposed to introduce a democratic form of government totally foreign to the native genius of a conglomeration of diverse peoples governed and swayed by primitive instincts, pagan ideals, and at a time when Democracy has bitterly frustrated the best hopes of an unthinking world.

The bogey that these changes in the constitution of India are to be in fulfilment of pledges has been exploded in other quarters by writers much abler than myself. What is noteworthy is the fact that those who desire to bring about a change are primarily swayed by high-sounding catch phrases like "self-determination" and "all men are equal." This deplorable tendency is at the root of Great Britain having had no definite, clear-cut Imperial policy in recent years. In its place refuge is sought in make-shifts and political formulæ contrary to Britain's responsibilities, particularly in the East.

Humanity has not reached as yet that stage of mass intellectual development where the average man is capable of doing a little thinking for himself. So far there is not even manifest the willingness on his part to do it. Unless the average man is capable of a little elementary scientific thinking, Democracy will not help a world perplexed and bewildered at the consequences of its own folly. Most of us on occasion talk foolishly, but at least let not those who aspire to shape the destinies of millions of their fellow-men think foolishly. Therein lies danger. The present attempt to substitute in India a government by ballot-boxes for a government of brains, is a glaring example of that peculiar type of loose thinking which because it is devoid of wisdom tends to become dangerous.

BOMBAY,
June 1, 1934.

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MADAGASCAR: A FRENCH PROVINCE

By Léon Réallon

(The author has been an official in the French Colonial Service in Indo-China, Madagascar, Tahiti, and elsewhere, and has visited British Dominions, Colonies, and Mandated Territories.)

(See illustrations at the end of the article.)

The situation of Madagascar east of Africa, and the fact that the mapmakers have to show it in its exact position—*i.e.*, quite close to the Black Continent—might cause it to be regarded as a dependency of Africa, but the truth is quite otherwise. Madagascar is not African, but Asian. Everything connects it with Asia—the formation of its soil, its animal species, and the origin of its human population. It is quite as worthy of the attention of those who study Asian matters as are the Malay Islands of Java and Sumatra, which in many ways it resembles.

In the early ages of the earth, Madagascar was a part of the great continent of Gondwana, of which Australia and Ceylon are the most easterly remains. South America and Southern Africa were also parts of that continent, and it is less surprising to us, after learning this, to recognize in Brazil and the south of India the same soils, minerals, and precious stones as in the great Malagasy island. Separated from Australia towards the end of the secondary epoch, Madagascar probably continued for some time connected with the Indian peninsula, and there are found among the fossils of Madagascar African species such as the hippopotamus, as well as species that are peculiar to the Sonda Islands. It finally became an island at the close of the tertiary age. It does not seem to have known the human race until very late in the ages of humanity, and in this respect it is interesting to note that, despite the distance which the sea had set between it and Asia, its chief population is Asian, and that its language, though more or less altered in different parts of the island, is a Malay dialect scarcely differing in its language forms from those of Sumatra and Java. Strange is the destiny of this Malay race, which came down from the high mountain lands of Central Asia and through the Indo-Chinese peninsula and spread itself in the great islands of Insulinde, to swarm towards the Philippines and Japan and the oceanic archipelagos to Easter Island on the east and Madagascar on the west.

The human population of Madagascar, however, is not entirely Malay. Among the people of the coast negroid elements may easily be observed; the frizzly hair and other distinctive traits of

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the black race are fairly common. These may be partly attributed to former Makoan slaves bought in Mozambique (Masombiky) in times not far back. In some parts of the island there may be found traces of Semite or Indian, and even Cambodian, elements; but the most important part of the population is of Malay origin. Owing, however, to the lack of written records, it is not possible to decide at what period the Malay immigrants, who were to give rise to the Hova kingdom, the most developed and powerful in Madagascar, began to land there in successive migrations. But the tales handed down among the Malays and Malagasies very nearly agree in placing it between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. The immigrants who had been for some time settled on the east coast were compelled by their spirit of adventure and conquest, as well as by the difficulties of life on the coast and the hostility of the races already established there, to go up to the high plateaux of the centre, where they absorbed the aborigines and founded the Hova kingdom, of which the Andrian castes or nobles directed the destiny with some distinction up to the time of the arrival of the conquering Europeans. The greatest king of the Hova dynasty, Adrianampoinimerina, who ruled from 1787 to 1810, was at the same time a conqueror, a legislator, and an administrator full of good sense and shrewdness. During the reign of his successors the Hova kingdom, in its contact with the French and English powers, allowed itself to be attracted by the outward forms of the civilization of the Europeans. In alternations of enthusiasm or xenophobia it became involved in the intrigues of those two powers, only to succumb finally before the French expedition of 1895 and the revolution of Galliéni in 1897. Queen Ranavalona III., who was banished to Réunion and then to Algeria as the result of an abortive conspiracy, is the last Malagasy sovereign.

Christianity, which was introduced into the Hova kingdom by English missionaries of various Protestant bodies in the reign of King Radama I. and then by Jesuit fathers, who came from France, modified the manners of the court and the population and, in spite of the violent opposition of the national paganism, ended by becoming predominant. Under Ranavalona II., his Prime Minister built by the side of the queen's palace a chapel for Protestant worship, and proclaimed himself head of the new national Church. At the present day, though many customs of a pagan character have not disappeared from the villages of the Imerina (Tananarive), Christianity is practised by all the Malagasies of the highlands; there are few villages which have not both their Protestant church and their Catholic church, where, every Sunday, the faithful never fail to pray together, and especially to sing together those old religious hymns of England and France which charmed our infancy and which

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ever recall in our souls, far from our native land, so many memories and emotions.

Whatever be one's opinion in religious matters, it is generally admitted that it is to Christianity that Madagascar owes its being so European. Many colonial peoples who have been conquered by the French remain at heart deeply hostile and try to widen the gulf which separates us from them, because their religion, philosophy, and customs are radically opposed to ours; but nothing of that kind has occurred in the conquest and organization of Madagascar by France. The country, primitive and without any well-marked history or traditions or religion, easily took the Christian imprint, or rather the Latin, which is that of the peoples of old Europe. The court, the noble families, the well-to-do classes, were already living in European style when France conquered the island. General Galliéni, the representative of the French Government, had only to substitute himself for the Malagasy Government and everything continued as in the past, under a different flag. A new society, composed of French people, took its place side by side with a society which Christianity had Europeanized and which already thought and lived like itself. There was therefore no conflict, and this enabled the French Government successfully to undertake, after the conquest of the country, the conquest of the hearts of its people.

At the present moment Madagascar is, of the colonies which France has acquired since 1870, the one which has most accepted its rule. The Malagasies behaved with courage during the Great War of 1914-18. As they had the same duties as the French of Europe, they have claimed the same rights. The numerous naturalizations, which have conferred upon the élite among the natives the same rights as those of citizens of European origin, have created among the Malagasies a new class which is strongly attached to France; and it is probable that there will very soon arise in Madagascar, at any rate in the highlands, a creole Malagasy community, like the creole Réunion community, formed from the children of Europeans born in the country and speaking its language, and from the children of Malagasies who have become citizens or simply Europeanized, each of these remaining and marrying within its race, but all having the same love for their common little motherland, Madagascar.

The élite among the Malagasies, moreover, freely acknowledge the benefits of the French connection. Madagascar has had the privilege of being the first among French colonies to organize on rational lines the protection of the health of the natives. The work of medical relief begun by General Galliéni has produced some convincing results. A model school of medicine, which other developed colonies such as Indo-China have not succeeded in equalling, is a nursery of learned and conscientious native doctors,

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many of whom have been to finish their studies and their practice in the faculties and great hospitals of France; dispensaries for malaria, syphilis, tuberculosis, have been organized; a Pasteur Institute of Paris is undertaking some remarkable studies; the struggle against plague is being successfully carried on. Alongside this struggle against disease a great effort has been made for child protection. There are in the island many maternity centres; and societies, like the Milk Supply and the Malagasy Red Cross, which work in Tananarive and other large towns, give most useful service, and win for the French administration the gratitude of Malagasy mothers. Madagascar has at the present time 55 hospitals, 48 maternity centres, 179 medical stations, and 153 lying-in centres; and to these may be added 10 Vernes dispensaries connected with an institute of social hygiene, a children's hospital, a lunatic asylum, 16 leper centres, a seamen's hospital, and 20 plague hospitals. In 1933 the colony had 36 chief district doctors (not including the free civil doctors), 300 native doctors, 453 midwives, and 780 qualified male and female nurses.

In the field of education France has similarly recognized her duty, and in that, as in other matters, the moving spirit was General Galliéni. Government European education has been based upon that of the metropolis. It comprises a primary, elementary and superior, and a secondary education. Two secondary schools, which prepare pupils for the baccalauréat, are working in Tananarive—the Lycée Galliéni for boys, the Lycée Jules-Ferry for girls. Between them they have over 1,200 pupils.

Government native education has 917 schools of the first class; In these the young natives receive primary instruction in French: the other subjects are taught in the language of the country. There are 15 schools of the second class, each with a European master at the head: teaching in them is given in French; admission is by competitive examination. In the third class is the Myre de Vilers School, which trains teachers, officers for the various Government posts, and candidates for the Medical School.

The superior native school, École Flacourt, gives to the pupils leaving the primary schools a training for the examination for admission to the secondary school. Lastly, the industrial school of Tananarive in a two-year course trains some excellent workers in every occupation. Private teaching is in the hands of the Protestant and Catholic missions.

In Madagascar, of 690,000 children of school age, about 121,500, in charge of 2,700 masters, attend the schools. That is a proportion not reached by any other colony. The school education, through the raising of the intellectual and moral level of the natives thus rendered possible, and through the professional training which makes them useful assistants for the French, seems to

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fulfil its purpose so well that the former governor of the English colony of Mauritius, Sir Hesketh Bell, decided to suggest it as a model.

Mention also may be made of the School of Fine Art intended for the training of young natives who show aptitude for drawing, and of the Workshops of Applied Art, intended to improve the local industries of weaving, esparto, copper, pottery, carpets, furniture, etc.

The programme of economic equipment, of which the general principles were settled by General Galliéni, is being carried out. A railroad, the oldest in date, joins the port of Tamatave to the capital of the colony, Tananarive; it is 369 kilometres in length, and its highest point is 1,508 metres above sea-level. Another line of 166 kilometres branches off from the first and reaches the rich plains of the basin of Lake Alaotra. Antsirabé, the Malagasy Vichy, a well-known thermal station, is connected with Tananarive by a line of 170 kilometres. All these routes used by regular trains have also, for more than a year past, been traversed by quick and comfortable Michelin auto-rails.

Of late years the road system has been remarkably extended and the equipment modernized. The excavating work is done by steam engines, the stone is crushed by machine and carried by lorries, the rollers are worked by Diesel motor and weigh 13 tons. In new constructions the metal supports are replaced by larger and larger work in reinforced concrete: a range of 50 metres is expected for the next constructions. Over 14,500 kilometres of roads there travel 6,700 automobile vehicles.

The construction and equipment of the chief ports of Madagascar is going on rapidly. The largest liners can now anchor at the quay at Tamatave. The quays of Diego Suarez will soon be finished. The works at the port of Majunga will be begun immediately. Other important works are projected for the ports of Manakara, Tuléar, and Morondava.

The cable and a great wireless post connect Madagascar with France. In a few months it will be possible to telephone from Europe to Tananarive. A radiophonic transmitting station operates regularly in the capital of the island.

Maritime and postal connections are maintained by two shipping companies—the Messageries Maritimes and the Havre Peninsular. In a short while, after the installation of the aerial equipment at Broken Hill, Tananarive, it will be possible to travel by airplane from Paris to Tananarive in ten days. No doubt a development of tourist traffic to Madagascar will ensue. The chief centres in the great island have recently undergone great changes. Tananarive is a healthy and picturesque city, provided with excellent hotels. Tamatave, Majunga, Antsirabé, are real garden-cities.

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Everywhere large programmes of town planning are being carried out.

The world crisis affects Madagascar less than other French colonies. This is due to the fact that the island has a variety of products and these do not all fail at one time, and some, like coffee, vanilla, and graphite, have risen considerably in value.

Madagascar produces almost all the coffee exported from the French colonies. She furnishes more than a third of the vanilla consumed in the world. Her production of cloves, though not equal to that of Zanzibar, is notably increasing.

Here, furthermore, is a summary of the chief exports of Madagascar in 1932:

	Francs.		*Francs.*
Cattle	2,229,000	Vanilla	14,723,000
Meat (chilled, frozen, salt, preserved) ...	50,487,000	Tobacco	13,786,000
Hides, hair, wool ...	11,648,000	Ylang-ylang	1,457,000
Animal fats	8,211,000	Clove essence	2,709,000
Maize	1,648,000	Raffia	22,232,000
Tapioca	6,720,000	Rum and tafia	7,336,000
Manioc	17,381,000	Gems	189,000
Rice	3,115,000	Graphite	3,005,000
Cape peas	20,412,000	Sisal	961,000
Copra	1,130,000	Natural phosphates (guano)	1,400,000
Sugar	13,461,000	Mica	1,315,000
Coffee	84,699,000	Timber	1,104,000
Cloves	5,026,000		

Some writers and some travellers have called Madagascar "The Happy Isle," and they have done so not without reason.

As large as France, Belgium, and Holland put together, Madagascar has on its central highlands a climate comparable with that of the French Côte d'Azur or of the Italian Riviera. The difficulties of life are less there than in old Europe, and amid native races that are gentle and love the European and his ways, and are desirous of adapting themselves, a white society has permanently established itself. Some families which came from France or Réunion are now in their third generation, born in the country.

A writer of the Malagasy race recently wrote, in a great Parisian daily newspaper, that the peoples of the Great Island observe with joy that time, working in their favour, is every day drawing them into closer association with France; they desire that their small fatherland, without giving up its own traditions and its local customs, may become, like Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Réunion, an integral part of France, a real French province.

Truly a happy land is that in which material life is not hard, and where the characters of the native-born and the immigrants so completely agree.

(*Translated.*)

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

INDIAN INDIA. By C. W. Waddington, C.I.E., M.V.O. With a Foreword by Sir Claude Hill, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. (*Jarrolds.*) 18s. net.

(*Reviewed by* M. C. B. SAYER.)

The stay-at-home Englishman is still apt to think of Britain as ruling India. He forgets that over at least one-third of the entire subcontinent Britain does not rule in any sense of the word. When he thinks of the Indian States, if he remembers them at all, it is as effete survivals, which endure only through our clemency and support. It has indeed been the fashion to contrast the condition of British India under our enlightened rule with that of Indian India, sunk, as it appears to us, in Oriental lethargy. The future of the Rajputs and States of Rajasthan—in some respects the most characteristically Oriental and unchanged portion of the Empire—is one of the problems of India. But even these old-world rulers, many of whom represent famous royal dynasties of venerable antiquity, are something more than mere historical anachronisms of an unburied past. They deserve our attention rather as living examples of the manner in which Indians have governed themselves in the past, and may conceivably govern themselves again in the future.

However archaic or even obsolete their manners and customs may appear to the sophisticated eye of the Western observer, the Indian States stand for the ancient identification of the Government with the governed: for that intimate touch between ruler and ruled which the West has been content to lose. Above all, it is to the past achievement, in the realms of architecture and sculpture of the various individual kingdoms rather than the great empires, that we must look if we would gain any clear idea of the cultural heritage of India as a whole. It is no mere coincidence that so much of India's architectural treasure, so much of that which is best in her contribution to the artistic wealth of the world at large, is to be found in territory that has been for centuries the seat of a local kingdom rather than of imperial government.

The land of which Mr. Waddington writes with so infectious an enthusiasm and in so entertaining a style is an old-world land, full of primitive ways—the ways of a people of herdsmen, horsemen, and soldiers. But if its rulers' ancestors lived in a state of constant conflict—sometimes with the Mughals, sometimes with their own rebel feudatories, often with one another—they were also great builders, and gardeners, and founders of Hindu temples, these early Rajput kings. The domestic architecture of Rajasthan has hitherto received less than justice from antiquarians and artists.

There must be many who share the "childish capacity of devising more vivid impression from a picture than a story," to which Sir Claude Hill confesses in an admirable foreword to a book which should be read by every lover of India and by every student of its history. Mr. Waddington's experience as Principal of Raj Kumar College, Rajkot, and Mayo College,

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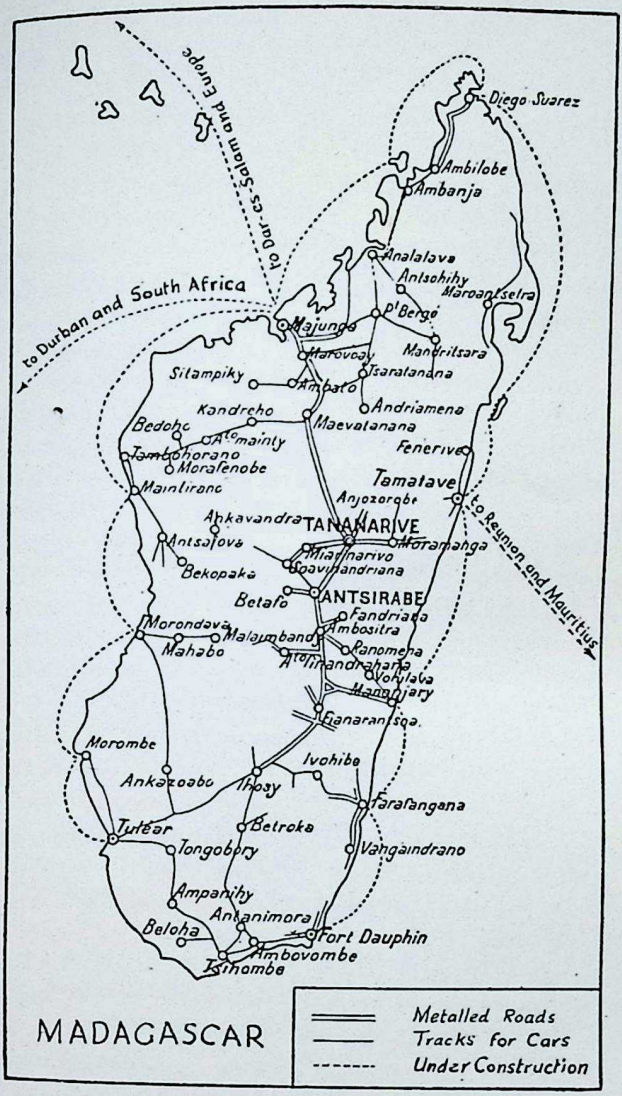

MAP OF MADAGASCAR.

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PARIS : 27 AVENUE DES CHAMPS-ELYSÉES.

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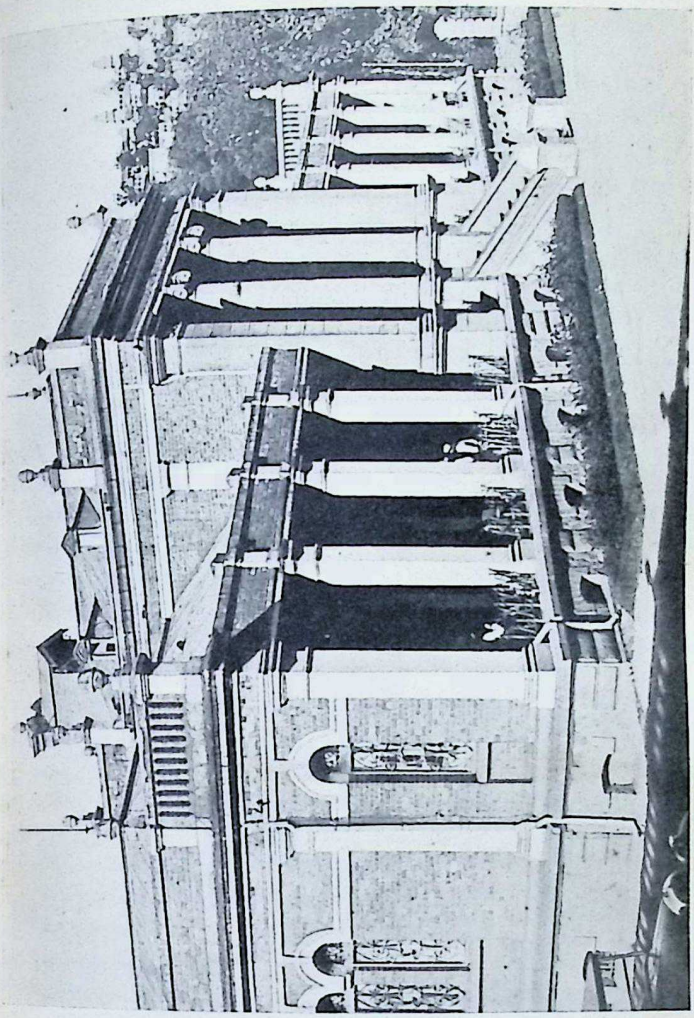

TANANARIVE: FRONT VIEW OF THE SCHOOL OF MEDICINE.

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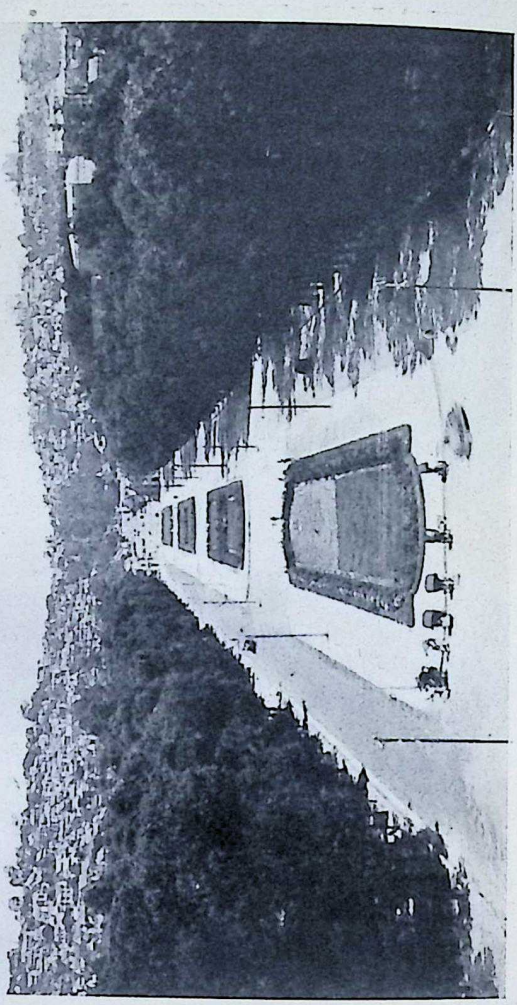

TANANARIVE: THE AVENUE DE LA GARE AND THE TOWN.

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has enabled the author to unite genuine research to a fine sense of the imagination and instructional values of an absorbing theme. Although he has confined himself chiefly to the region immortalized by James Tod, he has to a large extent broken fresh ground by writing round a series of drawings a lively narrative of the salient events with which they are connected. As a result all those who in these crucial days of India's destiny conscientiously desire to realize something of the atmosphere of the land and of its peoples can enjoy both profit and entertainment. "They will derive a better balanced impression," as Sir Claude Hill remarks, "and certainly greater pleasure from *Indian India* than from the study of more pretentious works." The twenty-nine beautiful reproductions of pencil drawings by the author are selected with much discrimination, and are alone worth the price of this fascinating and eminently desirable volume.

Pour l'Empire Colonial Français. By Gabriel Hanotaux. (Paris: *Société de l'Histoire Nationale.*)

(*Review by* Professor J. Coatman.)

No living writer can treat with greater authority and force the problems of the French Colonial Empire than can M. Hanotaux, and this, the latest of his books, is worthy of its great theme. It opens on a serious note, for it challenges the French people to hold and extend their proud heritage. The opening part of the book shows us the lesson of past history, and M. Hanotaux says that he wants to talk about France to Frenchmen and to discuss with them all the features and problems of France's expansion throughout the world. The keynote of the book is the achievement of the unity of the French Empire, and assuredly it will do much to fire the imagination of all who will have to bend themselves to this high task. He sets the position of France very high in the world, seeing her, indeed, as the very centre of Western civilization. To Englishmen, at least, his insistence that all movements of a liberal kind in the American colonies had their origin in France and in French eighteenth-century writers will seem a little naïve, and cannot be allowed to pass without a challenge. But he is on safer ground when he says that the international jealousies and rivalries caused by the exploits of French pioneers seem to be a law of French Colonial history. But this first part of the book is full of wise reflections and useful morals. The second, and largest, part of the book contains an account of the author's recent journeys in Algeria and Tunis. Here we encounter many vivid pen pictures of scenery and places and developments, and the great question which M. Hanotaux sets out to solve on his journey is: "What are the ways and means best calculated to guarantee the success of French colonization?" He sees the answer in the Algerian experience, and this is a topic which well repays close reading. At pp. 245-246 citizens of the British Empire will find some weighty remarks about the fundamental importance of Ottawa and its example for France. He, at any rate, has no doubts as to the wisdom of the Ottawa Agreements or as to the vastness of the results which will flow from them.

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Among the most important of all M. Hanotaux's suggestions is that for an Empire ministry charged with the affairs of the whole of France's Colonial Empire and with its material development in particular. This theme is developed at length in the pages from p. 246 onwards, but it is somewhat disturbing to notice that in places, as, *e.g.*, on p. 246, he seems to advocate a mercantilist policy of a somewhat archaic type; but later remarks on p. 289 show that this is far from being his real ideal. He is, however, on thoroughly sound ground when he insists on the importance to all colonial officials of a knowledge of native languages and customs.

With the third division of the book we come to M. Hanotaux's suggestions for the future and for the unity of the Colonial Empire. There is a fine discussion of the *real* "mise en valeur" policy—that is, a policy of improving men, not of increasing material gains. There is a familiar ring, again, to English ears about our author's comments on the way in which French capital has been lent to foreigners all over the world for developmental purposes and the desirability of using it in the future rather to build up the French Empire. He returns again to his proposed Empire Ministry and vigorously denounces the waste, moral and material, which goes on under the present system, whereby different Governmental authorities are charged with different units and phases of the Colonial Empire and its life and activities. Unmercifully he castigates the carelessness and lack of forethought which has held back the development of the French Empire in the past, and here again his words will evoke a sympathetic response in many a British mind. M. Hanotaux tells us that the essence of civilization today is expansion and colonization, and his book is a worthy exercise on this theme.

Histoire de l'Empire Byzantin. A. A. Vasiliev. 2 Vols. (Paris: *Éditions A. Picard.*)

Students of mediæval history accept as recognized standard works Edward Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* and as its modern complement John Bagnell Bury's new edition of Gibbon, and, besides, his *History of the Eastern Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene* (2 vols., 1889), from *Irene to Basil I.* (1912), from *Theodosius to Justinian* (2 vols., 1923), and in addition to these the *Cambridge Mediæval History* edited by him. So it may be asked: Why should one turn now to a French edition of Vasiliev's history covering the same ground, published recently in an English garb, one year after Bury's death? The author himself meets objections of this sort in an *avant-propos* coming from Madison-Wisconsin, the place where he appears to have been appointed a professor of the university. Of the French edition he says there that it is "largement augmentée," and therefore a real improvement on the previous English version, a claim substantiated by a preface from the pen of the prominent French authority on most subjects concerning Byzantium, Professor Charles Diehl of the Sorbonne.

A study of this new history of the Byzantine Empire will, we believe,

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convince readers that the claims for its superiority are justified in a large measure. This has become possible by utilizing hitherto inaccessible literary sources provided by Arabian, by Slavonic, and, above all, by Russian writers. The harvest gathered from the latter has been especially rich. The complicated history of the Empire during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, still largely lacking elucidation, becomes hereby more explicit. The ample material collected by the author is presented to the reader in a lucid style. It is condensed into two volumes of less than five hundred pages each. At the end of each chapter the reader finds a bibliography. The text is sprinkled with footnotes, which guide and equip the student bent on research work. Another welcome addition are choice illustrations, chiefly from rare manuscripts, and some maps.

What for the last hundred years up to our time had borne the name of the kingdom of Greece has been, as a matter of course, an integral part of the Eastern Empire, bound to it, before all, by the same language. It is interesting to read in Vasiliev's history the account of the literary campaign raging since the year 1830 about the claims of the inhabitants of the peninsula Morea and of Attica as well to be descendants of the ancient Greeks, a claim disputed, and denied them, by a bold and strongly fortified assertion that they were mostly of Slavonic descent, the offspring of the tribes of the Avares of the time of the migration of the nations, descendants of Illyrians and of other northern tribes (vol. i., pp. 230-235). Not less interesting is the information given on pp. 264-288 of the various incursions of the Arabs resulting in the loss of provinces and in the progressive dismemberment of the Empire. The same occurred at the time of the invasion of the Balkan peninsula by the Bulgarians, who founded an independent kingdom and, encouraged by their unprecedented success, sought to shake the stability of the Empire. When the Emperor Constantine in 679 admitted the complete defeat of his army at the hands of the Bulgar hordes he had to submit to a treaty which compelled him to pay them an annual tribute and also to cede to the enemy all the land lying between the Danube and the Balkan mountains. The pressure increased to such an extent that the Emperor Constantine II. had to leave his capital and country, and, passing through Athens, migrated further, establishing himself in Rome and Naples. He died at Syracuse five years afterwards (vol. i., p. 292). This episode was closed by his son's and successor's decision to continue to reside at Constantinople.

One hundred years before that event, in the glorious reign of the Emperor Justinian, the capital and all the country around it being safe, the famous Byzantine generals Belisar and Narses defeated the Ostrogoths and destroyed their rule in Italy. The Exarchate of Ravenna was then founded. In North Africa Belisar destroyed the kingdom of the Vandals and subdued all the islands of the Mediterranean, and even parts of Spain. It was at the time when Agia Sofia was built, as well as other famous domes and cathedrals in Syria and elsewhere, and when in administration and legislation definite progress was made.

In another early chapter, dedicated to the time of Constantine and to

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his rise to power, the question of his "conversion" and of his sincerity in siding with the Church is discussed. He draws his conclusions after careful analysis of the widely divergent verdicts of scholars like Jakob Burckhardt and Adolph Harnack, of Battiffol and others. The two first named see in the Emperor the shrewd unprincipled politician. Not so the Russian historian, who detaches himself from the lines of reasoning followed by others, relying principally on contemporary reports of such authoritative writers as Lactantius and Eusebius. Here he also gives by way of digression an explanation of the origin of the "Labarum," an emblem of which, reproduced on coins and found on monuments in the East and also in the West, reproductions survive in the art of the Renaissance and of later times, the result of arbitrary conceptions of no historic value.

Plate 2 in vol. i. reproduces the full-length portrait of an empress or queen, gorgeously attired, carved in ivory, preserved in the National Museum (Bargello) of Florence. It is not yet identified, and is described by the author as representing "une impératrice de Byzance, Ariadne, femme de Zénon, puis d'Anastase." However, the emblems in her hands, sceptre and globe, require to be interpreted as a token of exclusive supreme rule. The figure stands up in complete isolation. Moreover, her attire is unprecedented among the many preserved portraits of refined, richly dressed Byzantine empresses. Not so this lady in her decidedly barbaric costume, which calls, in the opinion of the reviewer, for a differing identification. It may well be that it represents Amalasuntha, daughter of Theodoric, the mighty king of the Ostrogoths, who succeeded him as ruling queen during the minority of her son. She was for that time exclusively responsible for the government of the country as head of her people, and might have been attired in this fashion.

J. P. R.

A History of the Georgian People, from the Beginning down to the Russian Conquest in the Nineteenth Century. By W. E. D. Allen. With an Introduction by Sir Denison Ross. (*Kegan Paul.*) 31s. 6d. net.

Mr. Allen has been a frequent contributor to the Asiatic Review and other periodicals on Georgia and Caucasus, and he is generally recognized as one of the younger authorities on that region. He has been engaged in the preparation of his "History" for nearly nine years, and the present magnificent volume, with its great variety of photographs and illustrations in the text, is a credit both to his own industry and to the courage and enterprise of his publishers.

Mr. Allen divides his work into five "Books" which are very unequal in quality. The first three books are unquestionably the best part of the whole work, and it is to be regretted that Mr. Allen did not confine himself to the political and geographical sphere. Some of the space devoted to the two final "Books" might well have been used by Mr. Allen to bring the history of Georgia down to the present day. It is unsatisfactory that the whole work should conclude with the Russian conquest in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, for Mr. Allen can hardly feel that the

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whole of the last hundred years is adequately covered by his excellent but short essay published more than ten years ago in Mr. John Buchan's volume *The Baltic and Caucasian States*.

Mr. Allen's chapter on "The Historical Geography of Ancient Georgia" is an original contribution to modern knowledge of this obscure subject, and his two chapters (XIX. and XX.) on the trade relations of the Caucasus with neighbouring countries between the ninth and eighteenth centuries are, perhaps, the best in the book. On the other hand, he underrates the importance of the Georgian Church in the national life, and, indeed, entirely misconceives the rôle of the Christian Church in the mediæval world.

The chapter on Georgian literature is slight and disappointing, particularly in view of the wealth of material available, both original and critical. It is a pity that Mr. Allen could not have followed the invaluable translations of the two Wardrops with a serious survey, which might have set the original and creative contributions of the Georgians to mediæval literature in proper perspective.

It is, however, easy to criticize misconceptions and omissions, and it would be unjust to detract from the really great value of Mr. Allen's contribution to the history of a part of the Middle East, which has so far received too little attention in this country. The historical chapters are based on Brosset's voluminous *Histoire de la Géorgie*, published nearly eighty years ago, which is, as Sir Denison Ross remarks, "difficult to borrow and almost impossible to buy." Brosset's work is, moreover, difficult for any but the specialist to follow, and Mr. Allen has rendered a service to the general reader, and, indeed, to specialists on other parts of the Middle East who require a working knowledge of Georgian history. Mr. Allen, further, makes available to the English reader the results of the researches of Russian and Georgian scholars of the last century, which are for the most part buried in the obscure periodicals which he has taken so much trouble to collect, and which are usefully enumerated in his bibliography (pp. 359-93).

Mr. Allen has, too, a vivid and coloured style, although he sometimes allows it to run away with him. He has a remarkable knowledge of the history of the countries and empires with which Georgia has been in relation during different periods of her history, and he never allows the reader to lose perspective. In this connection his diagrammatic map to show the relation of Georgia to the different cultures of the Middle East is particularly interesting, and the reader can understand many of the causes of the extraordinary complexity and variety of Caucasian history when he realizes that Tiflis is almost equidistant from Cairo and Moscow, Stambul and Samarcand. The author has, further, a pretty knack of generalization wherein he intuitively touches the truth. Of Russia he writes: "That strange mediæval body, dressed in a modern accoutrement, with its German brain, its Byzantine mind, its Tatar hands and its Slavic soul." His gift of light and pithy characterization is no less pleasing in an historian. David IV., who was "slight and supple, silken-haired, soft-voiced and eloquent . . . had yet a name for courage in the field; yielding, equable and open-handed, he could never conceal the itch of a live ambition. The Mongols preferred his rival whom they called *Ulu*—'Big' David. The son

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of Giorgi Lasha was strong and fat and simple. He delighted in the chase, gave his confidence to all men, was subject sometimes to fits of surly depression, which could make him cruel and obstinate. The long misery of his imprisonment had left him with a painful stutter." Wakhtang VI. was "the most pleasing of all the gifted House of Mukhran. Gentle and studious, of a mind devout and equable, he was yet a gallant soldier, a fine horseman, a courtier of grace and wit. But he was rash and sentimental, without judgment or dexterity, or the peculiar *flair* which jealous men call luck."

The book is finely produced, and Messrs. Kegan Paul are to be congratulated in having spared no expense in the reproduction of the many charming drawings which have been photographed from Castelli's MS. in the Communal Library at Palmero. It is a pity that more books of the same quality are not made available at the same very moderate price.

NOTE

We are asked to state that the book *Far-off Things*, by Dr. R. L. Spittel, a review of which appeared in the April issue, is obtainable in this country from The Java Head Bookshop, 67, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1.

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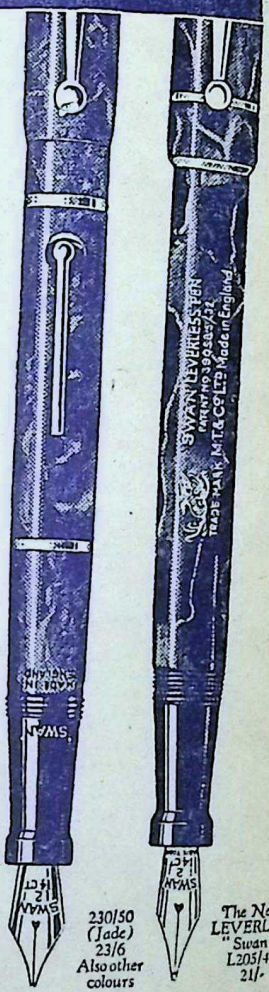

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

INDIA AND THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION

By Harold Butler, C.B.
(Director, International Labour Office.)

Since its inception India has played an active and important part in the work of the International Labour Organization. From 1919 onwards, year after year India has been sending complete delegations consisting of representatives of Governments, employers, and workers to the annual Conference, and these delegations have included such able men as Sir Atul Chatterjee and Sir Louis Kershaw of the India Office, Mr. A. G. Clow, Joint Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Industries and Labour at Delhi, Mr. Jennings of the Bombay Labour Office, Sir Shanmukham Chetty, President of the Indian Legislative Assembly, Mr. Birla, the well-known industrialist, and Mr. Joshi, who represents Indian labour at the Assembly at Delhi. Moreover, Sir Atul Chatterjee was the President of the Conference in 1927, and in 1932 he was elected as the first overseas Chairman of the Governing Body, of which he had long been a member. He has now been succeeded by a no less distinguished and experienced representative in the person of our Chairman today, Sir B. N. Mitra. These men and others who have attended the Conference on behalf of India have left their mark on the work of the Organization.

The Organization functions through an annual Conference, a Governing Body, and a permanent Office. The Conference is composed of four delegates and their advisers appointed by each State, two of the delegates being representatives of the Government and the other two of the employers and workers of their country. Each meeting of the Conference discusses a report on the work of the Organization during the preceding year and considers specific questions relating to conditions of work, with a

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view to agreement on international measures. The decisions of the Conference generally take the form of Draft Conventions or Recommendations. A Draft Convention is a proposed treaty. In compliance with the requirements of the Peace Treaty, the Government of each Member State must submit the Draft Convention adopted by the Conference within a prescribed time limit to its Parliament or other proper authority for decision as to whether it can be accepted and applied within its country.

A State may formally ratify a Draft Convention, in which case it becomes virtually a party to a treaty with any other States that have ratified and is under an obligation to see that its own law and practice are in accordance with the Convention. It must report every year on the steps taken to give effect to the Convention, and such reports are subject to scrutiny in the first place by an expert Committee and subsequently by a Committee of the Conference. A Recommendation must also be brought before the proper authority in each country, but it usually contains general rules and principles for the guidance of Governments rather than precise and rigid provisions for observance by them. The points to be particularly noted in this connection are that a Draft Convention is binding only on a State ratifying it, and that it represents the highest common measure of agreement reached between Governments, employers, and workers represented at the Conference.

The Governing Body

In the case of India, however, in virtue of the representation accorded to it on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, it has a further opportunity of considering the implications of any obligation towards the International Labour Organization which it may be called upon to assume. One of the principal regular functions of the Governing Body is to determine the agenda of the Conference, and India is among the eight countries of chief industrial importance whose Governments have a permanent place on this body. It may be recalled here that this recognition was obtained by India as a result of a persistent demand for it put forward notably by Sir Louis Kershaw, who displayed great vigour and firmness in pressing his case.

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The first Governing Body was hardly appointed when certain countries, including India, took exception to its composition, and the matter was duly brought before the Council of the League of Nations, this being the competent body to decide which are the eight countries of chief industrial importance to have permanent seats on the Governing Body. In 1920, a Mixed Committee, consisting of representatives of the League Council and of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, was appointed for this purpose, and this Committee decided to apply, on the whole, the criteria* drawn up by the Organizing Committee of the Washington Conference in estimating the industrial importance of various States.

Accordingly, after protracted deliberations, the League Council, on September 30, 1922, adopted a resolution† upholding India's claim. Since then, however, an amendment to Article 393 of the Peace Treaty adopted by the Governing Body for increasing its total membership to 32 having quite recently come into force, representatives of Indian employers and workers as well have been assigned seats as full members. Mr. D. S. Erulkar, of the

* (1) The total wage-earning industrial population, miners, and transport workers; (2) the proportion which the total wage-earning industrial population bears to the whole population; (3) total horse-power (steam power and water power), not including locomotives and vessels; (4) horse-power per head of the population; (5) total length of railways; (6) length of railways per thousand square kilometres of territory; and (7) development of the mercantile marine.

† "The Council of the League of Nations, considering that the claims made to it by India and Poland, and the objections made by various other countries, in regard to the list of the eight members of the International Labour Organization of chief industrial importance which was prepared by the Organizing Committee of the First General Conference of the International Labour Organization and employed for the constitution of the Governing Body of the Labour Office in 1919, have raised a general question as to which are the eight Members of chief industrial importance,

And considering that by the fourth paragraph of Article 393 of the Treaty of Versailles and the corresponding Articles of the other Treaties of Peace, this question has to be decided by the Council,

Decide that the eight Members of the International Labour Organization which are of chief industrial importance are at present, in the alphabetical order of the names in French: Germany, Belgium, Canada, France, Great Britain, India, Italy, and Japan."

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Indian Chamber of Commerce in Great Britain, and Mr. N. M. Joshi will accordingly take their places on the Governing Body as from the next session in October of this year for a period of three years.

India is thus adequately represented on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office and at the Conference.

Indian Ratification

As regards the results of India's association with the International Labour Organization, in addition to the Berne Convention on the prohibition of the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches, India has so far ratified 13 of the 33 Conventions adopted by the Conference at its sixteen sessions held between the years 1919 and 1932.* To this list might be added certain Conventions which, although unratified by India, have led to legislative or other measures calculated to give effect to some of their provisions.† The larger part of these measures refers

* (1) Convention limiting the hours of work in industrial undertakings. (2) Convention concerning unemployment. (3) Convention concerning the employment of women during the night. (4) Convention concerning the night work of young persons employed in industry. (5) Convention concerning the rights of association and combination of agricultural workers. (6) Convention concerning the application of the weekly rest in industrial undertakings. (7) Convention fixing the minimum age for the admission of young persons to employment as trimmers and stokers. (8) Convention concerning the compulsory medical examination of children and young persons employed at sea. (9) Convention concerning workmen's compensation for occupational diseases. (10) Convention concerning equality of treatment for national and foreign workers as regards workmen's compensation for accidents. (11) Convention concerning the simplification of the inspection of emigrants on board ship. (12) Convention concerning seamen's articles of agreement. (13) Convention concerning the marking of the weights of heavy packages transported by vessels.

† *E.g.*, The Convention concerning the employment of women before and after childbirth. Convention fixing the minimum age for the admission of children to industrial employment. Convention fixing the minimum age for the admission of children to employment at sea. Convention concerning unemployment indemnity in case of the loss or foundering of the ship. Convention for establishing facilities for finding employment for seamen. Convention concerning the use of white lead in painting. Convention concerning workmen's compensation for accidents. Convention concerning the repatriation of seamen.

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to protective legislation dealing with women and children, which is only natural in a country that is still in the preliminary stages of industrialization, although the extent of its industrial equipment already entitles it to rank among the first eight countries of chief industrial importance within the Organization at the present time.

"Special Circumstances"

The difficulties of applying Conventions drawn up on the basis of the requirements of advanced industrial States to India, and to other countries similarly situated, were foreseen even at the outset, at the time of the establishment of the International Labour Organization, and, accordingly, provision was made for taking into consideration the special circumstances of each country. Article 405 of the Peace Treaty specifically lays down that the Conference shall take account of the modifications required in any particular country in the provisions of a Convention, in order to make them applicable to it. An illustration of the application of this exempting provision is found in Article 10 of the Washington Hours Convention, which allows the maintenance of the principle of a 60-hour week in British India.

The number of ratifications of International Labour Convention is, however, by itself no adequate guide to the recent progress of Labour legislation in most countries, and particularly in India. Statistics are apt to be deceptive and, in any case, the mere figures of the number of ratifications are not the only test of the value of these Conventions. At the Conference last year, Colonel Creswell, a former Minister of Labour of the Union of South Africa, observed:

"The value of the proceedings of this Organization, and the value of the Conventions adopted, cannot be altogether measured by the number of ratifications, particularly in countries of small population, although perhaps of wide area, which have only recently emerged from the pioneer stage and in which industrial development is in its very earliest stages. Although we may not ratify all the Conventions, or many of the Conventions adopted, at this Conference in our country, and I dare say the same applies to not a few oversea countries in the same stage of development, these Conventions serve as an exceedingly useful guide in the framing and adoption of legislation which a developing industrialism makes necessary from time to time."

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The great advance which India has made in labour legislation since 1919 is well known. It is also known that various measures, such as the proposed amendment to the Indian Factories Act reducing the hours of work from 60 to 54, have either been already taken or are in various stages of consideration, as a result of the recommendations made by the Royal Commission on Labour in India. It would be an exaggeration to claim that all these reforms are due to the influence of the International Labour Organization, for in India, as elsewhere, the establishment of the Organization synchronized with the development of natural forces and the war wrought changes which were bound to lead up to the present situation. Nevertheless, it may be remarked that throughout this period, India was closely associated with the work of the Organization. As Mr. A. G. Clow has observed:

"The International Labour Conference cannot compel countries to accept its conclusions, but its procedure and the fact that its Conventions and Recommendations have ordinarily to be submitted to the legislature in each country, ensures the regular examination both by the executive Government and by popular representatives, of numerous schemes for the amelioration of labour conditions. . . . The submission, at intervals, of conclusions reached by the Conference to the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State has been instrumental in stimulating public interest in labour questions, and at times in initiating measures which might not otherwise have been adopted."*

Eastern Industrialization

As to the future, there has been abundant evidence in recent years to show that the East is rapidly transforming itself and that the developments that are now taking place in many of the leading Oriental countries are not unlike the long process of industrialization which characterized the evolution of Europe in the course of the last century. A remarkable feature of this transformation would seem to be the readiness with which the latest structural modifications resulting in increasing mechanization of industry are being adopted. The immediate consequences of this change are such as to cause considerable social dislocation and to raise many new problems of great complexity. It also gives rise to

* *The State and Industry.*

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competition between the newly industrialized countries of the East and European countries as well as between some of the Eastern countries themselves. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to suppose that this process is necessarily detrimental in its effects, for, as it has been found in the past, industrialization gradually leads to an improvement in the general standard of living through the production of new wealth and development of new resources.

In the long run the spread of industry in Asia might be expected to benefit rather than injure the old manufacturing countries of Europe by creating a demand for all kinds of luxuries and semi-luxuries not ordinarily within the reach of agricultural communities. Meanwhile, however, the necessary adjustments will have to be made for co-ordinating the labour standards generally and for the separate treatment of some of the regional problems. The need for providing employment and sustenance for the increasing population of Eastern countries, the difficulties incidental to the rapidly advancing process of their industrialization and the importance of the time factor in building up satisfactory industrial relations and sound industrial traditions all involve problems of great importance and complexity. It is one of the first duties of the Office to pursue the impartial study of these changing conditions by its experts in order to enable action to be based on well-ascertained facts.

Regional Questions

It has been suggested that a consultative conference modelled on the International Labour Conference but confined to Asiatic countries would be useful as an opportunity for making their particular requirements better known and for establishing a closer association between the rising industrial countries on the Asiatic Continent. A resolution pointing out the desirability of such a conference was adopted at one of the Sessions of the International Labour Conference, and representatives of Japanese and Indian workers, including Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, the president of the Indian National Federation of Trade Unions, who met at Colombo not many weeks ago, have for their part already made a beginning in establishing organized relations between workers'

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associations in the two countries. So far as the International Labour Organization is concerned, although it is universal in scope, there is nothing in its constitution to prevent the discussion of regional questions if the peculiar problems confronting neighbouring countries can be better dealt with in this way and provided they can be co-ordinated with the general machinery of the Organization as a whole. This is a matter to which greater attention will have to be given in the future.

It is essential, however, that India's co-operation with the Organization should be forthcoming in the same measure as hitherto in order to deal with the various problems mentioned above. In the admittedly transitional time which India is passing through, when important modifications in its constitutional structure are being considered, this aspect of the Indian question deserves very careful consideration. The Indian employers' delegate at the last Session of the Conference, Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai, said, as some of his predecessors had done, that the question of competition from the Indian States was an impediment in the way of Indian employers lending their support to protective labour legislation. Mr. Mody, the Chairman of the Millowners' Association at Bombay, also referred to this matter at the first annual meeting of the Employers' Federation of India at Delhi not very long ago, and suggested the desirability of authorizing the Central Government, under the new Constitution, to pass measures relating to social legislation applicable to the whole of India. These are primarily internal matters, but they will also affect India's international relations in the future. The whole trend of international relations is to turn more and more on economic rather than political issues. Competition is no longer a matter of tariffs or imposing quotas, but is now seen to be bound up with wage levels, standard of living and labour conditions generally. It is for that reason that the sphere of the I.L.O. is broadening and its influence in Eastern countries increasing.

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, July 10, 1934, when a paper entitled "India and the International Labour Organization" was read by Mr. Harold Butler, C.B. (Director of the International Labour Office). Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., C.B.E., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

The Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Abdul Qadir, Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Hubert Carr, Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Ness Wadia, K.B.E., C.I.E., Sir Homi Mehta, Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir John Maynard, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Selwyn Fremantle, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. Hugh Molson, M.P., Mr. A. G. Clow, C.I.E., Mr. F. G. Pratt, C.S.I., Mr. H. M. R. Hopkins, C.S.I., Mr. J. A. Shillidy, C.S.I., Mr. John Ross, I.S.O., Dame Adelaide Anderson, D.B.E., Mr. H. S. L. Polak, Mr. R. W. Brock, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, Mr. David S. Erulkar, Mr. S. Kyajnik, Miss S. Godard, Mrs. N. B. Dewar, Dr. F. Luksic, Mr. D. V. Jahmanka, Swami B. H. Bon, Miss Edmonstone, Mr. S. W. Cornwell, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. Sanaullah, Mr. John W. Stone, Mrs. and Miss Berry, Miss C. K. Cumming, Mr. C. Barns, Mr. Gordhandas G. Morarji, Mr. R. T. Sakloth, Mr. A. Dibdin, Mr. P. B. Seal, Mr. M. Dunstan, Mr. G. J. Ellis, Mr. E. F. Harris, Mr. E. C. F. Coleman, Miss Hopley, Mrs. L. M. Mundle, Mr. J. B. Forbes Watson, Miss F. Leatherdale, Capt. W. S. Sanders, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Brown has placed before me a number of letters from various distinguished personages, regretting their inability on account of other engagements to attend this afternoon's meeting, and in particular one from the Right Hon. J. H. Whitley, whose state of health does not permit of his being present.

It is my duty to introduce to you the distinguished lecturer of this afternoon. No doubt many of you know him already. Perhaps some of you have ascertained from the pages of *Who's Who* that after a distinguished academic record Mr. Butler entered the Civil Service of H.M. Government in this country, where he rose to the position of Principal Assistant Secretary in the Ministry of Labour, and that in 1919 he joined the International Labour Office, firstly as Deputy Director and since 1932 as Director.

I doubt, however, whether it is generally known that Mr. Harold Butler is one of four men who were responsible for preparing the first draft of Part XIII. of the Peace Treaty of Versailles, the part which deals with the organization of labour and its supreme international importance. Mr. Butler is thus one of the parents of the International Labour Covenant, and, indeed, he conceived the idea and has since brought it into shape.

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Mr. HAROLD BUTLER: When I received the invitation from this Association to lecture, I confess I had some hesitation about accepting it; not because I was insensible of the honour that was done me, but because I felt that in some respects I was not altogether qualified to lecture to you about India and the International Labour Office.

My principal ground of hesitation was that I had never been in India, and I have seen enough of other countries to realize that it is impossible to understand the conditions of a country without having visited it. When it comes to a country of the size and importance of India one is bound to realize that the gap in one's experience is even more serious than it would be in the case of a lesser country.

My second ground of hesitation was added when I was informed of the name of the Chairman, because Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra is one of my Governors, and I have already had sufficient experience of him to know that his is an eagle eye. At the same time I also know that it is a kindly eye, and I therefore got over that ground of hesitation.

He was one of the many distinguished servants that India has sent to build up the International Labour Organization since its foundation, and I think I may say that there are few countries that have been more consistent in sending of their best to Geneva than India.

(Mr. BUTLER then read his paper.)

The CHAIRMAN: I find myself in a rather difficult position because my lips are sealed. In the first place, I am the High Commissioner for India, and therefore the principal agent of the Government of India in this country, and anything which I may say is likely to be misunderstood as representing the views of the Government of India, which obviously is not so on the present occasion, and naturally I have got to be very cautious.

In the second place, as Mr. Butler has pointed out, I am a member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Organization, and that again requires great need of caution on my part before making any utterance in a public meeting like this. Indeed, I am not sure how some of Mr. Butler's own utterances are likely to be taken by the Organization itself and its Governing Body. For example, I noted that he declared himself in favour of special provisions in draft conventions to meet the special circumstances of India or other Eastern countries. Anybody who goes through the proceedings of the last International Conference will judge for himself about the attitude of that body with regard to this question.

In view of the difficulties to which I have referred, any remarks which I may make will be in the nature of statements of facts, or, if I attempt to venture any opinion, which will be most unlikely, it will be my personal opinion and will not in any way commit my Government.

Mr. Butler has given us a most interesting account of the International Labour Organization, and he has indicated the developments in recent years to secure the greater co-operation of India and of oversea countries.

Mr. Butler has also explained to us the various activities of this International Labour Organization. Those activities may be broadly divided

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into three main classes. In the first place, it undertakes an impartial study of the conditions of labour in various countries, and it collects and distributes the information. In the second place, it provides an international forum for free discussion of labour problems. In the third place, it tries to draft conventions and recommendations indicating the maximum amount of agreement on international measures.

As Mr. Butler has pointed out, and in my opinion rightly pointed out, the value of the work of the Organization to the workmen in any country is not to be measured by the number of ratifications of labour conventions, but by the improvement in the conditions of the workers which has taken place as a result of membership of the Organization. I have no hesitation in endorsing what he has said in this connection about India—namely, that whatever improvement has taken place in the conditions of workmen in India in recent years has been largely due to India's association with the International Labour Organization. Indeed, I am inclined to think that even the appointment of the Whitley Commission was largely due to that connection.

Mr. Butler ended up by suggesting that in connection with the modifications of India's constitutional structure now under consideration the importance of maintaining India's co-operation with the International Labour Organization in the same measure as hitherto should not be overlooked, and he has in this connection quoted a certain passage from the Whitley Commission. The quotation itself shows that the point has not been, and is not likely to be, overlooked by the authorities responsible for framing proposals for India's new Constitution. It may be that Mr. Butler is anxious that under her new Constitution India may not be in a position to ratify international labour conventions to the same extent as she may have done in the past. But nobody yet knows what the new Constitution will precisely be. Further, as Mr. Butler has himself said, the ratification of draft conventions and recommendations by countries does not constitute the sole test of the value of the International Labour Organization to the workers of that country, and personally I have not the slightest doubt that the authorities responsible for framing India's new Constitution will be careful to see that the interests of the workers are preserved in the new Constitution at least to the same extent as at present. On that question my personal views will be found in the records of the first Round-Table Conference, of which I had the honour of being a member.

Sir Homi Mehta: Mr. Butler has given us a true idea of what labour organization can do if it is followed all the world over. Mr. Butler has reminded us that he has not been to India, and therefore is not conversant with what is going on there as far as labour is concerned.

India as a whole is primarily an agricultural country. Nearly 90 per cent. of the population is engaged on the labour of the soil. Manufacturing processes have been taken up within the last few years, and I do not think even 5 per cent. of the population is either engaged on manufactures or in other side lines appertaining to manufacture. The labour that has been drawn for the purposes of manufacture has been drawn from the country

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with few exceptions, these exceptions being people coming over from England and other parts of the world to organize the same. But it has been mostly organized by the Indians themselves.

What little they have done I must give them every credit for. The labourers are not of the vigorous constitution they are either in the West, or in Japan, or in America. Their ways of living are quite different from what we find here. Their constitution is on the poor side. Their earning capacity is low, and though Indian labourers are permitted to work sixty hours a week—*i.e.*, ten hours a day—you must know that those ten hours do not actually constitute regular work with the workmen. They have the habit, on account of the climatic conditions of the country, of loitering about in the compound and taking rest even when the machines are running. They do not put their heart into their job, and on a fair computation they do no more than six or seven hours' work per day. Though the labourers are paid much less wages, yet from statistics it is found that Indian labour is the second dearest in the world; America takes the first place.

Japan with all its organized labour is now confronting the world, and notably India, with a competition which nobody can stand. Japan in wages stands the lowest, and is of chief industrial importance out of the fifteen or sixteen countries.

These are the conditions which meet us in India, and therefore we have to go a little bit slow. Employers of labour in India would be very glad if they could improve the conditions of the factory hands and get the labourers to understand the responsibility of their work. (Applause.)

Mr. A. G. Clow: I have listened to Mr. Butler's address with very great interest. Both the subjects with which he dealt—India and the International Labour Organization—have formed a large part of my working life for many years now, and I know how much Mr. Butler has done and is doing to try and bring these two into closer contact. I do not think it is always quite realized how big the difficulties are which confront him and which confront us.

I sometimes have wished, sitting in the Conference, that I had the opportunity and nerve to put an imaginary case before them. India, as you know, is comparable in size and population, and probably in the number of wage-earners, with Europe, or at least that part of Europe which comes under the jurisdiction of Mr. Butler's Organization. I have frequently tried to picture what the position would be if Europe had been federated under a Government at Geneva, and India unhappily divided into thirty or forty completely sovereign States. There would be an International Labour Office situated, not at Geneva, but at Delhi, manned almost entirely by Indians, and an International Labour Conference with Indian States represented by a hundred delegates and Europe by four, and the agenda drawn up mainly of subjects of interest to India and in which India has made an advance. Europe would then be claiming special conditions, not because it is backward, but because its conditions are different. In referring to the special claims of India, I wonder if Mr. Butler gave the impression that our desire

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for special conditions was always due to our standards being lower. It is not. It is sometimes because they are in many respects different. I can conceive a series of conventions which India would have no difficulty in ratifying, but which would present many difficulties to Europe.

I am not suggesting that the picture I have drawn is altogether a fair analogy, but it illustrates to some extent our difficulties when we get to Geneva. The difficulty is not purely one of numbers; it is that the whole thought is European; and the very connotation of such common terms as "factory worker" and "unemployment" are different in Europe and India. Mr. Butler is doing everything he can to give his Organization an international rather than an inter-European outlook, and it must keep in that direction if it is going to hold the enthusiastic allegiance of countries outside Europe.

Mr. Butler has referred to the fact that the first Washington Conference—a Conference which he did a great deal to guide himself, practically before any office existed—went a long way to devise special conditions for countries like India, China, Greece, and many others. No Conference since has done this to anything like the same extent. I do not think it is entirely a coincidence that that is the only Conference that was held outside Europe. I often wonder whether, if the Conference could be held in different places, it would not widen the outlook of some members, help them to realize that there are other cultures besides the culture of Western Europe, and perhaps diminish for good the preponderating influence of those interesting but small countries which occupy the western end of the European peninsula.

Mr. D. S. Erulkar: I must congratulate Mr. Butler on his very interesting and informative paper, but as a member of the Governing Body I shall take my cue from you, Mr. Chairman, and confine myself to a different aspect of the whole question, which is mainly based on facts.

Mr. Butler has referred to the part played by India in the International Labour Organization. It must not be forgotten, however, that the association of India with the Organization was marked by serious difficulties and obstacles from the very commencement. Even when the first discussions took place at the meetings of the Commission of International Labour Legislation appointed by the Peace Conference of Paris in 1919 the question came up as to which of the States would be parties to the Labour Convention creating the permanent Labour Organization; very serious objections were raised, which might have resulted in India being disqualified from membership.

The second stage came when the question of the qualifications for States members entitled to be represented on the Governing Body came up for final settlement. Here again amendments were made and opposition was put forward to the effect that the high contracting parties, including their Dominions and Colonies, were to have not more than one Government representative on the Governing Body. The effect of such an amendment would have been to keep the Indian Government representative outside the Governing Body.

All these objections were due to the political status of India, which created

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in the minds of certain countries serious apprehensions about the political implications of India's claim. But greater difficulties were still to come, when the Organizing Committee of the Washington Conference prepared a list of the eight countries of chief industrial importance which were entitled to permanent seats on the Governing Body. India was not included. This list was accepted by the Washington Conference, and the Indian Government delegate had to protest.

Further, four more countries were added—Spain, Argentine, Canada, and Poland—and it is remarkable that India had only 3 votes as against 26, 20, 19, and 16 of those countries. Thereafter, thanks to the very persistent efforts put forward by the India Office, fortified by despatches from the Secretary of State to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, the matter was placed before the League Council at several meetings, and it was not till October, 1922, that India succeeded in obtaining her rightful place on the Governing Body. Even then, as late as September, 1922, in the League Council a European member expressed his apprehensions that India's claim amounted to further establishing the preponderance of the British Empire in the I.L.O.

Whereas smaller European States did not experience any difficulty, India, in spite of her industrial importance, owing to her political status had to experience such formidable difficulties in getting her legitimate claim recognized.

I wish to support what Mr. Butler has said in regard to the growth of industries. It is a fallacy to suppose that growth of industry in the industrially backward States in the long run seriously affects advanced States; but we have to be very cautious to adopt only suitable legislation which will not kill the goose that lays the golden eggs by unduly increasing the burden on indigenous industry. It is becoming more and more recognized that you cannot have standards of "humanity and justice" as applicable to labour conditions which can be universally adopted in all countries of the world. You must bear in mind the peculiar conditions of a country and adapt your legislation acording to what the industry will bear. You cannot foist upon an Eastern country standards and conditions only suited to Western countries. Allowance has to be made for such less industrialized countries if their legitimate aspirations for a full industrial growth are to be recognized. In consequence we have to be very cautious to adopt only such legislation as will be suited to our industries and also to our labour conditions.

Mr. JAMNADAS MEHTA: I have come here fresh from the labours of the last Geneva Conference, and my impressions are somewhat more vivid than they would otherwise have been. I am here to admit that I return to India a confirmed Genevist, and it will be my object to popularize, within such limited opportunities as I have, the International Labour Organization.

The first difficulty I have to mention is that, while the Indian Government's record of labour legislation is on the whole a very good one, the number of ratifications and the subsequent legislation have been beneficial to the Indian working class. While the record makes an imposing show

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on paper, I feel that the Indian Government are showing some reluctance in following up their own convictions.

For the last three years the labour delegate to Geneva has had no adviser, and when you know that there are six or seven committees working simultaneously at Geneva, sometimes when the Conference itself is in session, the difficulty in the way of the delegate doing his full duty must be obvious. When you remember that the cost of sending a workers' delegate to Geneva is not more than 4,000 Swiss francs, the plea of economy is ridiculous. I hope the Indian Government representative, Mr. Clow, will take into account these very important considerations in settling the next year's delegation. [Mr. Clow interrupted here, stating that he did not represent the Government of India.]

The second point is that the International Labour Office itself has not as yet a full realization of the vastness of India. It is not alive to the fact that one office at Delhi with Dr. Pillai or somebody else in charge to look after the labour conditions in a country of 350,000,000 is most inadequate. I think Mr. Butler will have to multiply Dr. Pillai twelve times before he will be able to cope with the situation.

I cannot say that the employers in India are very pleased with their participation in the International Labour Organization. I do not wish to follow Sir Homi Mehta's extraordinary statement when he talks of the workers in India not being efficient and all that. If you do not keep yourself in touch with your workers you do not get the best out of them. You may call every Labour man a Communist, and it is quite convenient then not to recognize his union.

On the side of Labour itself we have difficulties. Labour in India is conscious that the Geneva organization is a child of the last war; that the statesmen who dictated the Treaty of Versailles knew very well what they were doing in inaugurating the I.L.O. They were afraid that the example of Russia might be quickly imitated by Labour in other countries, and that labour unrest might burst the channels of constitutional limitations and break into revolution. To stem that tide this International Labour Organization was started for social justice and humane conditions of life; but if you remember that every Government has got two votes and every employers' delegate one, and that thus the worker gets one vote out of four in every country, the hopeless minority of Labour in this Geneva Labour Conference should be obvious. Therefore neither Capitalism nor Imperialism need fear Geneva. It is their friend. By a policy of smaller concessions Geneva softens the injustice that Labour suffers under Capitalism. Therefore I urge the Government of India and the Indian employers to regard the I.L.O. as their best friend.

Those of us who feel that Geneva, with all its limitations, is the biggest platform that Indian Labour can get, where grievances can be voiced before the whole world, are constantly up against the feeling among the Indian working class that Geneva is a place of class collaboration, and therefore reaction must be lurking in its deliberations. For these reasons I plead with the Government to recognize the claims of Labour to larger delegations, particularly of advisers, and with the employers to keep in mind that

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Capitalism has nothing to fear from Geneva, and to be more liberal in recognizing the claims of Labour to better and still better treatment.

I often feel that the International Labour Office is the biggest trade union in the world. It thinks of Labour; it works for Labour; it writes for Labour; it deserves the unstinted support of trade unions all over the world, and it will be my duty to help it in my country. But in India we have several problems which I will bring to the attention of Mr. Butler, and I request him to do what he can to solve them so that our task will become easier. The first is that Labour unions in India are not recognized by the employers as generously as they should be, and that Government are not giving a fair number of advisers to enable the delegate to follow the proceedings at Geneva as intelligently and carefully as we wish to.

The Indian agricultural labourers form the bulk of India's working class. Their number can be said to be about 110,000,000, and if you take into account the families, 220,000,000. Today they are suffering from deep destitution and unemployment. The question is, How are the benefits of Geneva to be made available to them?

The third point is about Labour legislation in the new Constitution. The difficulties are these: On the one hand you can have a sixty hours' week or a forty hours' week in British India, but on the other you have a seventy-two hours' week in some States. Many capitalists are migrating into Indian States and starting their textile mills there on account of the consciousness that Geneva cannot reach them. The important point is that the Indian States should be brought within the jurisdiction of the I.L.O.; otherwise one-fifth of the Indian population will be deprived of any Labour legislation that may be enacted at Geneva.

As Mr. Butler said very rightly, there are peculiar problems of Labour affecting Asia. We have already organized an Asiatic Conference in May at Colombo, and three countries participated in its deliberations. We have sent a formal application to the International Labour Office to assist us in having a tripartite Asiatic Labour Conference, and I hope that this will materialize in the near future.

The last point is this: the disability under which the I.L.O. office itself works. It is in a sense isolated, as if human affairs could be dealt with as in a laboratory. Industrial and Labour conditions have to be dealt with at Geneva independently of economic, political, and social conditions. Human affairs are not so watertight. All the benefits of conventions which Geneva may adopt could be undone by one stroke of the pen by a National Government through a policy of tariff walls, or exchange war, or protection, or quotas, or a hundred other things with which we have become familiar; any rise in wages which might have been adopted by Geneva and subsequently ratified would be nullified by the stroke of a pen providing for exchange manipulation in any single country. The peculiar difficulty of Indian Labour is that it has to work under the double yoke of Imperialism and Capitalism. How far Mr. Butler can help us it is for him to say.

I congratulate Mr. Butler on his excellent description of the Geneva constitution. I say that Geneva is a place where employers and Governments are constantly on the defensive; they have to explain, excuse, defend, and

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apologize. They never can take the offensive there, and that is the one great strong point of Geneva which Indian Labour will not fail to understand.

Sir Selwyn Fremantle: As one of the oldest members of the East India Association here, I would like on its behalf to thank Mr. Butler very much for his coming to us this afternoon. By his very wide treatment of the subject he has made it most interesting. I know that it is a difficult thing to do, because I have lectured on this subject, and I have found it very hard to make it anything but dull.

I have been in touch with the I.L.O. in Geneva, and it has always gratified me to see how very high the Indian Legislative Assembly stands in the opinion of the authorities at Geneva. They know that every convention or recommendation that is passed by the I.L.O. will be sympathetically dealt with and will be adopted if possible. The last example of this is the Forced Labour Convention. The Assembly were unable to adopt it because of certain restrictions that it would mean on the way in which the criminal tribes are administered; but from any other point of view they were in favour of it.

I am afraid I have not been very closely in touch with the deliberations regarding the question whether Labour is to be a central subject in the new Constitution. One would have thought that it would be obvious that it must be a central subject except as regards certain details, because, as Mr. Butler pointed out, it is really an economic question, and there is no economic line between the provinces; there is no fiscal line, and it will be strictly unfair to any province that it should have more lenient Labour conditions than any other province. As for the Native States, there is no doubt that, if they do not come in now, they must submit in time to the same regulations as the rest of India.

I remember seeing it stated that there was a strike in Rajkot cotton mill in 1931 because the hours there at different times of the year were between twelve and fourteen and the workers wanted a ten-hour day. I have no doubt it is the same in several other of the Native States.

I was very interested to hear Mr. Jamnadas Mehta say how closely the work of the I.L.O. is followed by at any rate a very considerable and important section of the Labour Party in India. I think it must have been very gratifying also to Mr. Butler that the I.L.O. is really regarded by a large section—and, of course, we all know that it is the most reasonable section of the Indian Labour Party—as the defender of their interests. That alone would be sufficient justification, I think, for the existence of the International Labour Organization.

With regard to organized Labour, there is no doubt in my mind that the only really objectionable things, the only grievances that ought to be remedied, are two. The first is the recruitment and management of workers through jobbers. Half the trouble with regard to the Labour force arises from this recruitment and management through the jobbers. Obviously it pays the jobber to fish in troubled waters, and peace, quiet, and efficiency and regularity of labour are of no value to him. The Factory Commission

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have rightly recommended that labour managers should be appointed in all the larger establishments, and in the smaller establishments the owner himself should see to these matters. Anyway, it ought not to be left in the hands of jobbers.

The other matter is the housing of factory hands. In many cases it is disgraceful. I happened to be reading Miss Power's book the other day. After describing the terrible places in which the workers live, she said, "There is nothing to choose between the *cheries* of Madras, the *bastis* of Calcutta, the *chawls* of Bombay, and the *hathas* of Cawnpore." In this I entirely agree. She went on to say that the model dwellings built by employers are "islands of comparative cleanliness in seas of degradation and filth." I do not think that overstates the case.

There are these two great defects from which Indian factory labour suffers—the jobber and the housing. If the trades unions would take up these matters they might do some good. We know what trade unions are. Most of them were started in order to maintain or to create a strike, and, the strike having fizzled out, many of the trade unions have also fizzled out. Some of them, I know, have taken to more constructive work, and I do commend these two things to them, that when they can get down to constructive work they apply their minds and their efforts to these two reforms in the jobbing system and housing. That will be the best work they can do.

Mr. Butler: A great many points have been raised in the course of the discussion, and on some of them I could say a good deal, but in some cases I am deterred by the fact that they relate to domestic concerns of India, questions sometimes between the Indian Government and the Indian workers' organizations; in other cases they are questions which I should hesitate to express an opinion on here, as they will probably come up later in my own Governing Body.

Mr. Clow, for instance, threw out a very interesting suggestion as to the desirability of the Conference, or perhaps the Governing Body, extending its range of experience by meeting outside Europe. That is a question on which I have views, which perhaps do not differ very much from his, but I should not like to express any definite opinion about that question here.

There is only one point on which I feel that I ought to make some slight reservation. I agree with a great deal of what Mr. Jamnadas Mehta said, but I think he was a little bit unfair as regards the rôle which the Governments have played in the Conference. I think, if he looks back over the history of the Conference since its beginning, he will see they have not played quite the negative or obstructive rôle which he has suggested, and that in point of practical efficiency the provision of the Treaty, by which the Governments have two representatives as against one of the employers and one of the workers, has really turned out to be a wise provision.

That was a question which was debated at greater length and with greater keenness than any other question in connection with the framing of the Labour Organization. The two views as to whether the Government should have a single vote or a double vote were both put forward with great conviction and earnestness, but I am bound to say that I believe the whole

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history of the Organization has shown that the decision was the right decision.

It has meant that perhaps in some cases measures have not been adopted which would have been adopted had the system been 1-1-1 instead of 1-1-2. But even had more advanced measures been adopted by the Conference in some cases, I think it is certain they would not have been carried into practical effect unless they had had the weight of the Governments behind them. It was that reason which led to the giving of a preponderant vote to the Governments, and, as I say, I believe in the long run that has proved to be a wise decision, and a decision which has given greater practical result to the decisions and findings of the Conference than they would otherwise have achieved.

I now have only to thank you for having listened to me very patiently, and to thank the Chairman for taking the trouble to come here this afternoon in a very busy season.

The Maharajah of Burdwan: On behalf of the Association and yourselves I propose a very hearty vote of thanks, not only to the lecturer, but to the Chairman, Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra. I think it has been a very interesting afternoon to all of us—those who know the working of the Organization in which Mr. Butler and others are concerned, and those who for the first time have heard of the great task that lies before India in the International Labour Office at Geneva. I am sure you will all agree with me that you should give a very hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Butler and Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra. (Applause.)

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THE SUMMER RECEPTION

THE Association gave a Conversazione at Grosvenor House, Park Lane, on Tuesday, July 24, to meet the Marquess and Marchioness of Linlithgow and the members of the Joint Select Committee of Parliament on Indian Constitutional Reforms. The guests, numbering more than 300, were received by the President, Lord Lamington, and his sister, Violet Viscountess Melville, and later by Sir Malcolm and Lady Seton. After refreshments had been served—

The PRESIDENT said: Your Highnesses, my Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It gives me great pleasure to welcome you here today on behalf of the Council of the East India Association. We are met on this entirely social occasion to do honour to the Chairman and Members of the Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms, and it is a matter for gratification that with a few exceptions they are able to be present here today. We should also have had the privilege of receiving the Viceroy and Lady Willingdon but for an engagement to be entertained by the staff of India House, which was fixed before our invitation reached them.

On the like occasion last year the Secretary of State managed to come direct from giving evidence before the Joint Committee and addressed the gathering. This action on his part was a great compliment. He was then in the midst of a remarkable achievement, physical and mental, of giving evidence at nineteen sittings of the Committee, evidence which filled a volume of 668 pages. This was accomplished side by side with other multitudinous duties, notably the calls made on him as a Cabinet Minister, the head of a great department, and a member of the House of Commons.

We have the particular satisfaction of welcoming the Chairman of the Joint Committee and Lady Linlithgow. As a brother Scot I greet him and offer my congratulations that he should have earned such credit, first of all as Chairman of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, and now for the masterly way in which he has presided over and conducted the proceedings of the Joint Select Committee. Never a word of criticism have I heard of his management, and it must be largely due to his tact and careful supervision that there is no gossip, nothing leaks out about the inner workings of the Committee. The published Proceedings mark the judgment and courtesy he has shown in his conduct as Chairman.

Happily throughout the months of toil he has been supported so well by Lady Linlithgow; now they have the reward of knowing that his work in connection with India has given him a permanent place in the history of that empire. The labours of the Committee have been vast, and the thirty-two members of the Houses of Parliament who accepted the call to serve on

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the Committee could not have anticipated how prolonged and severe the responsibility would be. Like others, at one time I thought they should have produced their Report more quickly, but now I believe the delay has been of value. I may be wrong, but a changed atmosphere seems to envelop this great question both here and in India. There seems a closer approximation of opinion as regards many points and a greater willingness to see whether differences of view cannot be reconciled. If this is the case, when the Report of the Committee is published it should be possible to have it considered in a calm and reasonable spirit, with an honest determination to evolve a Constitution which will be for the welfare of India and therefore for the British Empire.

The Joint Select Committee, composed of men eminent in knowledge of affairs, in experience, and in character, after their exhaustive survey will surely in their Report give sound guidance on the vexed questions that concern the future administration of the great sub-continent of India, with her many races and diverse creeds, to whom for a century and a half the British qualities of love of justice, fair play, and liberty have brought peace and order.

Also we are pleased that so many friends and members who are in London from India this summer are with us. In particular I wish to refer to the presence of two old and valued friends of mine—His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, to whose generosity we owe the opportunity to arrange gatherings on the present large scale, and His Highness the Maharao of Cutch, who has been for many years a Vice-President of the Association. We also welcome the young Maharaja of Bharatpur, and regret that his brothers have been prevented, at the last moment, from accompanying him. We are proud also to have with us, for a third year in succession, the King's Indian Orderly Officers.

The present occasion is, of course, entirely devoid of political significance. It is fortunate that there exists in this country an organization which can discuss even the most vexed questions of Indian Reform from a non-party and objective point of view in order to elucidate opinions and ideas. One reason for our doing honour to the Chairman and Members of the Joint Select Committee is that the Council felt that there was no non-official organization in this country better fitted than the East India Association to express, however inadequately, the sense of public indebtedness that is owed to them by the British people, by India, and by the whole Empire. (Cheers.)

The Marquess of Linlithgow, who was cheered on rising, said: For my colleagues of the Joint Select Committee, for our ladies, and for myself I thank you, Lord Lamington, for the kind words which you have used, and I thank most warmly the East India Association for their welcome and hospitality today.

Lord Lamington, in considering what I might say this afternoon it occurred to me that it was only reasonable, having regard to the kindness and to the nourishment which I knew that we should receive this afternoon, that I should indulge in one or two lively indiscretions about the work of

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the Joint Select Committee. But I discovered, when I entered this room, that other members of the Committee were also of the party. Now we are good colleagues on the Committee, but I think it would be asking a little too much of them if I were to invite them not to give me away, and therefore I shall reserve the indiscretions for another day, at some time when the Joint Select Committee is no longer in being.

Incidentally I should like from inner knowledge of these matters to tell this audience that the rumour that the recent cleaning up of the Clock Tower at Westminster and the regilding of Big Ben have had anything to do with the prospects of certain distinguished gentlemen being incarcerated in the Clock Tower is in fact not true. (Laughter and cheers.)

Lord Lamington, so much for the Joint Select Committee. You have mentioned another body, the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India. That body is no longer in being, so with comparative safety I can tell this audience what I really think about my colleagues on the Royal Commission. I can assure you that I look back to my association with my friends and colleagues, whether European or Indian—some of them present here today—over those two years with the very greatest satisfaction.

There are present in this room distinguished representatives of the Ruling Princes of India, and I should like to take this opportunity of assuring them and you how great is the satisfaction which I feel, and I know that it is shared by all my colleagues of the Agricultural Commission, that the Indian States have taken, I think, as much interest in the Report of that Commission as have the provinces of British India. They have, I trust, benefited from our labours. I am confident that whatever benefits have already accrued, these are nothing to those which will blossom in the future if those in whose hands the administration of agricultural problems in India rests will but persist until they meet with their reward.

Lord Lamington, you and your colleagues were kind enough not so very long ago to do me the great honour of appointing me a Vice-President of the East India Association. I believe that the Association is doing a great work, for it is helping to instruct the people of this country as to the problems which lie before those in whose hands the direction of affairs in India lies; and it is helping, too—and this is no less valuable—to create sympathy and understanding between the two countries. The problems which face India are indeed formidable. It will be necessary for those who seek to solve them now or for the future to use the best of their brains; but I am confident of this, that those problems will not be solved by the head alone. They will only be solved aright if the heart as well as the head plays its part.

Lord Lamington, I should like before I resume my seat, as you were good enough to name my wife and myself, to thank you and the East India Association for inviting us here today. It has been a very pleasant occasion. It will remain as a very happy memory. For myself—I am not certain whether ladies are admitted—I look forward, when the sessions of the Joint Select Committee at some remote date at last come to an end, to attending some of the debates which this Association conducts, and to hearing the views of men who really understand about India. (Applause.)

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The PRESIDENT: I will now ask my friend His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda, by whose liberality we are brought here together, if he will say a few words. I am glad to see him, and looking so extremely well.

H.H. the GAEKWAR OF BARODA, who was warmly received, said: When I was asked to attend this reception today I had not the faintest idea that I should be asked to speak, but, being called on by my friend and host, it becomes necessary on my part that I should comply with his command. The two previous speakers have expressed such noble and generous ideas that I would only say that I agree with the wise thoughts to which they have given expression.

We have to bear in mind that things at present as compared with the past are vastly changed. We are not living in different continents or different countries, but in one united world where the interests of all have to be considered and sympathized with. What were continents before are now countries; what were countries are now counties; and thus our material and moral interests are inseparably intermixed, and it would be but a short-sighted policy not to recognize that fact and give weight to it in practical life and in the policies of States.

Unless that is done the struggle for material prosperity, limitations, and high tariff walls will continue, not to the prosperity of mankind. They may for a time give prosperity to limited communities, but for the whole of us we require a greater vision, a greater sympathy, a greater love for humanity than merely of this or that community. Without this, struggles, rivalries, and jealousies must ever continue. One in my position can only give expression to these views, not having any part or share in the administration of the Empire.

But I hope the changes that are expected for India will be so well contrived, and the share given to the Indians will be so potent, that they will not merely sentimentally but truly be in a position to help in the true progress of the Empire and of humanity at large.

After these few impromptu words may I thank my many friends for giving me the opportunity of meeting them here today, and especially seeing my old friends Lord Lamington and Lord Linlithgow, whom I have known for many years. It is a matter of great pleasure to all Indians that we have such opportunities of coming together. I hope the opportunities will increase, and that we shall have still greater and freer opportunities of exchanging views and social entertainments.

H.H. the MAHARAO OF CUTCH, who was also cheered, said: My old friend Lord Lamington has asked me to speak a few words. I wish his kindness had further extended to instructing me what to say. Those like myself who are not accustomed to public speaking, especially to making impromptu speeches, find the task not a very easy one. This is particularly an occasion on which it is not easy to know what is appropriate.

You have heard the remarks of those who have spoken before. I can only add my support to the good wishes for the future which they have already expressed. This is an Association which has a very worthy object, the

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object being to bring India before the minds of people in this country, and *vice versa* to give Indians an idea of what their friends in this country think about them. The object is a very noble one, and as a staunch supporter, as a staunch citizen of the Empire, owing as I do allegiance to our Sovereign, I feel that I can add nothing better than to wish every success to the work of the Association. I can only hope that this is a precursor of many more meetings of this kind, where people of India and England will meet with feelings of the utmost goodwill and friendship.

This concluded the speaking, and social intercourse was resumed.

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OUR PLEDGES TO INDIA

By H. G. Rawlinson, C.I.E.

In connection with the paper read by Sir Frederick Sykes before the Association on May 15, a statement appeared in the July issue of the Proceedings to the effect that our pledges to give India self-government at the earliest opportunity amount to little more than "indiscreet utterances of persons of varying degrees of authority." I feel that I am justified in asking permission to reply to a statement not made at the meeting, and therefore not then open to challenge.

It is, of course, known to everyone who has studied the subject that the Crown has formally endorsed the policy which we are now following in India. I need only quote a few instances in support of this contention:

On the fiftieth anniversary of the assumption of the Government of India by the Crown, the King-Emperor, Edward VII., issued a proclamation, dated November 2, 1908. It contains the following passages.

> "Steps are being continuously taken towards obliterating distinctions of race as the test for access to posts of public authority and power. . . ."
>
> "From the first the principle of representative institutions began to be gradually introduced, and the time has come when, in the judgment of my Viceroy and Governor-General and others of my counsellors, that principle may be prudently extended. Important classes among you, representing ideas that had been fostered and encouraged by British rule, claim equality of citizenship and a greater share in legislation and government. The politic satisfaction of such a claim will strengthen, not impair, existing authority and power."
>
> (House of Commons Paper 324 of 1908.)

Referring to this, His Majesty King George V., in his message to the people of India on his Accession, said:

> "There are the Charters of the noble and benignant spirit of Imperial rule, and by that spirit in all my time I will faithfully abide."

How His Majesty's promise has been fulfilled will be apparent from the following:

On the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919, the present King-Emperor, in a proclamation dated December 23, 1919, said:

> "I have watched with understanding and sympathy the growing desire of my Indian people for representative institutions. Starting from small beginnings, this ambition has steadily strengthened its hold upon the intelligence of the country. . . ."
>
> "In truth, the desire after political responsibility has its source at the roots of the British connection with India. It has sprung inevitably from the deeper and wider studies of human thought and history which that connection has opened to the Indian people. Without it the work

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of the British in India would have been incomplete. It was therefore with a wise judgment that the beginnings of representative institutions were laid many years ago. Their scope has been extended stage by stage until there now lies before us a definite step on the road to responsible government."

(Command Paper 610, 1920.)

Paragraph IX. of a revised Instrument of Instructions to the Viceroy and Governor-General, issued on March 15, 1921, runs as follows:

"For above all things it is Our will and pleasure that the plans laid by Our Parliament for the progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of Our Empire may come to fruition, to the end that British India may attain its due place among Our Dominions."

(Report of Indian Statutory Commission, Vol. I., p. 3.)

These words have been translated into every Indian vernacular. They have been read by millions of our Indian fellow-subjects, who look upon the English Throne with intense reverence and implicit faith. What caused the downfall of the Indian National Congress was the power which the White Paper gave us to say to the people of India that we intended to implement these assurances to the full. Congress had insisted that we meant to do nothing; the White Paper gave them the lie. Since then Congress has been a discredited body. Compare Mr. Gandhi's position in India today with what it was five years ago! If we brush aside these solemn words as the mere "indiscreet utterances of persons of various degrees of authority," it would indeed be surprising if anyone in India believed a word we spoke again. It has been truly said that the best friends of Congress are the opponents of the White Paper.

The Crown has declared that our aim has been, *from the beginning*, to establish the principle of representative government, and that this was done "with a wise judgment." The Instrument of Instructions lays upon the Viceroy the duty of bringing to fruition the plans laid to enable India "to attain its due place among Our Dominions." It ill-beseems loyal subjects of the Crown to question the propriety of these pronouncements. It would be an impertinence on the part of those who presume to do so to lecture the Indian Nationalist on disloyalty.

Over a century ago Sir Thomas Munro, in a minute dated December 31, 1824, laid it down as the cardinal principle of our rule "to enable Indians to govern and protect themselves." This has been reaffirmed by successive generations of Anglo-Indian statesmen. Over half a century ago, so thorough-paced a Tory as Lord Lytton bitterly inveighed against "the fundamental political mistake of supposing that we can hold India by what they call good government; that is to say, by improving the character of the *ryot*, strictly administering justice, and spending vast sums on irrigation." He also warned Government about the dangers of "the acknowledged failure to fulfil fairly the promises given." This was in 1877. Yet there are people who still hold these views in 1934!

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BROADCASTING FOR RURAL INDIA

By Lieutenant-Colonel H. R. Hardinge

Wireless, a miracle of the West, can be of even greater service in the East, where scattered village communities live isolated, drab lives, and illiteracy predominates. Public calamities—flood, earthquake, famine—descend unheralded, and all attempts at warning or relief are hampered by great distances and the vast multitude of people of many tongues, creeds, and castes, occupying thousands of widely-separated villages, and spread over thousands of miles of country. This is especially true of India, where the peasant has suffered in the past on account of his ignorance and isolation, and it has long been a problem to find some medium of communication with him, not only to warn and advise him in time of peril, but to keep him advised and informed at all times, and to raise his standard of living by regular instruction.

Whatever may be the political future of India, the rural population of that vast country is in urgent need of enlightenment, so that their lives can be made less drab and hard, and so that they can take their true position in the economic structure of the world. For the peasant is the backbone of India. He is the chief source and creator of India's wealth and greatness. And yet the life of the peasant is a precarious existence of primitive poverty, handicapped in all directions by ignorance and superstition. This state of affairs has long been appreciated, and the problems of rural reconstruction figure prominently in the records of administration in India. Much has been done, but certain handicaps have seemed insuperable.

Enlightenment has to be brought to so many people, speaking entirely disassociated languages, living in villages so widely separated that a large proportion of the time given to a tour of instruction is eaten up by travelling from one place to the next. And these people are almost all entirely illiterate, so that instruction must be oral. Furthermore, instruction must be reiterated at frequent intervals, for by the time a lecturer has moved on to the next village, his lesson tends to be forgotten in the one that he has just left. It is generally agreed that a material advance in the direction of raising the standard of living of the Indian villager could best be achieved by a *daily* programme of instruction, devised by experts on essential matters of rural and individual economy, presented in a manner to appeal to the simple minds of the illiterate, and interspersed with items of general informa-

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tion and entertainment. And the essential factor is the regular, *daily* presentation of that programme.

This programme would seem to be the dream of a visionary, outside the bounds of practicability if only on the score of expense, requiring a colossal staff of trained men and a mammoth organization. But broadcasting—that miracle of the West—now offers itself as the medium by means of which daily instruction can be imparted simultaneously to scattered villages in all directions, the voice of one expert carrying the message over an extensive area and penetrating to places where religious barriers, or other factors, would ban the personal intrusion of the speaker.

Mr. F. L. Brayne, I.C.S., has said: "Indian rural welfare depends on hard work, and the doing of a large number of simple things. Knowledge of what must be done, however, must precede action, and this knowledge must be general, not confined to the favoured few who can read and write, or who are in touch with the outside world. Here is the chance for wireless. The knowledge necessary for a campaign of rural reconstruction can be disseminated throughout the villages by broadcasting more cheaply, more quickly, and more certainly, than by any other means yet devised. . . . Broadcasting is the ideal method of producing both the stimulus and the knowledge necessary to move the villager to carry out those simple changes in his habits and methods that will make all the difference to his health, wealth, and happiness."

All this can be done for rural India by broadcasting, provided that wireless can be applied to meet the requirements of a simple, peasant population, and provided that technical problems peculiar to the local conditions can be overcome.

Those problems have received the attention of experts, and no longer stand in the way of wireless reception in the most isolated of villages. An ordinary wireless receiving set would require the services of a resident expert to maintain it in an Indian village, but a receiver has been devised which is the essence of simplicity, both as regards operation and maintenance.

Outwardly this receiver is a box, on the face of which is one switch, operated by a key. Internally it is a masterpiece of construction, essentially sturdy, compact, and self-contained. The wavelength reception and tone control are fixed to suit the local broadcasting station at the time of installation, and operation consists merely of switching on the set. Maintenance is as simple, all that is required being an occasional exchange of batteries, which is effected by withdrawing a plug from its socket in the old battery and inserting it in a similar socket in the new. The locking of the set at the time of installation, so that all working parts are entirely inaccessible, prevents a breakdown through inex-

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perienced meddling or the misuse of the receiver in any way. The village is simply provided with "a box which speaks when the headman turns a key."

But the speech must be transmitted to that box, and the problem of transmission is vast and difficult, but broadly speaking the scheme is as follows:

A. Several fairly high-power "regional" stations broadcasting upon medium wavelengths in the principal appropriate vernacular, and in English, from large centres in India, to be operated by the Indian State Broadcasting Service under the administrative control of the Central Government. These I.S.B.S. broadcasting stations would form the framework of an all-India service.

B. Numerous medium-wave broadcasting stations of comparatively low power in each Province, to be installed and administered by the Provincial government concerned, designed to serve rural areas as "originators" of their own programmes of items of information and entertainment selected expressly for the benefit of the illiterate villager, and acting also as "repeaters" of such portions of "regional" programmes as may be considered suitable for the rural population.

C. Probably, in addition, a high-power short-wave broadcasting station centrally placed, for the purpose of furnishing to the *intelligentsia* of India the highest possible class of programme in English, the *lingua franca* of India, consisting largely of items relayed, or recorded and repeated, from British and European broadcast programmes.

Broadly speaking, the function of service A will be to disseminate high-class entertainment and information of general interest; of service B, to supplement this with educative matter, information of local interest, and entertainment upon such a plane as is calculated to appeal to the uneducated rural population; of service C, to cater for Europeans and Indians of the upper classes.

Services A and B will be broadcast in the medium-wave band, and therefore suitable for reception by the village receivers already described, which will be tuned-in to the local transmitter on service B, through which will be relayed suitable portions of the programme of service A. This will not be the only function of service A in the villages, for those educated members of the rural population (*e.g.*, the landed proprietors) who can afford to possess their own receiver of normal type will be in the position to tune in at will to service A direct. If this individually-owned receiver be one suited for the reception of both medium- and short-wave programmes, then service C will be available as an alternative. So that, eventually, the needs of all classes would be provided for.

The scheme thus briefly outlined is already taking shape. The writer has recently returned from a visit to India extending over

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nearly six months, undertaken on behalf of the Indian Village Welfare Association for the express purpose of studying local conditions from the point of view of the practicability or otherwise of the development of rural broadcasting, and of actively encouraging such development. The itinerary of this tour covered a distance by rail and road of more than 6,000 miles through the North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab, the United Provinces, Bengal, the Central Provinces and Berar, and to the winter and summer headquarters of the Central Government, where he was able to discuss the subject thoroughly with officials and non-officials, British and Indian, and to observe the problem in all its aspects and collect data for its solution.

There is evident on all sides in India a pronounced awakening of public interest in broadcasting, more especially as regards its potentialities as an educative agent. It is widely appreciated that broadcasting may well prove to be the only practicable medium by which the learning and culture of the town can benefit the villages, and the gulf be bridged between the educated townsman and the profoundly ignorant peasant.

The peasant needs short daily talks of a homely nature upon the rudiments of hygiene, sanitation, child welfare, improved agricultural methods and marketing, and similar helpful subjects, leavened with entertainment, and the general feeling is that every advantage should be taken of broadcasting as the means of supplying this demand.

Financial stringency has been put forward frequently as the principal obstacle in the path of progress, but the case for broadcasting has proved strong enough to secure a hearing, in spite of the many demands on revenue, and the extension of Indian broadcasting is definitely in sight. A third station of the Indian State Broadcasting Service has been approved by the Government of India and is expected to start broadcasting before the summer of next year.

This third "regional" (Service A) station will be located at Delhi, and will be similar to, but of higher power than, those already in operation at Bombay and Calcutta. It will be the first of several such additional "regional" broadcasting stations of the I.S.B.S. contemplated by the Central Government. This chain of stations will bring into operation Service A, as already outlined in this article.

A start has also been made with Service B, the provincial medium-wave, low-power stations, intended expressly to serve rural areas. In the North-West Frontier Province an experimental rural broadcasting service from Peshawar, to serve an area of some 2,000 square miles of the Province, will be inaugurated in the coming autumn.

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This initial experiment will be watched with interest by the governments of other Provinces and Indian States, where rural services upon the same plan are contemplated. The subject is receiving the close attention of the governments of the Punjab, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Berar, and the Madras Presidency, while in the Hyderabad State the sum of three lakhs of rupees (£22,500) has been sanctioned by H.E.H. the Nizam's government for a State broadcasting service upon a large scale.

Appreciation of the significance of rural broadcasting is therefore already producing results, which will extend as the result of these initial experiments. Difficulties still present themselves, but none are insurmountable.

Broadcasting daily proves its value to the Western world, and now it offers itself as the lever to lift the peasant population of India from its present unhappy state of poverty and isolation to centres of learning and culture.

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TOWN PLANNING: AN INDIAN EXAMPLE

By B. S. Townroe, M.A., J.P., Hon. A.R.I.B.A.

In Greater London commercial and industrial buildings have, until recently, been allowed to encroach sporadically upon residential areas. Factories continue to be built in the central districts which are already congested, and the new homes erected to accommodate over 400,000 immigrants into the Greater London area during the last ten years, to use the words of the Greater London Regional Planning Committee, have been "scattered at random." There has been wasteful overlapping, and new houses have had to be pulled down to make room for new roads—an extravagance which could have been avoided if a plan had been prepared in advance showing exactly where arterial roads should be constructed, and which areas should be reserved for residential and which for industrial development.

The most impressive fact revealed by the Progress Reports of the Hyderabad City Improvement Board is that the developments of the city are being carried out in accordance with a carefully thought out and scientific plan. They are Reports of which any British city would have good reason to be proud, and indeed there are many lessons to be learnt from Hyderabad by those British local authorities which are at present advancing in the campaign against slums. (Plate I.)

The city of Hyderabad is in a more fortunate position than Greater London, for it is being reconstructed and being developed according to an ordered plan, and has been much assisted by the fact that there was plenty of open land available for growth and money to pay for carrying out improvements. The illustrations in the reports show something of what has already been accomplished. Too many of the regional planning schemes in Great Britain, which have been described in far more expensive volumes than those printed by the Government Central Press in Hyderabad, still remain as castles in the clouds. They are the visions of experienced town planners unlikely to materialize for many years to come. Hyderabad, however, is to be congratulated on possessing both the means and the will to translate ideas into action.

It would be dangerous to attempt to draw too close an analogy between town planning in Europe and in India, for the conditions are so obviously different and the problems to be solved of such varying magnitude. Furthermore, the whole outlook which in-

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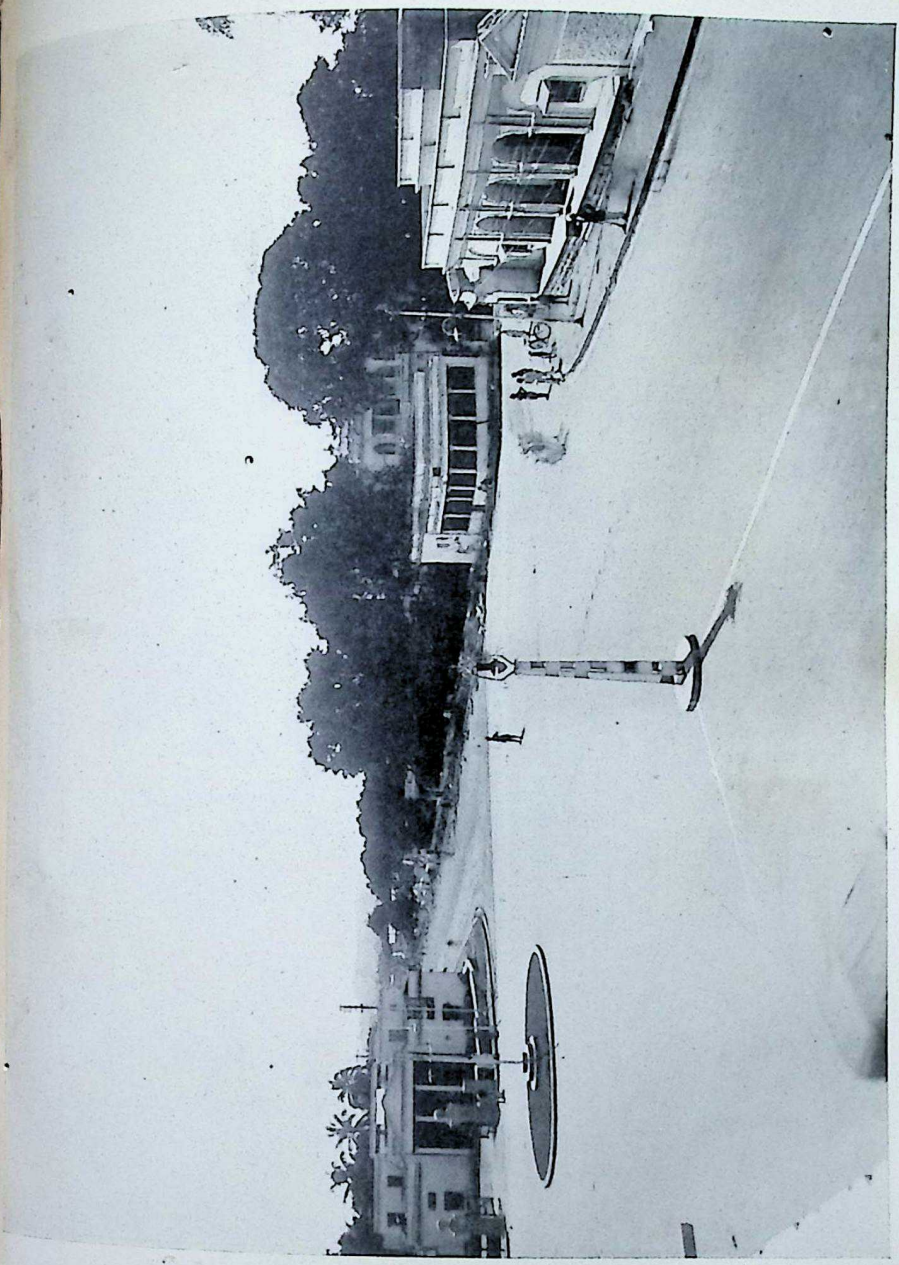
PLATE I



BUS ROAD AT STATION ROAD JUNCTION.

(This shows the layout of arterial roads and the development of the city in accordance with a scientific plan.)

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PLATE II

VIEW OF SLUM OUTSIDE YAKUT PURA GATE

This shows a congested area with narrow lanes and dwellings of two and

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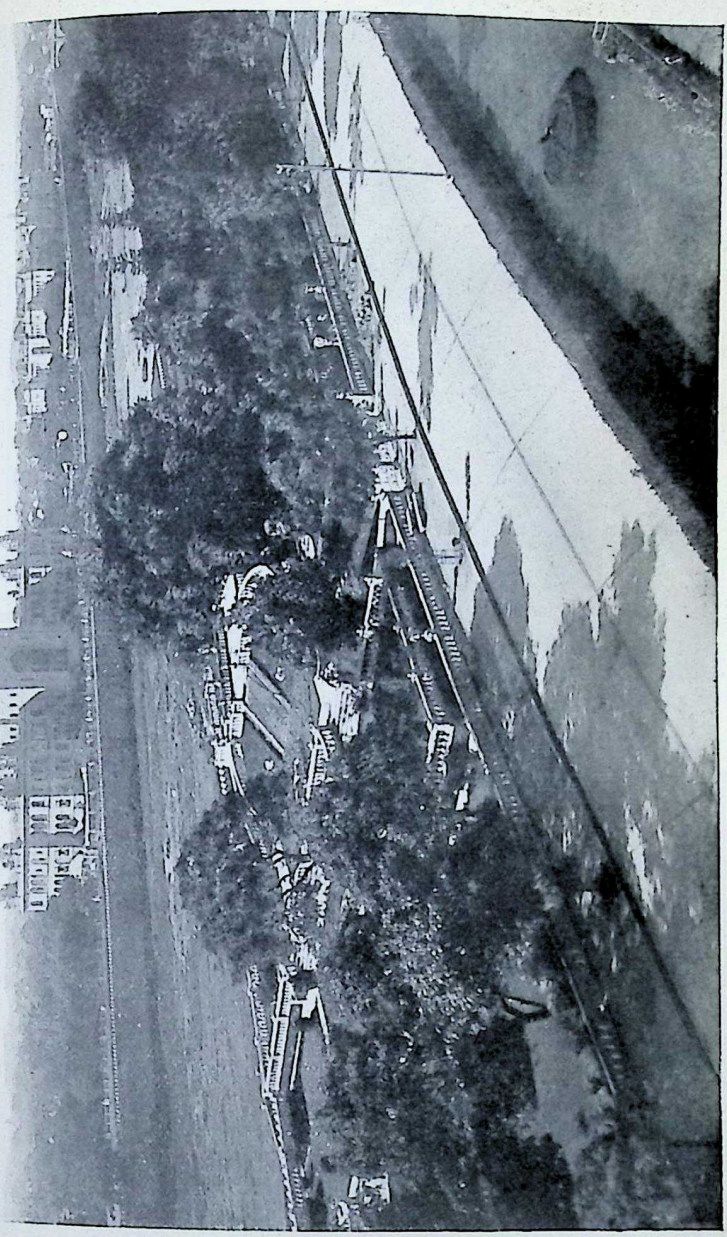

THE RIVER PARK OPPOSITE THE OSMANIA GENERAL HOSPITAL.
(This is an example of the modernisation of the City of Hyderabad.)

VIEW OF SLUM OUTSIDE YAKUT PURA GATE
(This shows a congested area with narrow lanes and dwellings of inferior

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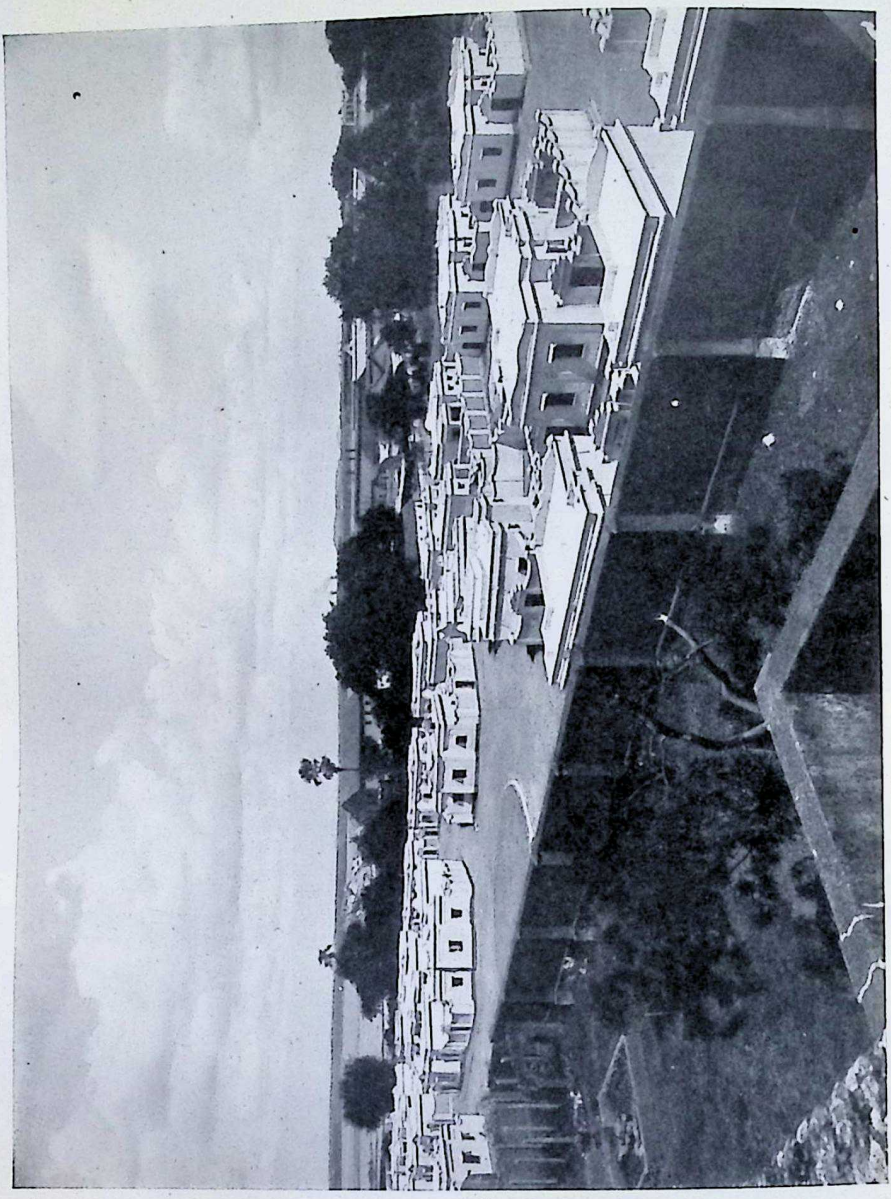
PLATE IV



VIEWS OF THE HOUSING SCHEME, KHAIRATABAD.

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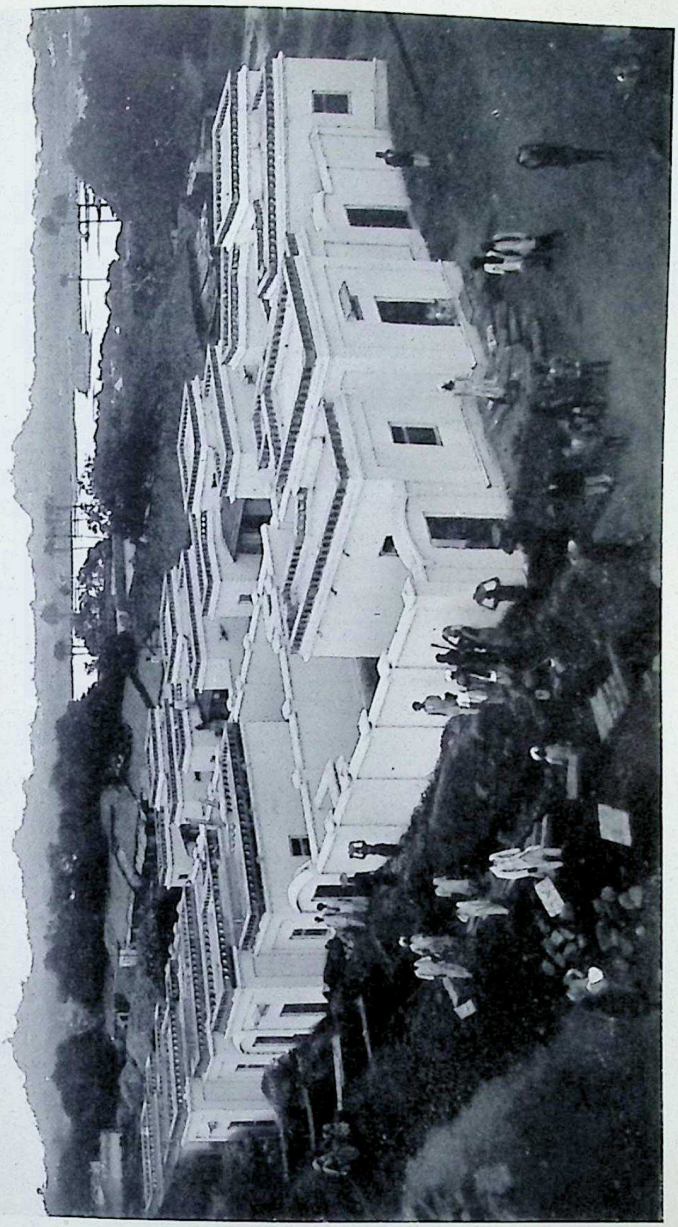

MODEL DWELLINGS, "A" CLASS, HYDERABAD RE-HOUSING.

(N.B.—For Plate VI see page 632.)

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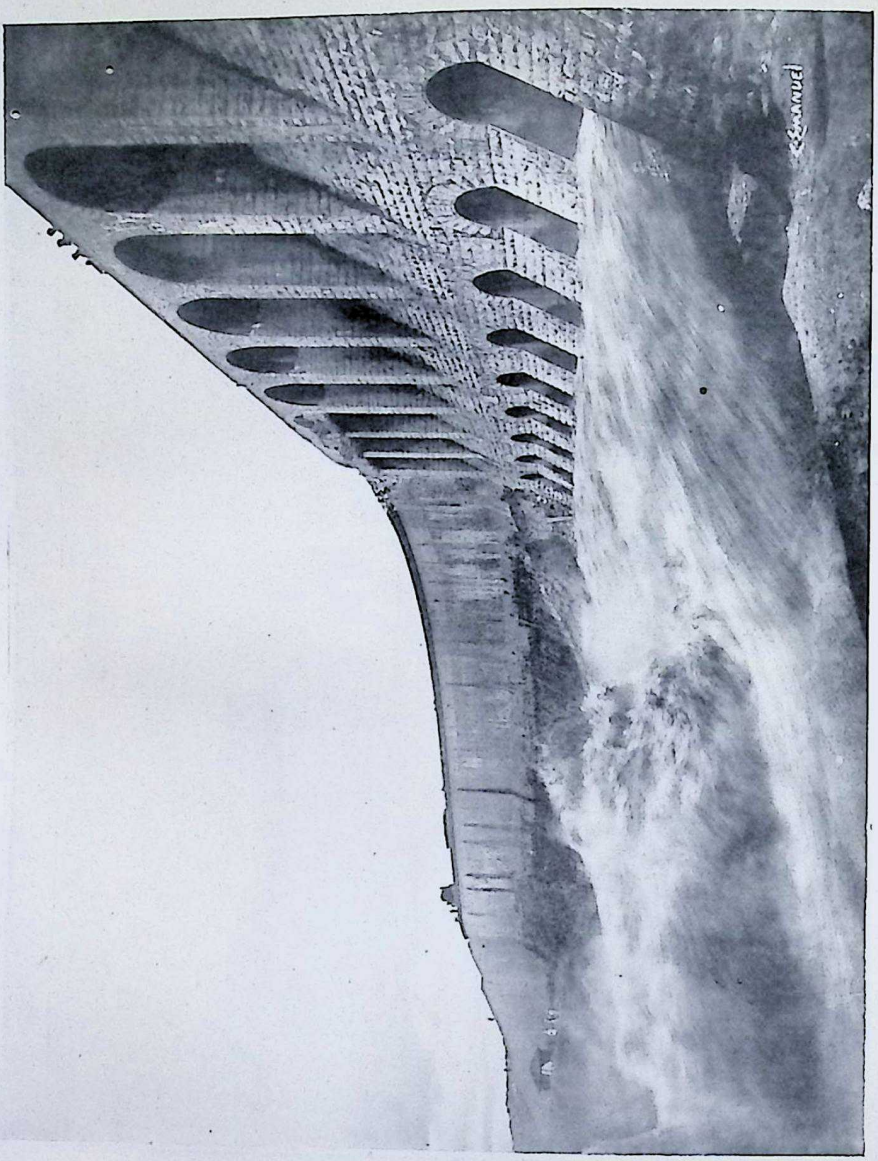
PLATE VII



SCOURING SLUICES DISCHARGING, NIZAM SAGAR.
(An illustration of the irrigational activity in the State of Hyderabad.)

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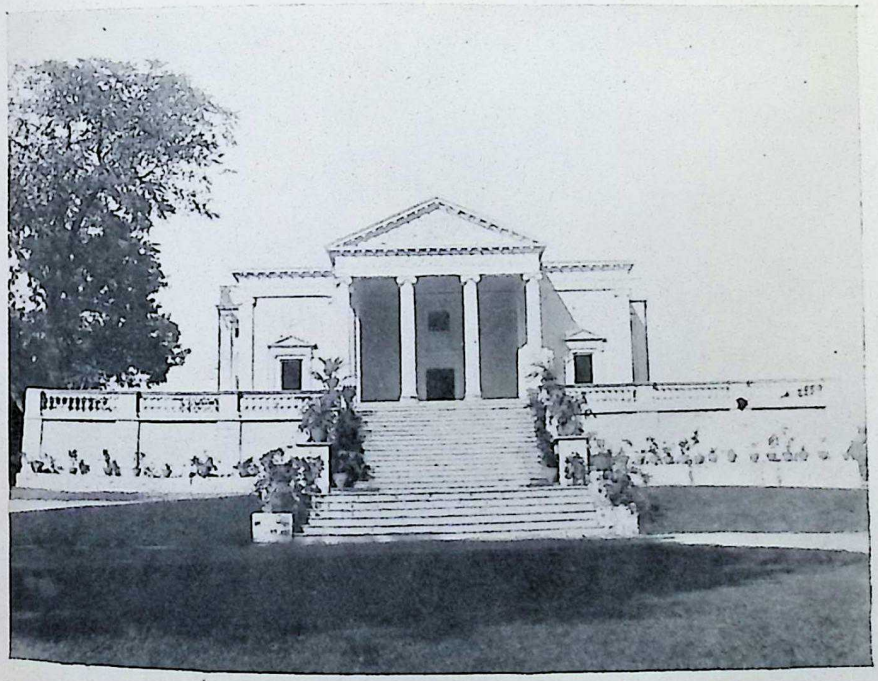
GUEST HOUSE, BASHIR BAGH, BEFORE IMPROVEMENT.



GUEST HOUSE, BASHIR BAGH, AFTER IMPROVEMENT.

SCOURING SLUICES DISCHARGING, NIZAM SAGAR.
(An illustration of the irrigational activity in the State of Hyderabad.)

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PLATE IX

CITY WALL FROM DELHI GATE TO AFZAL GATE.
(This shows how parts of the ancient City Wall have been carefully restored.)

To face page 625

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spired original town planning in the West was different from that in the East. Under British town planning law, up to 1932, schemes with certain exceptions could only be prepared with respect to land in course of development, or likely to be used for building purposes. The name itself was deceptive, for town planning meant in Great Britain the preparation of plans for areas which were not built upon, the allocation of certain zones for future residential or industrial development, the suggested reservation of agricultural areas and proposed improvement of communications. Since the passing of the Town and Country Planning Act of 1932 it has at last become possible to replan areas already built over. The new legislation is the result of years of unceasing and untiring effort, but it is by no means certain how far it will be successful, or how far it may not be held up by difficulties, notably that of compensation.

In order to appreciate how much has been accomplished in Hyderabad, it is necessary to realize that town planning in India started on quite different lines from those which it has followed in Great Britain. According to Mr. H. V. Lanchester, who was adviser to the Government of India as to the site of Delhi, and Town Planning Adviser to the Governments of Madras and the United Provinces, it definitely commenced as a result of health measures initiated in order to deal with insanitary and overcrowded areas. When the need of clearing plague-ridden districts and opening out new streets was first recognized in India, not enough attention was given to planning, with the inevitable result that new slums quickly grew up on the site of the old.

In order to combat this, legislation was passed in various parts of India, designed to empower the authorities to deal on broad and comprehensive lines with the many insanitary and overcrowded areas. Improvement or Development Trusts were thereupon set up in the larger cities in order to carry out such plans with the help of subsidies and loans from the Government, and in some cases aided by the grant of Government lands. Special Acts for this purpose were passed in Bombay in 1915, and in Madras in 1920. But it was soon discovered that legislation alone was not enough, and accordingly several Provinces appointed experienced consultants to advise the Municipalities on the general lines to be followed in treating congested areas and clearing slums.

The problem was obviously complicated in India owing to the necessity of giving close attention to the caste of those who had to be moved from slums. "Access to each quarter," states Mr. Lanchester, "must be so arranged as to avoid a confusion between groups, which by religion or custom are distinct from each other." Drainage, too, is a special problem in Indian cities, for so much of the more fertile land is almost level and relatively low-

CITY WALL FROM DELHI GATE TO AFZAL GATE.
(This shows how parts of the ancient City Wall have been carefully restored.)

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lying, so that it may be easily irrigated. Further, provision has to be made to dispose of floods which follow the heavy tropical rains. There is the additional complication in Indian town planning caused by the existence in urban areas of temples and even of isolated graves, which, of course, must not be disturbed and must remain inviolate. All these particular problems were met with in the city of Hyderabad, the rulers of which were among the first to appreciate the necessity of scientific development, and to form an Improvement Board in 1914.

Before summarizing the work accomplished by this Board during its twenty years of existence, some broad comparisons between its problems and those of London may be given. The capital of Hyderabad State, the dominion of H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad, is the fourth largest city in the Indian Empire, and, including the suburbs and the cantonments, has a population of approximately half a million people. The area under the municipal administration is $33\frac{1}{2}$ square miles, and the density is on the average 8,761 persons to the square mile, or about 14 persons to the acre. The number of occupied houses is, on an average, only $2\frac{1}{4}$ houses per acre.

These figures show how much more the population of Hyderabad is spread out than that of the citizens of London. For example, in the borough of Shoreditch over 97,000 people live within one square mile, and the Shoreditch residents are therefore twelve times as overcrowded as the citizens of Hyderabad. Or again, the average density of 14 persons per acre in Hyderabad may be compared with the density of the first six slum areas to be cleared in Sheffield, between 1923 and 1928, where there were 355 persons per acre, and in the worst case 543 per acre.

There are, of course, areas in Hyderabad where the report regretfully admits that there are as many as 60 houses per acre. But the National Government in Great Britain are now dealing with areas where there are as many as 80 dwellings to the acre. The truth, of course, is that on the whole the rulers of Hyderabad have not such a terrible problem to solve as the local authorities in England.

Furthermore, Hyderabad has the advantage of having been well laid out originally, when it was founded in 1592 by Mohomed Quli Kutub Shah, the fifth King of Golconda, who gave the city originally the name of Bhagnagar after his favourite mistress. In the civic centre of the city there is the Char Minar, or Four Minarets, a building erected in 1591 to commemorate the cessation of the plague. This is one of the most graceful and beautiful buildings in Hyderabad State, with minarets 180 feet high, which spring from the abutments of the four open arches facing the cardinal points. From this building in the heart of

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the city there are trunk roads leading out in four directions. Unfortunately the minor streets and lanes built in later periods were not laid out according to any proper plan. They are crooked and narrow, unpaved and without side drains (Plate II.), and are being modernized and widened under the general improvement plan.

Reforms of the city's administrations were commenced in 1869 on the inspiration of Sir Salar Jang, the Regent. Under his control the four Departmental Ministers reorganized the administration of finance, the police, education, the railways, and miscellaneous services. The city in that year was divided into four divisions for municipal purposes. Twelve years later the suburbs, which had been divided into five divisions, were handed over to a separate officer. This partition raised difficulties, and in 1903 the city and suburbs were amalgamated and placed under Municipal Commissioners, consisting not only of officials but of representatives of the High Court and the Banks.

In order to appreciate the extent of the improvements carried out of recent years a brief description must be given of the city and suburbs. The former is surrounded with a stone wall which is pierced by thirteen gates and twelve posterns. The wall was commenced by Mubariz Khan and completed by the first of the Nizams. It is built in the form of a parallelogram measuring six miles in circumference. There are four bridges over the Musi.

The suburbs may be divided into those beyond the river and those adjoining the city. The former extend for a distance of two miles from east to west with an average breadth of $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from north to south, covering an area of over five square miles. The remainder are to the east and south and occupy an area of 4 square miles.

The houses of the well-to-do classes are chiefly built of stone and brick, and stand within large gardens. In the northern suburbs most of the houses resemble the bungalows of Europeans. The dwellings of the poor, formerly built of mud, are gradually being replaced. Practically three-fourths of the old city and of the suburbs has been rebuilt or modernized during the last fifty years. (Plate III.)

The present Nizam entered upon his rulership in 1911, and his great services for the British Empire during the war gained for him the unique title of His Exalted Highness. Throughout his reign he has been particularly progressive in matters of social reform, and has taken a keen and practical interest in the affairs of the Improvement Board. This was formed in 1914, with Nawab Wali-ud-Dowlah Bahadur as President of the Board. In 1930, under a Firman of the Nizam, Nawab Mehdi Yar Jung

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Bahadur was appointed President, and continued until he went to London to attend the Round Table Conference. During his absence, Mr. T. J. Tasker, the officiating Revenue Member, took his place. Valuable service was also rendered during the period by Nawab Sir Nizamat Jung, the Hon. Secretary.

The policy of the Board from its very inception has been to open out congested areas, to clear slums, and to provide better and more sanitary houses for the poor. The latest information provided in the summer of 1934 is that this policy is being steadily pursued by the Board, and that the Government continues to grant the necessary funds.

Cost of Slum Clearance

It is impossible to make a reliable comparison between the financial costs of slum clearance in Great Britain and Hyderabad, for the simple reason that although the total disbursed in Exchequer subsidies and contributions from local rates towards better housing in England has amounted since the war to about £150,000,000, it is admitted that comparatively little has yet been done in actual slum clearance.

The reports of the Hyderabad City Improvement Board and the further information received show clearly that it is an expensive business to clear slums. The actual figures are significant, and deserve to be studied by all concerned with the financial aspect of the question.

The operations of the Improvement Board are financed by the Government out of the surpluses of their general revenues. The annual grant given normally to the Board is £45,000, but this has been found quite inadequate for special works, and extra funds have had to be provided. In some cases loans have been advanced in the hope that in time they will be repaid by the City Improvement Board from its revenues.

Taking the whole period from 1912 to 1933, the total amount allocated was over £1,303,000, but nearly one million pounds of this has been allotted during the past twelve years.

The most expensive improvement has undoubtedly been slum clearance. If this is defined as including the provision of very necessary drains, the development of open lands, the building of traffic roads so as to open up congested areas, as well as the construction and improvement of accommodation, it will be found that the total allocated was over £600,000. In addition for ordinary housing there has been granted nearly £200,000, and for bus roads £170,000.

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Typical Schemes

It may be of interest to describe in some detail typical schemes on which this money has been spent. Of particular importance is the care taken to redevelop such areas so as to leave room for open spaces and for roads. One, the Philkhana Scheme, started in 1930. The area was thoroughly bad, covering 60 acres, of which 44 were built over and the remainder taken up by lanes from 5 to 15 feet wide, and graveyards. The drainage had been completely neglected. The houses themselves were irregularly constructed, and in such insanitary condition that it was decided to pull down 1,200 out of 1,225. But first a proper plan was prepared. Provision was made for main roads 40 feet wide, capable of accommodating all through traffic. Only 60 per cent. of the area was zoned for building, and it was decided only to erect buildings on two-thirds of the building plot. In short, under the plan 60 per cent. of the area has been left either for roads or playgrounds.

The report is a plain-spoken document and states that with regard to this area, efforts have been made to eliminate the lowest classes, if possible, and to attract the middle and upper classes, in view of the fact that the area is accessible to the busy grain markets of the city. But it is wisely recognized that there must be a mingling of the classes, and a provision of 25 per cent. of houses is made for "menials." The Improvement Board is trying to avoid the mistake made in London where at Becontree and elsewhere municipal tenants are, in the main, of the same class. As the congestion in the Philkhana area is being reduced from 60 houses per acre to 8 houses per acre, there are a large number of families who must find homes elsewhere. The plans allow for this, and also for rehousing persons whose homes are to be pulled down before there is any actual demolition. According to the latest reports this scheme is steadily being pressed forward.

Another area is the Muslum Jung Garden area, which was at one time under paddy cultivation. It has been developed by constructing 503 model houses. Private enterprise has been encouraged, for building plots suitable for better-class houses close to the main road have been laid out. The needs of the children, too, have been recognized and a park with a pavilion, giant slides, and other provision for games, has been constructed, which, so the report states, "has proved a great boon to the children of the locality."

A study of the figures in the report and of the illustrations suggest that some of the English administrators of housing might with advantage apply the methods adopted by the city of Hyder-

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abad. One of the principal English problems is that of compensation. Under the 1930 Act local authorities can take possession of insanitary dwellings that are condemned, on the payment of site value only. This frequently causes hardship and leads to protracted opposition. At Hyderabad the Improvement Board is represented by three men who have power to conduct compensation cases, and recently the Superintending Engineer has been empowered to deal amicably with owners as far as possible. It has been found that this method greatly reduces litigation. Nevertheless, compensation charges have been heavy. Compensation, for example, for houses and lands for cleaning up an area of 47 acres known as the Khairatabad slum cost nearly £40,000. The average cost of land acquired in this area worked out at 1 rupee per square yard and the average cost of houses demolished at the same figure. (Plate IV.)

The method of developing this area is worthy of note. A certain area was reserved for the construction of model dwellings. On another piece of land of about 5 acres it was decided to build dwellings for the employees at the Mint, and to sell these at cost price. Another area was reserved for middle-class people to live in bungalows that were sold at public auction. In this way the cost to public funds was partially balanced by the profits of sale to private enterprise.

The Improvement Board were very concerned at the insanitary conditions of the market in Begum Bazar, which was surrounded by a bad slum. The municipality had decided to abolish the market and to construct a new one on modern lines. But the report states: "Such a market with bad surroundings would have been of no use, and it was absolutely necessary that the slum round about should be cleared, so that all possibilities of infection from eatables daily purchased from the market may be removed." Again a town plan was prepared. Certain expensive buildings and a graveyard were omitted from the areas to be developed. On the same principle as elsewhere certain plots were offered for sale, and on others model dwellings are being erected. The inevitably high expenditure on slum clearance was therefore set off by money obtained by sale of certain materials, and also of building plots.

Model Houses

The model houses that are being constructed by the Board are of three types, so as to suit the needs of various families and the depths of their pockets.

The "A" type of model dwelling is the best. This is a detached house containing a "drawing-room" measuring 10 feet by 12 feet; a dining-room 8 feet by 12 feet; and one bedroom 8 feet by 12 feet.

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There is also a kitchenette 5 feet by 7 feet; a bathroom 5 feet by 7 feet; and a verandah 7 feet across. There is a small courtyard, at the corner of which is a latrine. The cost of the class "A" type of dwelling works out to about £157. In the latest houses of this type erected more open space has been provided in the courtyard. (Plate V.)

The "B" type is semi-detached. Each dwelling contains a "drawing-room" 8 feet by 12 feet, a bedroom 8 feet by 12 feet, a kitchenette, a 7-feet veranda, and a latrine in the open yard. The cost was about £101. (Plate VI.)

But the most popular type of all is the "C" class, which only cost £67, as compared with £157, the price of the "A" class. These have been built in blocks of four and contain only two rooms. There is a bedroom 12 feet by 8 feet, a kitchen and store of the same size, and a latrine in the yard. The report states that these two-roomed houses are very much liked by the public, and have been in great demand.

It was originally resolved by the Board to construct model houses to provide for dishoused slum dwellers only, and to charge rent on a basis of 4 per cent. of the cost of the actual building, exclusive of the cost of the land. But as time went on it was found that far more people than actually dishoused families needed accommodation, and that the call on public funds was increasing. It was, therefore, decided in 1933 to increase the rent to 6 per cent. on the cost of building excluding the price of the land. Furthermore, in order to provide opportunities for the tenants to become owners of their own homes, it was resolved to sell on a hire-purchase system to those who wished to take advantages of the facilities offered.

Management

The reports indicate that the management, the tenant, of these dwellings has not been altogether free from difficulties. Although the total amount of rent collected in the year amounted to £6,000, in many cases it was evidently difficult to obtain regular payment. Indeed, the arrears of rent amounted to such a high figure that the Board had to file suits in the Civil Court for the recovery of arrears and for the ejection of undesirable tenants. It is thus apparent that the existence of an unsatisfactory type of tenant is not confined to Europe, and that the necessity of firm management is as fully realized in Hyderabad as it is in Amsterdam, where special colonies for undesirable tenants have been introduced.

In order to simplify the procedure in the city of Hyderabad, powers have been given to the Superintending Engineer to issue

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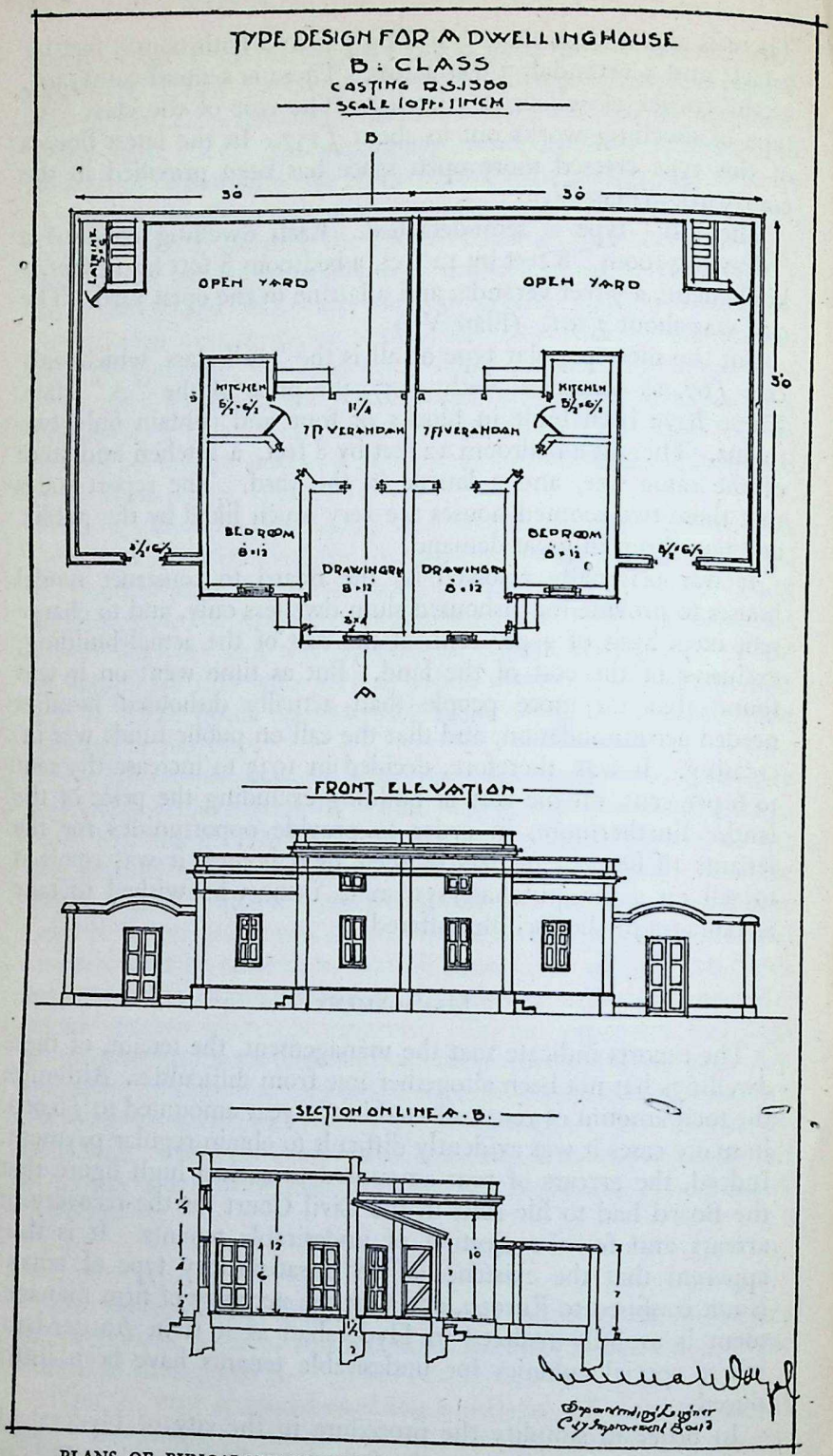

PLANS OF BUNGALOWS PROVIDED FOR PERSONS DISHOUSED DURING THE SLUM CLEARANCE.

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warrants direct so as to proceed against defaulters, and to evict tenants of the municipal dwellings who may be bad payers or who for any other reason are causing trouble.

Improvement Areas

Just as in Great Britain, so in Hyderabad a distinction is made between an area where slums are to be entirely cleared away, and what is known as "an improvement area," where some houses are pulled down and the remainder reconditioned. The Noor Khan Bazar locality is one of the most thickly populated districts where the inhabitants live in small tiled houses and are particularly subject to epidemics. The Board are proposing to clear this slum by means of partial demolition. All the tiled-roofed houses are to be dismantled, but the large buildings that are well ventilated and well situated will be kept intact. New roads letting in light and air and ventilation, and varying from 60 feet to 30 feet in width, are being made, and a few open spaces and playgrounds provided.

Another Hyderabad scheme worth describing, because it proves the breadth of view taken by the responsible authorities, is in the rear of the Osmania General Hospital. A very bad slum existed there, and as it was objectionable from the point of view of public health, it was acquired. A 60-feet wide road was run through the area, and the land lying between the road and the hospital, cleared of slum dwellings, given over to the Medical Department so as to allow for possible extensions.

Roads

As well as housing and slum clearance, the Improvement Board has constructed and improved roads, and, as may be seen from the illustrations, have provided communications of which any modern city might be proud. A new road 60 feet wide, inclusive of a 10-feet footpath on either side, has been constructed to link up the Meter Gauge railway station with the Broad Gauge station. The water-bound macadam road has been opened to traffic. This passes through the Hyderabad Residency towards the defence wall on the south side.

Another improved traffic road provides a better approach to the Mussalam Jung Bridge, and when completed will relieve congestion. It will connect Nampally station with the bridge. It should be noted that the Board have found, as has been the experience in London in connection with both Waterloo Bridge and Charing Cross Bridge, that such improvements necessitate considerable expense in the payment of compensation.

A circular road has been constructed around the city running by

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the river. In order to complete this river circuit, a new road has been constructed leading from Afzal Gunj Bridge to Barradari. According to the latest report the river road circuit has now been completed, but there was an excess of expenditure on the estimate on account of the cost of acquisition. The Board has wisely taken the opportunity of improving the land adjoining to the road. Where there were graves, they have been protected and enclosed. Available open spaces have been utilized for playgrounds. One large space has been set aside for a children's park, where a pavilion has been constructed and swings and giant slides installed owing to the generosity of His Excellency the Maharajah Sadr-e-Azam Bahadur.

The picture of the Nizam Sagar Dam (Plate VII.) with the scouring sluices discharging gives a good idea of irrigational activity in the State of Hyderabad.

The third class of public works carried out by the Improvement Board has been the construction of drains. There are two different types of schemes. The construction of storm water drains was handed over by the Public Works Department to the City Improvement Board. It has also been found necessary to construct drains to improve the sanitary condition of those localities where slum clearance schemes have been carried out, and where sullage and storm water have had to be carried away. For example, a feeder channel of cement concrete had to be constructed to the Public Gardens, provided with the necessary manholes, and ditches have been filled up where water used to stagnate and thus malaria was spread.

In all these schemes the greatest possible care has been given to protect public health, especially that of the children. Provision has accordingly been made for infant welfare centres. Such a centre has been built on a site near Purani Haveli in the busiest part of the city.

Care, too, has been taken to make the best use of existing buildings. A good example of this occurred in the case of a building on the 'Bus Road near Bashir Bagh. This was lying in a dilapidated condition, and was such an eyesore, and was popularly reputed to be haunted, that no one would buy it. At last at an auction sale the Improvement Board purchased it for less than £600, and it has now been converted into a dignified and convenient Guest House. The cost of the conversion was only £1,125. According to the report, "By doing the work economically and taking advantage of the old structure wherever it was good, a decent building has been made which is now worth about double of what has been spent over it." On completion this beautiful Guest House was handed over to the Education Department. (Plate VIII.)

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In addition to housing schemes, new roads, child welfare centres, and guest houses, the needs of the shopping community have been considered by the Board, which has appreciated that shrewd town planning may be good business, and that by increasing land values, the cost of improvement schemes may be recouped. One of such schemes provided for the widening of the Tather Gatti Road. This was only 20 feet wide—far too narrow for the vastly increased traffic of the prosperous city—and it was decided to widen the road to 70 feet wide, and to provide for two stone arcades 15 feet wide on either side. The principle on which this scheme was based was to acquire an extra width of 30 feet on either side of the arcade as recoupment width, and to re-sell the same for the construction of shops on the ground floor, and living quarters above. In the original forecast it was assumed that the land after improvement would rise 50 per cent. in value, and that therefore the scheme would be self-supporting.

Unfortunately these estimates were a little too optimistic. The cost of acquiring the properties under the awards made by the Courts exceeded the original estimate by 26 per cent. When the land was put up to auction the bids were so low that the land was not sold, and the proposed shops were constructed by the Board. Eventually these shops were sold at a price of about £15 per square yard, against the estimated figure of over £22. In order to straighten out the financial loss the Government gave a grant of £75,000, instead of lending the money as was originally proposed.

These details are given in full as they show the candour of the Board in not attempting to conceal disappointments, and frankly recognizing that in urban development the best laid schemes sometimes "gang agley."

Town planners in all parts of the world always take particular care in their schemes to try and preserve buildings of particular historic or æsthetic interest. In accordance with such precedents the Improvement Board has been devoting a good deal of attention to the ancient city wall of Hyderabad, which was commenced about 1587, when the city became a dependency of Delhi. (Plate IX.) The wall was finally completed between 1724 and 1748. Parts of it have since fallen down, and are now to be repaired and retained. Where the wall has already been dismantled a new river wall has been constructed. One of the gates of the city through the wall, Afzal Darwaza, which was built in 1861, has no special architectural features, and as it is a serious obstruction to traffic and blocks the view of beautiful surroundings, is to be removed. But the ancient and historical gateway, the Delhi Darwaza, is to be maintained as an ancient monument. Other parts of the wall which were in such a dilapidated condition as

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to be dangerous are being removed, and the materials used for road levelling. It has been found advisable to do this as much of the ground nearby has been used for dumping rubbish. By the demolition of parts of the wall ventilation will be let into some of the filthy areas of the city.

It is difficult to do complete justice to the three excellent reports on which this article is based. They are not only well printed and admirably illustrated, but, as the foregoing extracts will show, give a fair and impartial view of the difficulties overcome and the progress made in the city of Hyderabad. Such reports make a very real impression upon all who are interested in the future of India. They prove conclusively that those responsible for the welfare and the health of the citizens of Hyderabad are just as industrious and as far-seeing in dealing with the various social evils that have arisen owing to bad building or sporadic development as the Council of any British city. The work already carried out has been directed with a care for points of detail, shrewd business instinct, and vision, which augurs well for the future.

In spite of the difficulties peculiar to India, the beauties of this Indian city must stimulate the imagination, for there is none of the dreary monotony of an English suburb, but a well laid out capital adorned with treasures of architecture, well provided with open spaces, and planned so as to secure increased health and contentment for coming generations.

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THE WEST AND THE EAST—IN MUSIC THEY MEET

Mrs. Bani Chatterji, D.Mus., Sangita-Varati

The power of music on the human mind has always been acknowledged to be very great indeed. From time immemorial man has been susceptible to the exquisite charms of music. It has even been considered to be the most universally practised of all the arts. In fact, the instinct of music has been rightly said to be natural to man and implied in the original principles of his constitution. It thus affirms the fundamental and essential universality of music, and at the same time implies that music, whatever its mode of expression be, is but one and the same at the root, the source of its inspiration being in the heart of humanity. The ancient musician-sages of India, having realized this truth, have spoken of music as "Nada-Brahma"—*i.e.*, of the eternal and co-eternal with Him." No higher tribute than this has been known to be paid to music by any other nation or any other country.

It has, however, been the practice nowadays to draw an imaginary line of demarcation setting up artificial territorial divisions in music, known as Eastern and Western. Simultaneous or combined harmony is often looked upon as the exclusive speciality of Western music, whereas any music where Rag-raginis predominate is at once declared as Oriental. It is supposed that simultaneous harmony is altogether foreign to Eastern music, represented more or less by Indian music. Similarly there is a prevalent erroneous idea that Rag-raginis clothed in melody is the speciality of Eastern music and that it is foreign to Western music. This and suchlike notions have cropped up in the matter of music because of the want of proper recognition and appreciation of the existence of universalism or the underlying basical unity, which is found to flow through the music, Eastern and Western—in fact, through the music of all countries and races and of all times. It is God's love in the form of music that has poured down into the human heart like the sweet seasonal showers. It is therefore not surprising that music should from its inherent nature transcend all sectarian bounds. Owing to this, Indian audiences have been found to hear with rapt attention the high classical music of such great masters as Beethoven, Chopin, Mozart, and others who are landmarks in Western classical music.

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Although fundamentally music is above all artificial limitations, its mode of expression may and does vary, no doubt, according to time, place, and circumstances. As gravitation finds its expression differently in the waterfalls and in the solar attraction, music also, when time, place, and circumstances so demand, tries to express itself through the Rag-raginis in the highest form of melody as in the East, or through combined harmony as in the West.

On a comparison of Eastern with Western music, a doubt springs up at once in our minds as to whether there is any fundamental difference underlying them. To my mind, there is no such difference. Anyone with a real musical ear cannot fail to perceive that it is merely the mode of expression that makes the music of different countries appear as so many different kinds of music.

What has caused this difference in the method of expressing music in the East and in the West? The secret lies in the mentality and the idiosyncrasies of the two peoples. Nature and other causes have combined to engender in the people of the West that marvellous, active, combative, congregational spirit which forms a special feature in their national life; on the other hand, the climatic conditions and environments have developed in the people of the East, more particularly India, that calm, passive, meditative, and religious temperament that has called forth unstinted praise and admiration from such Western scholars as Professor Max-Müller, Sir William Jones, Mr. H. H. Wilson, and others. "The transcendent temperament," admits Professor Max-Müller, "acquired a more complete supremacy in the Indian character than anywhere else." The difference of the two peoples in their respective angles of vision is mainly responsible for the difference in their respective methods of expressing music. In the West the social and congregational spirit has given birth to harmony, that side of music which, in order to make its spirit felt, usually requires a joint and concerted performance by a large number of men; whereas in the East the solitude-loving mentality of its people has caused music to develop, in particular, along the lines of Rag-raginis, best expressed through melody, which do not ordinarily require a large concourse of men to play or sing them, but are, perhaps, best performed by men singly and in solitude.

The Rag-raginis, though considerably developed in the music of the East, are, however, found to exist in a more or less crude form in music all the world over, and it is needless to say that Western music is not an exception to this. The Rag-raginis have no separate existence apart from music, they spontaneously colour it, give life to it, and enter into its very composition. In my opinion, no music can be void of Rag-raginis—they are the soul of music.

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The Nocturnes of Chopin bear the impress of the nocturnal Raginis such as "Chhayanat," "Puravi," "Iman-Kalyan," etc. Rossini's works more often strike up in us the Ragini "Khambaj." Some parts of Mendelssohn's "Wedding March" can be played to demonstrate that it is clearly stamped in places with the spirit of Ragini "Bhimpalasree." The introduction of Beethoven's "Sonata Pathétique" with a few modifications can be very well adapted as an accompaniment to the Indian song "Amar Prancr Byatha" ("My heart's sorrow"), composed in the Ragini "Piloo-Baroan," by the Rev. Mr. Kshitindra Nath Tagore. We know, however, that two songs set even in an identical Ragini do not quite fit in with each other in every detail; and it will perhaps be too much to expect that any musical piece of the West bearing the impress of a particular Ragini should find an exact replica in any Indian song of the same Ragini. In fact, it will be unreasonable to expect in them correspondence in all entirety. The two popular English songs "Go Where Glory Waits Thee" and "The British Grenadiers" will best serve to illustrate our view. The tunes have been creditably Indianized in the two Raginis "Misra-Jhinjhit" and "Loom" in the two songs "Mori O Kahar Bâchhâ" and "Jâgo Sabé Jâgo," by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore and the Rev. Mr. Kshitindra Nath Tagore respectively. From this it will be realized that Rag-raginis are not a monopoly of Indian or Eastern music; they are found to run through Western music as well. One who is conversant with the music, both of the East and the West, cannot but perceive that even in the music expressed through combined harmony there is always a ring of Rag-raginis, pure or mixed, throbbing in it.

From what we have said above, it is evident that Rag-raginis and combined harmony are not mutually exclusive as some musicians would have us believe, but they stand on the footing of loving friendship. When we amplify one or more notes of the scale of a Rag or Ragini with chords, etc., according to the Western method, we get the tune of the Rag or Ragini harmonized; again, Western musical composition when divested of its combined harmony leaves behind the melody which comes within the purview of some Rag or Ragini, pure or mixed. A series of concerts had recently been broadcast at the Indian State Broadcasting Service, Calcutta Station, in which Indian music worked by me on Western lines was performed with a view to demonstrate practically the feasibility of what has been said above. It will perhaps not be out of place to mention here that they evoked much enthusiasm and appreciation from the listeners-in, Indians and Europeans.* Lovers of cultural union through music

* *The Indian Radio Times*, August 22, 1932. Published by the Indian State Broadcasting Service.

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will perhaps be interested to know that two Indian Raginis as orchestrated by me on Western lines, with the distinctive features of Raginis and Tals retained and played with Indian and Western instruments, have been recorded by the H.M.V. Gramophone Co., Ltd.*

From India's high standard of civilization, to which the writings of men of such erudition as Sir William Jones, Professor Max-Müller, and others bear ample testimony, we are led, reasonably, to surmise that its music must have also been brought to a very high standard of perfection. Captain Willard, an authority on Indian music, says, "Every nation how rude so ever has its music, and the degree of its refinement is in proportion to the civilization of its professors"; hence it must be owned for the music of India that it had once reached great heights of perfection, and it is obvious that at such a stage this elegant branch of musical science—viz., combined harmony—could not have kept itself hidden from the vision of the far-sighted and gifted musician-sages of India. To hold that they were in ignorance of this branch of music would unnecessarily belittle their high cultural attainments in music. The accounts of India's glorious past achievements in the sphere of knowledge, among which music is not the least, warrant us to say with some certainty that the ancient musician-sages of India were conversant with combined harmony, not only in theory but in practice as well. In fact, evidence is gradually coming to light to show that combined harmony was familiar to them even from very remote ages. That combined harmony is not foreign to Indian music has been stated years ago by that well-known patron of Indian music, Dr. Raja Sir Sourindramohon Tagore. "Indian music abounds in melody but is not void of harmony," he writes, which is a statement not arbitrarily made but the opinion finally arrived at as the result of a protracted and heated controversy.† References to combined harmony met with in ancient Sanskrit literature—*e.g.*, the phrase "Slishta Tantri Swanam,"‡ meaning "combined notes of the Vina"—also corroborate this view. Vestiges of this lost art, however crude, are still discernible in the method of playing and tuning the Sitar and in the practice of producing combined harmonious sounds called "Jhankar." The subject has been elaborately dealt with in my article on "Indian Music and Simultaneous Harmony" in THE ASIATIC REVIEW.§

If the music of India is to regain its lost position, if it is to command once more that honour and esteem which it once en-

* Record N. 7158 (H.M.V. Gramophone Co., Ltd.).
† Vide *Hindu Music*, by Dr. Raja Sir Sourindramohon Tagore.
‡ Mrichhakatikam Natakam.
§ THE ASIATIC REVIEW, October, 1927.

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joyed when it attained well-nigh the highest standard of perfection, it should be freed from the bands of narrow sectarianism. While emphasizing its Rag-raginis rich in colour, sweetness, and tonal beauties, the majestic grandeur of combined harmony, that sublime side of the art of music, must needs also be appropriately and judiciously introduced and applied in it, and both the Rag-raginis of the East expressed in melody and the combined harmony of the West should be made to coalesce into one grand unity. Little good can ever come of merely disparaging the music of the other. The Rag-raginis of the East and the modern combined harmony of the West both equally speak of the wonders of the musical art which is a gift Divine.

A streamlet gushes forth from rocks, rushes into deep glens and wantons and meanders over stony ways through wild and picturesque country, singing merrily at times, as it flows on, in soft whispers and roaring at other times with the voice of thunder before it mingles itself with the sea. So music, which has its source in the heart of humanity, is at one time expressed in soft and subdued Rag-raginis corresponding to the soft whispers of the river, and at other times it is expressed in the forceful combined harmony which finds its counter-expression in the thunderous roaring of the river.

Music, whether Eastern or Western, if it is to make any real progress, should be freed from the bonds of narrow sectarianism. Rag-raginis and combined harmony should be made to meet in unison in order to give fullness to music. Lectures with practical demonstrations have been given by me on several occasions showing how such a union can be worked and also how music can help to sow the seeds of cultural union between the East and the West. Since the Great War disruptive forces have been at work far and wide, and ever since great thinkers of all nations have been seriously considering the need for the spread of cultural union mainly through the arts, of which music is not the least, that being the language most spontaneous and universally understood and cultivated. It is the simplest, the straightest, and the surest road to bring cultural union within our reach. The channel through which cultural communication in music is to flow is already there in the heart of humanity, certainly not through any efforts of man but by the hands of God Himself.

The benefits of cultural union, once its doors are opened out through music, are sure to be enjoyed, not only by the present generation but also by generations for all times to come. It is also needless to say that it is to the interest of the musicians themselves, of the East and the West more particularly, to foster such cultural union; music will then be hailed as an important beacon-light pointing towards the haven of peace at a time when clouds

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of unrest and war are about to darken the face of the earth with false notions of narrow nationalism.

It will ring in a new era with the new message of World-Peace:

> "The West is West and the East is East;
> In music, howe'er, the twain shall meet."

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LAW AND ORDER IN MYSORE STATE.*

At the present time a new constitution for India is being welded by the hammer of progress on the anvil of public discussion, and in the amalgam of a Federal India it is proposed that the Indian States should form a constituent part. The conditions revealed in a self-portrait in one of the more advanced of the Indian States as regards public order and justice may, therefore, be studied with more than ordinary interest. Mysore, it should be noted, is one of the half-dozen major elements in Indian India; it covers an area equal to Scotland and has a population approximating to that of Australia; it has followed a policy of intensive economic development; and has tempered the rule of autocracy with a Representative Assembly.

There are two comments of a general nature which may be made. The first is the close resemblance in these official publications to the patterns adopted in British India. The traditional secretariat style and the scope of the Government review are similar. It must not be forgotten, however, that Mysore had a unique experience among Indian States. For fifty years (1831 to 1881) it was under the tutelage of British officers, as Lord William Bentinck had assumed direct administration after previous misgovernment; and in the half-century since the rendition to dynastic rule many officers trained in British India have been employed by the State. The second general comment is that in several respects these reports reveal the problems and difficulties in administration which face the authorities not only in India, but in many Western countries. To mention but two of these, there is a new traffic problem which arises out of the increase in motor vehicles, and there is the problem of dealing with the juvenile delinquent without enforcing a sentence of imprisonment.

To the question as to how the statistics disclose the incidence of crime and the methods of dealing with crime must be added another question: On what system are the criminal statistics prepared? Increase in the number of cases reported may be due to more offences, or to improved relations with the public on the part of the official authorities, or to a better system of registration.

* *Administration Report of the Inspector-General of Police for the Year* 1932-33, *with the Government Review Thereon* (Mysore, January, 1934). *Report on the Administration of Criminal Justice for the Year* 1932-33, *with the Government Review* (Mysore, January, 1934). *Report of the Administration of Civil Justice for the Year* 1932-33, *with the Government Review* (Mysore, January, 1934).

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The cases reported rose from 10,500 in 1931-32 to 14,300 in 1932-33: this is stated to be due both to better reporting and to the general economic depression. The combination of good crops with a poor market produced surplus stocks with cheap food as a result. At the same time unemployment was rife, and for many of the workless their means of livelihood lay in crime. The harmony between the curves of crime and of food prices, which characterized the previous years, was broken in the last two years. Even with cheap food, crime for gain tended to increase. On the other hand, it is stated that whole series of previously unreported or unregistered cases were brought on the records; and it is claimed that the annual statistics do now indicate the real state of crime. This attractive optimism is not unknown in British India and elsewhere.

There is a further complication in the criminal statistics in that the police, as in British India, may refuse at their discretion to investigate reported cases. Two schools of thought prevail, one favouring a large use of this legal provision, the other the contrary. In Mysore the proportion of uninvestigated cases is about one in twenty, which is not unreasonable in the case of petty thefts of articles of an unidentifiable nature.

In the types of crime reported there are some, familiar enough in British India, but not so frequent in Great Britain. Cattle theft pursues its steady course of four to five hundred cases a year, with a tendency to decline. Communal disturbances between Hindus and Muhammadans, sometimes started on a mere rumour, sometimes on deliberate provocation, contribute to the seventy-six cases of rioting; it is added, however, with satisfaction that this was the first year in the last eight that there had been no disturbance in Bangalore City. The so-called dacoities doubled in number and were usually the work of wandering gangs, and as many as two thousand were shown to be dangerous members among the professionally criminal tribes.

The records of the judiciary, on both the criminal and civil sides, may be subjected to several tests. Subordinate to the High Court is a number of Civil Courts, of which the majority are Courts of First Instance. There is an increasing net pecuniary gain to the State from its judicial administration. It is admitted that there is a slightly increased tendency to litigation among the people; but it is claimed that the subordinate judiciary have more than kept pace with the increased litigation. The average duration of a case in the subordinate Civil Courts has increased, while the average duration in the High Court has decreased; but in the latter the period is six times the duration in the former. As in British India, the judges with a large local jurisdiction, known as District Judges, have also criminal jurisdiction under the title of

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Session Judges. They and the subordinate magistracy tried within the twelve months nearly thirty-six thousand persons, of whom two out of every five were convicted. As also in British India, there is a continuous bureaucratic control, through the High Court and the District Magistrates, on two matters to which similar attention is not paid in the West: to wit, the check over abnormal pendency of cases, and over the detention of witnesses beyond the date on which they are summoned to appear. In the matter of duration of cases in all the Criminal Courts, an element of satisfaction is expressed that the average for the whole State has been brought down to fifty-eight days through strict observance of the rules issued by the High Court; but according to Western standards this seems an abnormally long period. In Sessions Courts an average of forty days is required, and in Stipendiary Magistrates' Courts over fifty days: the longest duration lies with the Courts of Honorary Magistrates, where over sixty-six days are needed. As regards detention of witnesses, the Stipendiary Magistrates plead not guilty to detaining any witness over three days; one out of every eight were so detained in the Sessions Courts. It is an interesting fact that in Mysore the system of giving magisterial work to Civil Courts and of giving civil work to Magistrates is being extended.

How does the penal system work? In the West there are strong views held about short sentences. In Mysore one in every four cases of imprisonment was a sentence of fifteen days' imprisonment or less: at the other end of the scale, there were twenty-five accused sentenced to transportation, but not one death sentence. Two-thirds of the fines imposed were collected. The juvenile was treated by warning, fining, binding over, whipping, or imprisonment. One sees no reference to Borstal institutions or to probation officers. No doubt these will come in time.

In recent years in Great Britain public attention has been drawn to the methods of training the police personnel, both in the junior and in the higher ranks. In this respect India has no mean record of advance as the result of the Police Commission during Lord Curzon's viceroyalty. There is a training school in each of the major Provinces; and in Mysore, too, we find a training school with provision for instruction of both the constabulary and the inspectorate. The principle of the direct recruitment of a better educated class to the inspectorate ranks, in addition to any promotion from the junior ranks, is one which for more than a quarter of a century has been accepted in British India; it is acknowledged throughout the leading forces on the Continent of Europe; and, though hitherto unadopted in Great Britain, is one of the principles implicit in Lord Trenchard's reforms in the Metropolitan Police of Greater London. It is

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interesting, therefore, to find that in the year in review it was adopted in the Mysore State, apart from the direct recruitment of probationers to the higher administrative ranks. The subjects of instruction at the school include, in addition to the obvious subjects of law, drill, and physical training, instruction in surveying and in first-aid. The rank and file is steadily becoming more literate: in one year the proportion of illiteracy fell from two-fifths to nearly one-fourth. It was mentioned above that the area of Mysore is nearly the same as that of Scotland: Mysore has a strength of 6,400 officers and men and Scotland a strength of 6,650; so it can scarcely be affirmed that Mysore is over-policed. There is a familiar ring about the tones of both praise and blame in describing the work of the village officials who perform watch and ward as auxiliaries of the regular police. Finally, it may be mentioned that, as in so many other places, the year saw an increase in the number of motor vehicles, in the number of fatal motor accidents, and in the number of prosecutions for breaches of the motor vehicle law. The Government of the Mysore State considered that the increase in motor offences called for greater vigilance on the part of the police: another possible comment is that it was the increased vigilance on the part of the police which produced the increase in the number of prosecutions.

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THE FORESTS OF KASHMIR

By T. C. Hoon
(Officiating Chief Conservator of Forests, Kashmir State.)

Wooded Area

The total area of the State is 84,432 square miles, but of this 63,560 square miles are included in the Frontier districts to which forestry operations do not extend, as owing to the low rainfall these districts contain few forests, and such as there are are not exploitable owing to the line of export passing through independent tribal territory. The area of the Jammu and Kashmir Provinces is 20,872 square miles, out of which 10,141 square miles comprise forest lands under the control of the Forest Department. A great deal of this is, however, uncommercial, as in many cases wastelands above the limit of tree growth have been included within the demarcation. But even so it is an extremely well-wooded country, and, excluding the Frontier districts, there is an incidence of over two acres of forest land per head of population.

Forest Types and their Distribution

Covering such an enormous range of country, the Kashmir forests naturally exhibit a wide variety of forest vegetation, and practically every type of Western Himalaya flora is met with, from the semi-tropical forests of the foothills to the Alpine flora of the higher hills. It is, however, essentially a conifer country, and though there are many associated broad-leaved species, few of these have any economic importance. Many factors influence the distribution of species. Aspect, gradient, distance from the plains, all play their part, but the most important of all is the rainfall, or rather the seasonal distribution of rainfall.

Broadly speaking, however, the Kashmir forests may be divided into two main zones, each with its characteristic type of vegetation—viz., the sub-Himalayan tract and the Himalayan. The former extends from the foot of the hills, roughly 1,000 feet above sea level to approximately 5,000, while the latter extends from the sub-Himalayan zone to the limit of tree growth, which varies from about 10,000 to 11,000 feet.

The forests of the sub-Himalayan zone roughly fall into three types—scrub, bamboo, and chir pine. To the west of the

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State most of the scrub forests have been devastated by excessive goat grazing, but in the east, the Ravi Valley, the lower hills are well clothed, though the forests are devoid of economic value. In this zone the chir pine (*Pinus longifolia*) is the only tree of any real economic importance. Commencing at about 2,000 feet, first as scattered individuals or small groups amidst an undergrowth of scrub, it rapidly becomes almost pure forest and covers large areas of country.

The forests of the Himalayan zone also fall roughly into three types—the deodar-blue pine, the fir and spruce, and the sub-Alpine. Of these the first is by far the most valuable and important, and is the one from which the State obtains the greater part of its forest revenue. Extending from 3,000 to 8,000 feet on northern slopes and from 6,000 to 9,000 on the warmer expositions, this sub-zone varies considerably in the character of its vegetation. In particular, the proportion of deodar (*Cedrus deodara*) depends very largely on the seasonal distribution of rainfall, the inner valleys with their heavy winter rainfall being far more suitable to the growth of this species than the outer ranges, which receive the full force of the summer monsoon. On the outer ranges to the east of the State the blue pine (*Pinus excelsa*) is missing from this sub-zone, but generally speaking the characteristic forest is a mixture of the two species, every degree of mixture being met with, as well as pure crops of each species.

The fir and spruce sub-zone extends from above the deodar-blue pine zone almost to the limit of tree growth. Here the predominant species is the Himalayan silver fir (*Abies Pindrow*), which generally occurs as an almost pure crop, though both spruce (*Picea Morinda* syn. *Smithiana*) and blue pine are commonly found as scattered trees throughout the crop, and also deodar at the lower levels. In the sub-zone the characteristic tree is the birch (*Betula utilis*), whose main value lies in its bark, which is largely used for roof construction in Kashmir proper. This is an ill-defined sub-zone, as fir and even blue pine often extend to the extreme limit of tree growth, while the birch frequently descends to much lower levels in shady ravines and cool localities.

Brief History and Organization

The history of the Kashmir Forest Department as an organized and scientific body dates back to the year 1891, when Mr. J. C. McDonell, a lent officer from Indian Forest Service, joined the State as its first Conservator of Forests. Previous to his advent, work in the forests had been carried on in a most haphazard manner. The Department consisted of a small staff of

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low-paid officials, who rarely went near the forests, while work was confined to the extraction of timber and was limited only by the amount of advances given to contractors and officials and by the labour available. The forests were not demarcated; there was no record of rights, no definite forest law, and there were no working plans.

During the first twenty years of its existence the Department's activities were naturally devoted largely to laying the foundations of a sound organization and to consolidating the position. By 1912 most of the preliminary work had been accomplished. The forests were demarcated and divided into territorial charges; working plans were in force for all the more valuable forests; forest laws were enacted and concessions defined, while exploitation was carried out on scientific and business-like principles, under contracts definitely laying down the number of trees to be felled and the period allowed for their removal. Since 1912 the scope of the Department's activities has been enormously enlarged. More areas have been brought under working, and at the present time practically the whole of the commercial forests of the State are being managed under modern working plans. According to these plans the total tree volume available for felling and sale each year from the State forests stands as under:

Deodar	7,500,000	standing	cubic	feet
Kail	6,500,000	,,	,,	,,
Fir	4,400,000	,,	,,	,,
Chir	1,400,000	,,	,,	,,

On account of the existing heavy slump it is not possible to work out more than half the above out-turn.

Artificial Woods

The Forest Department has raised artificial plantations of European olive (*Olea Europea*) that yield an annual crop of 40 to 50 maunds of olive fruit of high quality.

The Forest Department has also solved the difficult problem of reclaiming barren swampy wastelands by raising thereon extensive plantations of fast-growing willows. These plantations yield an annual surplus of Rs. 8/- per acre on land that had in the past been relegated to unproductive inactivity.

Exploitation

In the early days of the Forest Department the majority of the forests were exploited by departmental agency, but gradually

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this system has given way to the sale of standing trees to contractors. With the introduction of modern systems of working this was imperative, as the silvicultural side of the work now makes such heavy demands on the time and energy of the Divisional Forest Officer that he literally has no time to devote to the supervision of the large-scale timber operations. The usual course is to put up blocks of forest to tender on five-year leases, and rates are tendered for 100,000 cubic feet standing of each species. This system, which was introduced five years ago, has worked well and given very little trouble. From the forester's point of view it has this advantage, that the lessees, having paid for the whole tree, clear the forest of every stick of marketable timber, and in some cases even of firewood, whereas if they were paying a royalty on out-turn only the very best quality timber would be extracted, and the subsequent cleaning up operations would be stupendous.

Walnut

Kashmir is justly famous for its walnut wood, and the utilization of forest-grown walnut is now properly established. At a factory at Baramulla the timber is artificially seasoned and converted into half-wrought rifle fittings, and Kashmir now supplies the whole of the peacetime requirements of the army in India for rifle fittings, a total of 22,400 sets per annum.

Minor Products

No description of the Kashmir forests is complete without mentioning the minor forest products, an important part in the working of the Department contributing Rs. 800,000 to 1,000,000 towards its annual proceeds. Most important of these minor products is kuth, the root of a composite (*Saussurea lappa*), a tall, stout herb, rather like a large thistle, which grows in both the fir and the sub-Alpine zones. The root yields a perfume resembling violets and is greatly in demand in China for ritualistic purposes. In normal times over 3,000 maunds of the root are collected annually, the current price obtained for it in Kashmir being Rs. 150/- per maund. *Artemisia maritima* is another valuable minor product, but this is found only in the dry inner valleys, where it replaces grass and herbaceous vegetation. Nevertheless, a hundred tons of this are collected annually, the current rates in Kashmir being about £40 per ton. Santonin is being extracted from this plant at a factory in Baramulla for export to foreign countries. Resin from the chir pine is also an important product, and not only yields considerable revenue to the State, but also provides a remunerative village industry in parts of the country

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where other sources of wage earning are few. Further, the forests of Kashmir are rich in medicinal plants, among the better known of which are belladonna, *Podophyllum ephedra*, and digitalis, the last named being an exotic which has been successfully introduced in recent years in several parts of the State. These and many other medicinal plants are worked out departmentally and sold in the Indian and foreign markets.

Financial Development

Financially, the history of the Department since 1891 has been one of unbroken progress, for while in predepartmental days the gross revenue was less than Rs. 3,00,000/-, in 1930 the surplus profit was no less than Rs. 50,00,000/-.

Potential Wealth

The foregoing fleeting glimpses of the forest resources of the State will show that the Kashmir forests are an enormously valuable property, which any government might be proud to possess. A few years ago the Forest Department was the largest revenue-producing department in the State. But like every other producer of raw materials, it has not escaped the effects of the general world depression, and lately it has fallen from its proud position. Timber prices have declined, while many of the minor products are difficult to market, except in greatly reduced quantities. The Department has probably several lean years to look forward to, but whatever happens the Kashmir forests will continue to be one of the finest forest estates in the world.

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THE ADVANCE ON ANGORA AND THE BATTLE FOR WARSAW: A PARALLEL IN MILITARY HISTORY

By Eugène Hinterhoff*

One of the effects of the Great War, notwithstanding the quantity of bloodshed in the previous four years and of a series of treaties and agreements which were to heal the wounds and calm former antagonisms, was the outbreak of a certain number of new wars which to a greater or lesser degree were the result and echo of the Great War.

Among these wars may be included the Greco-Turkish War of 1919-22, which after hard fighting ended in a brilliant victory for the Turkish nation against a far superior Greek army, creating a new era for Turkey and assuring her a position as a great Power among the nations.

The history of this war is of special interest to us Poles, not only because our country and Turkey are united by links of sentiment, but also for the reason that the history of this campaign is in many instances analogous with our campaign of 1920.

First of all, let us not look for the causes of this war in the conflict of political or economic interests of the two countries, neither were they to be found in natural antagonisms; the causes of the war lay deeper.

The underlying cause of the Greco-Turkish War is one of the most complex problems of international politics for the last few centuries—that of the so-called Turkish question, and in particular

* The writer was born in the Far East in 1895, and studied at the University at Petrograd. In 1916 he entered Officers' Artillery School at Petrograd, and was, until 1917, at the front in the Russian army. At the beginning of the Revolution he passed into the 1st Polish Corps under the command of General Dowbor-Musnicki, and in 1918 entered the newly formed Polish army of Independent Poland, during the Polish-Bolshevik war finished course of Staff College and served at the General Headquarters, in the staff of 7th Infantry Division and in the staffs of the Operation Group and of 6th Army.

After that war he was sent for military studies to France, then for three years served on the High Military Council. After a complementary course for brevet officers he served at the headquarters of a corps area, commanded a group of field artillery, finally was the Chief of Staff of a mountain infantry division. In 1933 he left the army. He is the author of articles and works published in the Polish and foreign press. The articles deal chiefly with the problems of general tactics, cavalry tactics and aircraft, as well as political and historical subjects.

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the Dardanelles. It suffices to mention that the question of Constantinople was the bone of contention between Alexander I. of Russia and Napoleon, the object of consequent and obstinate rivalry between England and Russia—rivalry which manifested itself in the wars carried on by Russia under the pretext of the liberation of the Slavic nations, as the Crimean War. In addition there was the ever-increasing Pan-German expansion in the Near East before the Great War—an expansion whose dash and efficiency, particularly remarkable in the steady advance of the railway line towards Bagdad, began to arouse justified fears on the part of Great Britain.

It is not, however, the purpose of this article to deal with the political aspects, but to describe as concisely as possible the remarkable campaign waged by the Turks, and then to draw some parallels between it and our own battle for Warsaw. The date of May 15, 1919, should be regarded as the actual beginning of the hostilities when the Greeks, sanctioned by the Supreme Council, landed the 1st Infantry Division for the purpose of occupying Smyrna. The fact of the occupation of Smyrna by the immemorial and hated enemy echoed through the length and breadth of Turkey and awoke, notwithstanding the fall and decay in which the country had found itself after the Great War, a wave of indignation. The capture of Smyrna had not been effected without struggle with the remnants of the Turkish army, then in the neighbourhood, reinforced by volunteers who flocked in from all parts of the country.

The Greeks, fighting with the ever-growing detachments of partisans, increased their strength to five divisions. The conflict was brought to an end by the intervention of England in June, 1919, the line of demarcation established being Aidin-Magnesia-Pergama.

The Turkish patriots were led by Kemal Pasha, one of the most eminent Turkish generals, and political leader, the hero of the battles of Tripolis in the Great War and former comrade-in-arms of Enver Pasha.

In September, 1919, at the congress of Sivas a "Provisional National Government" was formed, whose slogan was the defence of the rights of Anatolia and European Turkey; this Government proclaimed the state of war between Anatolia and the Allied Powers, nominating Kemal Pasha as Commander-in-Chief, the Provisional Government proclaiming meanwhile that it was in no way bound to the Government of the Sultan in Constantinople.

At the end of 1919 the Provisional Government changed their quarters from Sivas to Angora, the new capital of Anatolia.

In the early days of June, 1920, the position of both parties was as follows: The Greek army in Asia Minor under General

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Paraksevopulos, numbering 90,000 men, was formed in two corps and three divisions, the 1st Corps in the region of the Meander, the 2nd Corps in the region of Smyrna. Arms, equipment, and war material were very good. The position of new Turkey at that period was a hard one; all over Turkey there arose voluntary detachments, which were incorporated into the regular formations. These detachments, however, met with serious obstacles on account of the extreme lack of money, and the purchase and transport of war material from abroad was very difficult. In addition to the above the situation of the new Turkish army was made still more difficult by the necessity of strengthening and defending the frontier of Cilicia, Armenia, and Mesopotamia; moreover, in the region of Ismidi-Broussa strong detachments of the regular Turkish army, the so-called army of the Khalifate, were active.

The difficult situation at home of the new Turkey, as well as the obstacles that prevented the formation of an armed force, were analogous with the conditions in which the newly created Polish armed force found itself towards the end of 1918 and the beginning of 1919.

On the eve of the Greek offensive the Turkish detachments were in the following formations and positions: To the south of Smyrna in the region of the Meander, one division and one newly formed brigade, together with volunteer detachments to the strength of 7,000 men; north of Smyrna in the valley of the river Hernus, one corps formed of two divisions and strong voluntary detachments. In the region of Magnesia and along the railway line Magnesia-Panderma were detachments of two infantry divisions and voluntary detachments. The total strength of the Turkish army, including the voluntary formations insufficiently armed and trained, amounted to 60,000 men.

The Course of Action (*cp. Sketch-Map* 1)

The plan of campaign of the Greek army involved two independent actions—action to the south of Smyrna in the general direction of Ala-Shehir, aiming at the safeguarding of the right flank of the action north of Smyrna in the general direction of Panderma.

Action on Ala-Shehir, June 22-25, 1920

On June 22 the Greeks opened hostilities in the direction of Ak-Hissar and Soma with the object of putting the Turks off the scent as to the exact direction; however, on the second day a cumulative effort was made on Ala-Shehir, which, after heavy

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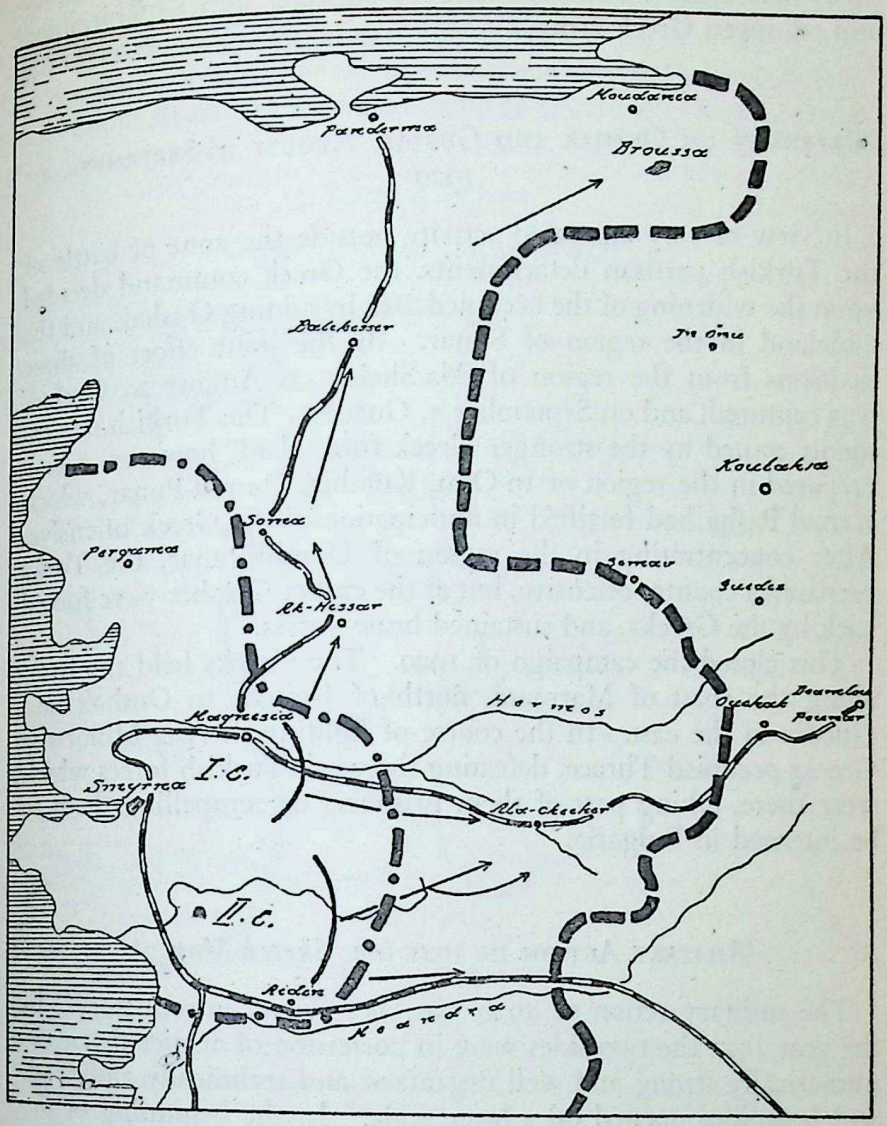
SKETCH NO. 1

Military operations in 1921



Demarcation line in June, 1921.

Line of the Front in October, 1921.

losses and hard fighting with the 13th Turkish Corps, fell into the hands of the Greeks.

ACTION ON PANDERMA, JUNE 28-JULY 8, 1920

After securing the region east of Ala-Shehir and shifting the reinforcements to the north, the Greeks advanced towards

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Balikesir and moved to Panderma. On July 8 the Greeks took Broussa. And so the Turkish detachments, badly armed and trained, were, in spite of obstinate resistance, pushed back along the whole front by the numerically stronger and better trained and equipped Greek army.

Offensive on Oushak and Guediz, August 26-September 4, 1920

In view of very animated activity outside the zone of battle of the Turkish partisan detachments, the Greek command decided upon the widening of the occupied area by adding Oushak and the tableland in the region of Simar. By the joint effort of three divisions from the region of Ala-Shehir on August 29 Oushak was captured, and on September 4, Guediz. The Turkish detachments routed by the stronger Greek forces had, however, a base prepared in the region of In-Onu, Kutahia, Dumlu-Punar, which Kemal Pasha had fortified in anticipation of the Greek offensive. After concentrating in the region of Dumlu-Punar, the Turks prepared a counter-offensive, but at the end of October were forced back by the Greeks, and sustained heavy losses.

This closed the campaign of 1920. The Greeks held the front along the coast of Marmara, north of Broussa to Oushak and Guediz in the east. In the course of fighting in Asia Minor the Greeks occupied Thrace, defeating the weak Turkish forces which were there, taking part of them prisoners or compelling them to be interned in Bulgaria.

Military Action in 1921 (*cp. Sketch-Map* 2)

The military action of 1920 was, as it were, introductory. In the year 1921 the two sides were in possession of armies that were numerically strong and well organized and technically equipped, and hostilities opened on a large scale. In the beginning of the year 1921 the Greek army numbered about 100,000 men. The Turkish army was about 50,000 men strong, into which entered voluntary detachments inadequately trained and imperfectly organized.

General Papulas, newly nominated in the place of General Paraksevopulos, issued orders for two sallies to be made in the beginning of January: a sally north of the region of Broussa in the direction of Eski-Shehir, an important railway junction, together with a sally in the general direction of Tsirzil.

On December 6 one Greek division started from Broussa in the

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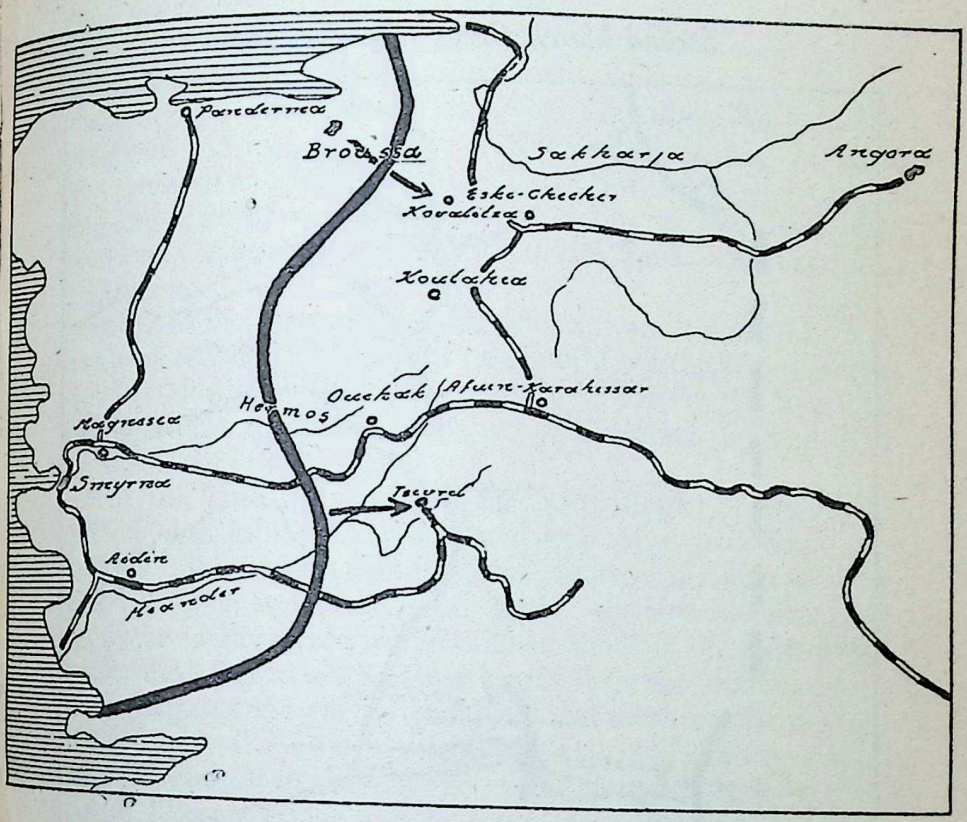
general direction of Eski-Shehir. On December 9, in the region of Kovalitza, the Greek advance was checked by the Turks at the positions previously prepared for the defence of so important a railway junction as Eski-Shehir. This sally was more successful for the Greeks, as on January 8 Tsirzil was captured. The Turks were seriously troubled by the diversion on the part of the voluntary corps under Etem Bey to the strength of 2,000 men, which passed

SKETCH No. 2

Greek sallies in January, 1921



over to the Greeks in the region of Kutahia. However, in the course of a few days this corps found itself in a dangerous situation, and the whole of the Greek action in the south was checked in its progress.

Finally, the two Greek sallies achieved by General Papulas, quite unnecessary for operation purposes, merely weakened the morale in the Greek ranks and aroused discontent in the country. The result of these operations likewise did not in any way affect either the internal consolidation of Turkey or the effective moves of the Angora Government. The successful operations of the

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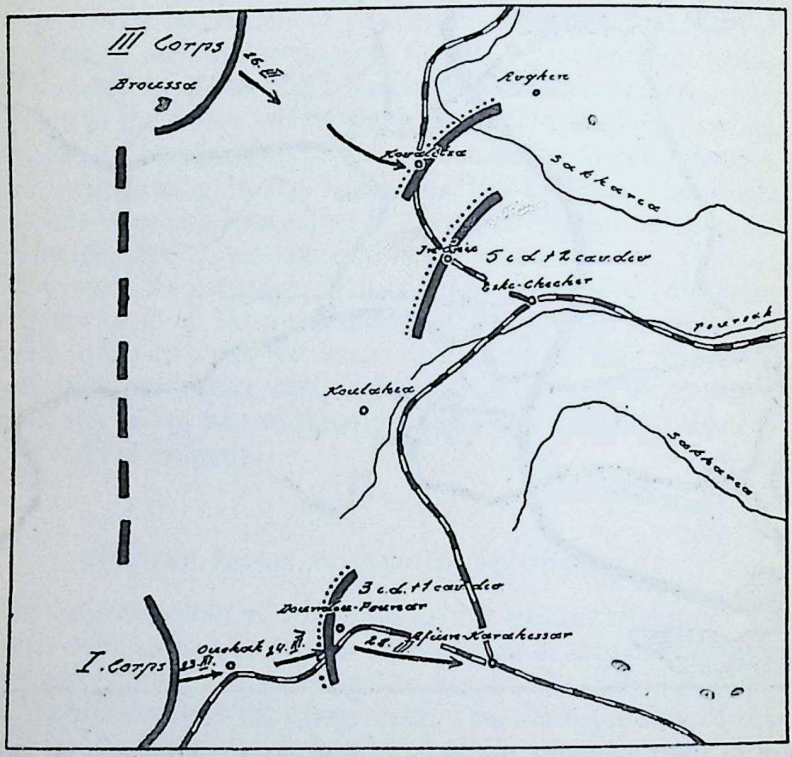
Turks, on the other hand, produced a great impression in Greece, where King Constantine decided upon a new offensive.

Greek Offensive

On March 23, 1921, the Greek army, composed of six infantry divisions to the strength of about 100,000 men, and temporarily grouped (two groups, 1st and 3rd Corps), began the offensive (cp. sketch-map 3).

Sketch No. 3

Second March Greek offensive, 1921



The aim of the offensive was by a simultaneous attack of two independent groups to defeat the enemy and capture the railway junction of Eski-Shehir and Afion-Karahissar.

The Turks, numbering 60,000 men, were grouped as follows: Five infantry divisions and two cavalry divisions under Ismet Pasha to the west of Eski-Shehir; three infantry divisions plus one cavalry division under Refet Pasha in the region of Dumlu-Punar.

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The Greek action in the south under General Condulis, notwithstanding terrain and atmospheric conditions which were far from favourable, developed successfully; on March 24 the Greeks broke the resistance of the Turks and advanced 30 km. east of Oushak.

On March 25 the Greeks were held in check on fortified positions in the region of Doumlu-Punar; this resistance was, after heavy fighting, overcome, and on March 28 Afion-Karahissar fell to the Greeks. With the capture of this position the aim of the southern offensive was attained, bringing with it some score of guns and prisoners. The Turkish group retreated towards the east and along the railway line north of Kutahia.

In the north events proved to be less successful for the Greeks; here they met with stubborn opposition, and with great difficulty advanced in a south-easterly direction. Fighting was especially violent on the line of defence of Kovalitza-Awghin, which had been prepared and fortified by the Turks, and where in the beginning the scale of victory seemed to incline to the Greek side, thanks to a manœuvre on the left Turkish flank, which retreated at Kovalitza.

Owing to the desperate counter-offensive and cavalry attack on the Greek left flank, the Turks finally brought the sale of balance to weigh down on their side and forced the Greeks to retreat. The failure of the Greek offensive in the north liquidated the Greek successes in the south.

That the Turkish success in the north might be thoroughly utilized, one infantry division and one cavalry division were stationed there; the remaining four infantry divisions and one cavalry division were forwarded south. Cavalry was sent to the rear of the enemy communication lines; the bulk of infantry using the fortified region of Kutahia as the axis for manœuvre was directed against the enemy groups in the south, in the region of Afion-Karahissar. However, the Turkish plan did not give the expected result of destroying the enemy, for the Greeks retreated west of Doumlu-Punar and to the rocky regions of the Murat-Dagh mountains, whence the efforts of the Turks to oust the strongly entrenched Greek detachments proved fruitless.

Holding these positions, the two sides refrained from more energetic action. In this way the Turks successfully managed to use to the best advantage the central position they held, which rendered action along interior lines possible, according to the strategy of Napoleon. On the contrary, the planned Greek manœuvre by means of two independent groups, in view of vast distances, inferior means of communication, and finally lack of strong and mobile reserve, excluded the vital co-ordination of action as to time and space.

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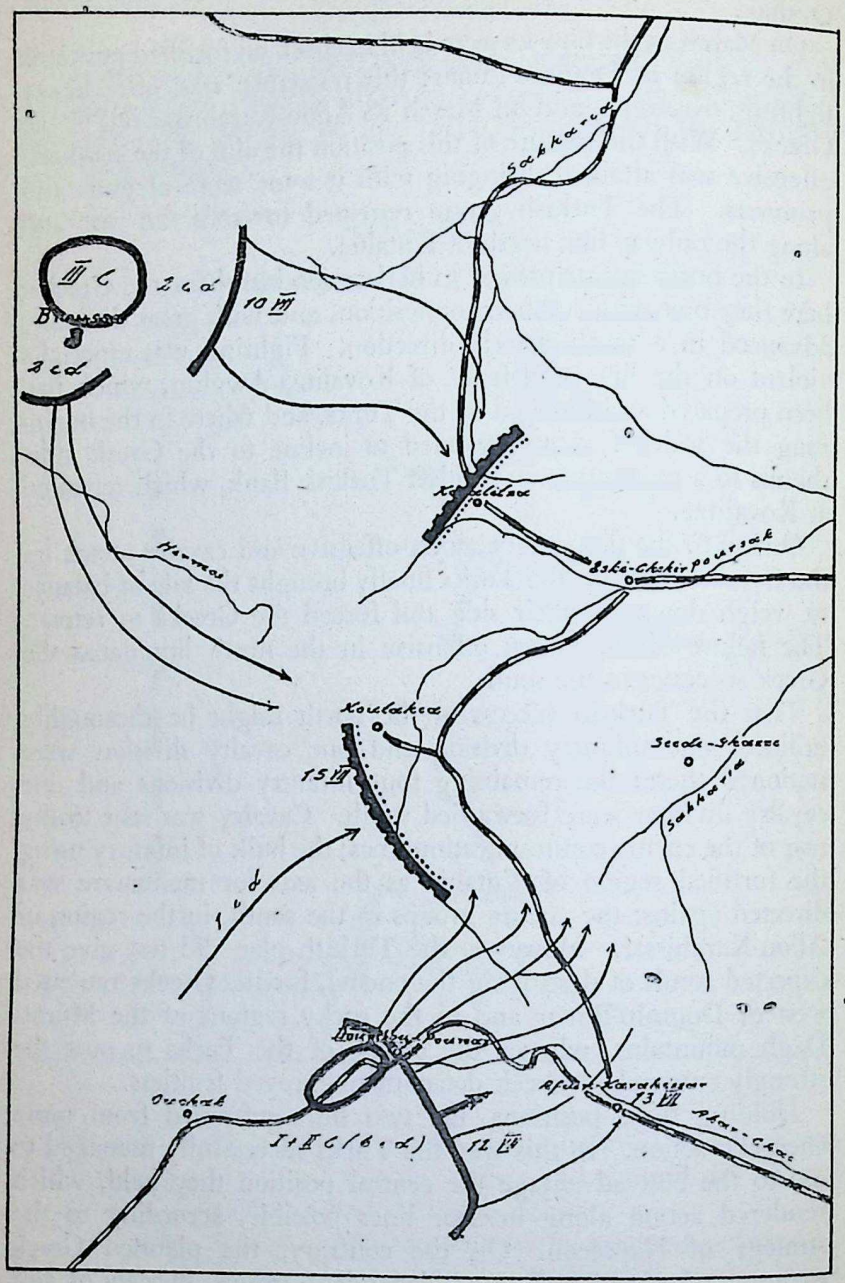
SKETCH No. 4

Third June Greek offensive



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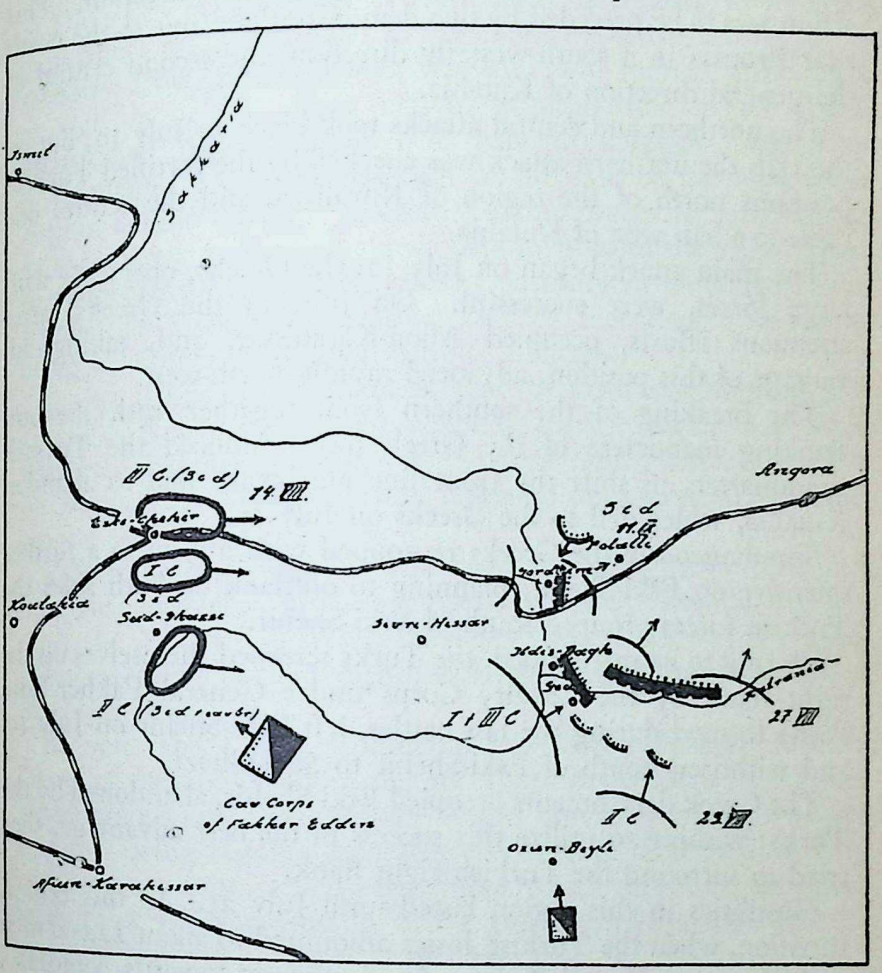
New Greek Offensive

On June 21 the Powers turned to Greece with the proposal of a peace intervention; the Greek Government sent a negative reply, giving as reasons the strategic necessity of a new offensive. This explanation resulting from the above motives was not real: the

Sketch No. 5

Third Greek offensive—Second phase



July offensive was purely an act of revenge for the failure of the Greek army in the March offensive. The Greek army was plentifully equipped with war material such as tanks and aircraft; the number of divisions was increased to eleven, comprising 120,000 men. King Constantine took over the commandership of the army, nominating General Dusmanis as his Chief of Staff.

The Turkish army likewise had considerably increased its

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forces since the March offensive; its strength reached the number of 70,000 men organized into four corps under Ismet Pasha.

The Turkish forces were grouped as follows: Five infantry divisions in the region of In-Onu; four infantry divisions and two cavalry divisions in the region of Kutahia; one division in the region of Afion-Karahissar; and reserves behind the right flank in the region of Eski-Shehir.

The Greek plan consisted in striking the southern Turkish flank near Afion-Karahissar conjointly with an outflanking manœuvre on the enemy's side and rear in a north-easterly direction. This action was to be preceded by two demonstrations, one to the north near Broussa in a south-westerly direction, the second central in the general direction of Kutahia.

The northern and central attacks took place on July 10; but on the 15th the northern attack was checked by the fortified Turkish positions north of the region of Kovalitza, and the central one came to a halt west of Kutahia.

The main attack began on July 12; the Greeks, operating with large forces, were successful. On July 13 the Greeks, after strenuous efforts, occupied Afion-Karahissar, and, taking advantage of this position, advanced rapidly north-west.

The breaking of the southern front together with the outflanking manœuvre of the Greek forces induced the Turkish headquarters to shift the front line northward and to abandon Kutahia, which fell to the Greeks on July 17.

Simultaneously the Greeks regrouped with a view to a further offensive on Eski-Shehir, planning to outflank on both sides the Turkish forces grouped south of Eski-Shehir.

Fearing to be surrounded, the Turks screened themselves on the right flank by the Cavalry Corps under General Fakher-Edin Pasha formed during the last battles, left Eski-Shehir on July 19, and withdrew south of Eski-Shehir to Seid-Ghazi.

The Greek detachments occupied Eski-Shehir, abandoned by the Turks; wishing to utilize this success to the best advantage, they tried to surround the Turkish right flank.

Hostilities in this region lasted until July 21. In this critical situation, when the Turkish losses amounted to about 12,000 men and fifty guns, Kemal Pasha ordered a retreat towards Angora.

This retreat, screened by a Cavalry Corps which remained in touch with the enemy, began on July 22. The Turkish forces, wishing to disengage themselves from the enemy, did not take advantage either of the favourable positions on the heights of Sivri-Hissar, which would have enabled the two Turkish flanks to offer resistance, or of the river, but, leaving it behind, crossed to the eastern bank of the river Sakkaria.

The Turkish retreat was very difficult owing to very bad terrain

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conditions in the delta of the Sakkaria river, and again having the flanks exposed to the fire of the pursuing enemy. However, thanks to the activity of the Cavalry Corps on the one hand, and relatively feeble energy on the part of the Greeks on the other, the Turkish forces retreated east of the river Sakkaria with very insignificant losses.

Battle of the Sakkaria River

The study of this battle is particularly interesting to us Poles, as it offers many analogies to the character of the retreat of our northern front in the battle of Warsaw. The morale of the army, as well as of the whole nation, in proportion as the Turks approached Angora, seemed to gain in strength. The same phenomenon was to be observed in the case of the memorable August days in Poland. A series of extraordinary ordinances were issued, calling to arms all able-bodied men up to the age of forty; Parliament handed over the reins of government to Kemal Pasha, whom the Turks considered as sent by Providence, and who, being Commander-in-Chief, became a Dictator.

It was at this crucial moment that the great and inexhaustible energy of Kemal Pasha, with which he inspired all those in touch with him, became manifest. At the same time a further offensive on Angora became the subject of heated discussions and dispute among the Greeks.

Before the final decision was taken regarding its political and operating character, the Greek Prime Minister, Gunaris, together with the Minister of War, Theotoky, proceeded on July 26 to Kutahia, where in the presence of King Constantine a Council of War was held.

In vain the Greek Commander-in-Chief, General Papulas, aware of the immensity of the operations undertaken in difficult, mountainous and sandy terrain almost devoid of roads, with the ever-increasing distance separating them from their base, and the menaced communications—operations which might be compared with those of Napoleon in Spain and Russia—pointed out the great difficulty and danger of the task.

At the Council of War the following plan was decided upon:

1. The shifting of the whole Greek army to the western bank of the river Sakkaria.

Information obtained from the Intelligence Service stated that the eastern bank of the Sakkaria was fortified.

2. Offensive with the greater part of the forces concentrated on the right wing, with the object of outflanking the Turkish left wing.

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On August 14 the Greek detachments marched forward in the following order:

North—the 3rd Corps (commanded by General Palimenakos), comprising three infantry divisions, along the railway line Eski-Shehir-Angora in the valley of the Pursak river.

Centre—the 1st Corps (under General Kondulis), comprising three infantry divisions, concentrated east of the 3rd Corps.

South—the 2nd Corps (under the Grand Duke Andrew), also comprising three infantry divisions.

One brigade of cavalry was to act south of the river Sakkaria, having for its task the surrounding of the belated and retreating Turkish detachments.

The outflanking manœuvre of the 2nd Corps was detected by the Cavalry Corps under Fakher-Edin Pasha, who, trying to keep the head of the army in check with comparatively weak forces, advanced to the south of the axis of the advancing Greeks, harassing their flanks and rear.

Although the Turkish Cavalry Corps acted on terrain unusually difficult for cavalry operations, almost completely lacking in water, its manœuvre against the 2nd Greek Corps succeeded, for not only did the Greeks not outflank the Turks, who had rounded and lengthened their left flank towards the river Katrandia, but the corps itself suffered severe losses from the Turkish cavalry.

In one of the numerous sallies on the Greek rear the Turks all but took General Papulas prisoner, together with his staff, at Ouzun-Beyli. According to later reports and statements of General Papulos, owing to the constant menace to his communications by the Turkish cavalry, he was unable to receive supplies for the 2nd Corps south of the river Sakkaria, as a result of which, during the decisive battle of the river Sakkaria, he felt keenly the lack of ammunition and supplies.

On August 23 the 1st and 2nd Corps, advancing in the delta of the Sakkaria river, came into contact with the Turkish detachments occupying the previously prepared and fortified positions east of the Sakkaria, whereupon began an energetic frontal attack on the Turkish positions on the eastern bank of the Sakkaria by the 1st and 3rd Corps and by the 2nd Corps directed on the Turkish left flank.

Three Turkish groups, comprising fourteen divisions, held the following positions: The northern, under the commandership of Nouredin Pasha; the central, under the commandership of Ismet Pasha; the southern, under the commandership of Galil Pasha.

The basic line of the positions extended about sixty miles along the eastern bank of the river Sakkaria, from Gordia to the nucleus of the position, Ildiz-Dagh heights, and along the tributaries of the river Sakkaria and Katrandia. Hard fighting for the first

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fortified line lasted from the 23rd to 27th, and resulted in its being overcome by the Greeks; from the 27th to 31st the Turks, still fighting, retreated to the previously prepared second fortified line. The Greek attacks, conducted, however, with weakened energy, began to lose in strength, and growing weaker and weaker brought about the turning-point of the battle. During the course of the week the Turks held back by short attacks the whole Greek front.

During this battle an attacking group consisting of five divisions had been formed by Kemal Pasha, which on August 11 was thrown against the curved left wing of the Greeks in the region of Polatli.

This manœuvre turned the scale; already on the night of August 11 and 12 the 1st and 2nd Greek Corps broke away from the Turks, retreating under the screen of the 3rd Corps, then engaged with the Turks. On August 13 the Greek army forded the river Sakkaria to the western bank, which had been captured with such difficulty, and after three weeks' heavy fighting and a loss of 40,000 men began its retreat.

The victory of the river Sakkaria has much in common with the victory of the Vistula, which had been won under similarly difficult circumstances. After making a gallant stand under the pressure of an enemy who was numerically superior just under the walls of the capital, Warsaw, the enemy was repulsed by a violent surprise attack by a group formed *ad hoc* on the Russian flank; herein lies one of the analogies between the two battles.

The retreat of the Greeks as far as Eski-Shehir and Afion-Karahissar, where their detachments found support and a possibility to halt, was one of the most strenuous operations for them. As the terrain was particularly bad, being so rutted by the previous offensive on the Sakkaria river, the Greeks now began to show acute signs of weariness and fatigue.

Particularly harassing was the retreat due to constant attacks on the rear and flanks by the Turkish Cavalry Corps.

The activity of this Cavalry Corps in pursuit deserves special study. Mustapha Kemal, being aware of the extremely exhausted condition of his detachments, did not seek to pursue the enemy with all his forces, and did not aim at a defeat, as had been planned by the Commander-in-Chief after the battle of Warsaw; he merely designated one cavalry corps and several infantry divisions for the pursuit.

In this way the retreat of the Greeks to the line of Eski-Shehir and Afion-Karahissar brought the hostilities of 1921 to a close.

If we are to estimate the value of this battle we may remark that in its course the control gradually slipped from the hands of the commander of the Greek forces; in crucial moments during

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the Turkish attack he had no reserves to fall back upon and became a passive onlooker of the tragedy. Similarly the Greek Staff did not act up to the efficiency expected; already on August 26 the Greek heavy artillery felt the shortage of ammunition, and a few days later the same was experienced by field artillery, as also lack of equipment and supplies.

As to the Turks, on the contrary, during the whole course of the battle could be felt the train of thought as to the plan of the Commander-in-Chief.

The Greek detachments, wearied by obstinate fighting, were shifted to suitable positions prepared before the second fortified line; in the course of battle a strong Turkish group was formed, which, taking advantage of a surprise attack, hammered on the left flank and then engaged in battle with the enemy.

The effect of the victory of the river Sakkaria was enormous; it produced a great impression throughout Europe and the East.

The National Assembly of Angora conferred the rank of Marshal and the title of Ghazi (victor) on Kemal Pasha.

The Turkish Offensive of 1922

The battle of the river Sakkaria being brought to an end by the Greek retreat, the hostilities on both sides ceased for about a year along the front of about 400 miles long.

Military Situation at the Beginning of August, 1922

Increasing the fighting units as well as their equipment, the two sides reached the following strength by the end of July:

The Turks.—22 infantry divisions, 5 cavalry divisions, 200 guns (40 heavy), 20 aeroplanes. Total, 130,000 men.

The Greeks.—12 infantry divisions, 1 cavalry division, 380 guns (70 heavy), 30 aeroplanes. Total, 220,000 men.

The opposing armies held the following positions (cp. sketch-map): The southern group—1st Corps (General Trikupis), comprising four infantry divisions, held the region of Afion-Karahissar for the distance of 120 km.; to the south of the 1st Corps, from the 2nd Corps, which formed the reserve, detachments of the 2nd Infantry Division were pushed forward from the region of Oushak to Trivril-Banaz; in the latter region the Cavalry Division was held in reserve.

The northern group—3rd Corps (General Sumilas) occupied the region of Eski-Shehir to the sea of Marmara.

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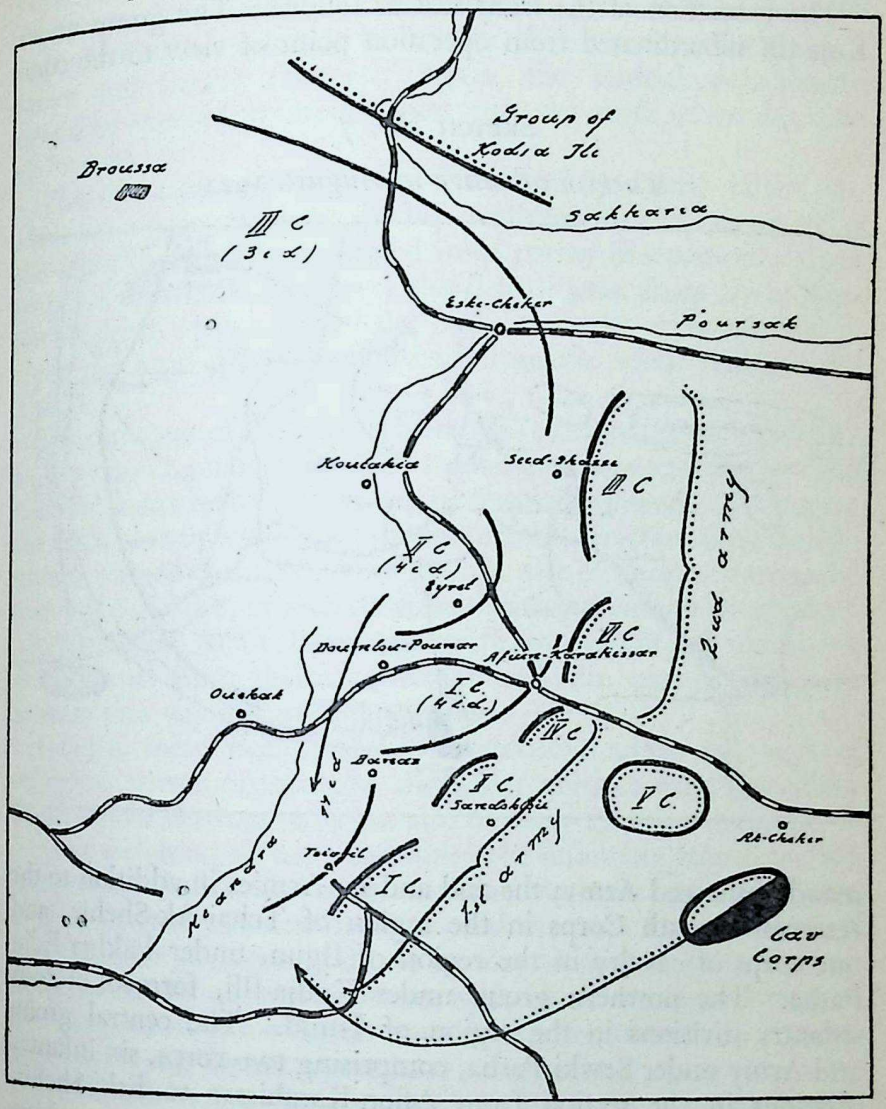
The reserve—2nd Corps (General Dugenis), region north-east of Afion-Karahissar (region Eyret); part of the forces of the 2nd Corps was destined to form the right flank of the 1st Corps, a part assured liaison between the 1st and 3rd Corps.

SKETCH No. 6

Grouping of both sides before Turkish offensive in 1922



Headquarters (General Hadjanesti appointed in place of General Papulas) had its base even as distant as Smyrna. The fixing of headquarters so far from the detachments was acutely felt during the decisive moments at the front. Between the northern and the southern groups there was a gap of about 30 km., insufficiently

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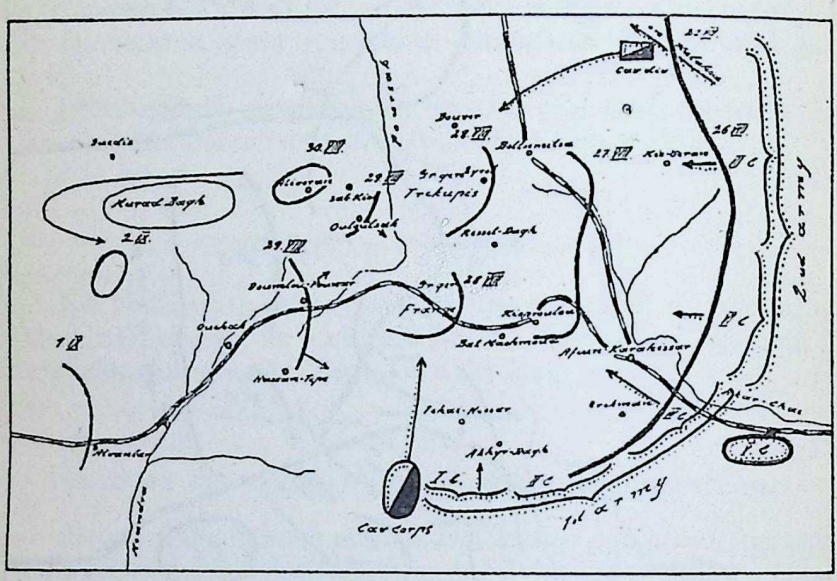
guarded by the outposts of the 2nd Corps. Although the Greek detachments held the front line for almost a year, field fortifications were inadequate and wire entanglements were almost absent. Similarly the morale in the ranks, as represented by General Trikupis in his statement, left much to be desired.

In order to bring about uniform commandership over the Turkish detachments, Kemal Pasha became Commander-in-Chief of the whole western front.

The formation of the front was as follows: The group under Koja-Illi subordinated from operation point of view to the com-

SKETCH No. 7

Turkish offensive in August, 1922



mand of the 2nd Army; the 2nd and 1st Armies in addition to the reserves, the 5th Corps in the region of Tchai-Ak-Shehir, and one corps of cavalry in the region of Ilgun, under Fakher-Edin Pasha. The northern group under Kodja-Illi, formed of four infantry divisions in the region of Ismid. The central group 2nd Army under Sewki Pasha, comprising two corps, six infantry divisions in the section from Afion-Karahissar to Eski-Shehir. The southern group—1st Army under Nuredin Pasha, comprising three corps, ten infantry divisions, and one cavalry corps, section from the river Meander to Afion-Karahissar.

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Plan of Campaign

When all the necessary preparations had been concluded, the Turkish command began to form its plan for the decisive battle, which was to ensure final victory. Minute analysis of the terrain and of the grouping of the Greek forces showed three principal directions: Direction of Eski-Shehir, comparatively easy for tactics, possessing, however, this inconvenience, that it left open to the enemy the possibility of retreating in a south-western direction towards Kutahia—that is to say, in the direction of the main forces and frontal reserves. Again, the Turkish detachments would be exposed to Greek action from the north in the direction of Broussa.

The direction of Seid-Ghazi (centre of the front), fairly convenient on account of the facility it offered for the manœuvre of the army in its being concealed from enemy observation. There was the drawback, however, that, should the front be broken, the Turkish army might have both its flanks exposed—that is, from the north (Eski-Shehir) and from the south (Afion-Karahissar).

The direction of Afion-Karahissar was perhaps the most difficult, as this region, on account of its importance, was strongly fortified and had many heavy guns; also the Greeks possessed in this region the bulk of their army, and holding in this direction their detachments, offered them the possibility, in case of an attack from the south of Sandukli, of secretly concentrating their attacking forces. Moreover, an attack from the south would cut off the Greek detachments from their connection with the rear, breaking the railway line Afion-Karahissar-Smyrna.

Finally, these tactics, though conducted along the lines of strongest resistance, brought them into contact with the enemy itself, whose destruction is the aim of every great commander.

After weighing all the possibilities, the following manœuvre was fixed upon: *Joint attack with the aid of the main forces* (1st Army formed of two infantry divisions and the 2nd Army formed of four infantry divisions and one cavalry division) of the Turkish army, with the advantage in strength in the southern attack in the direction of Afion-Karahissar, having for its task to surround and destroy the Greek forces in this region.

The attack was to be supported by the action of the Cavalry Corps from the south in a northern direction on the Greek flank and rear; in attacking this section the main attack was to be preceded by supplementary action in the north (group under Koja-Illi) and south of the line of the Meander, aiming at blocking the enemy and screening the real purpose of the Turks.

After the plan of operation had been decided upon, a series of

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instructions were issued as to the possibility of a speedy and secret regrouping of the army with the aim of keeping these manœuvres from the Turkish and foreign press.

In spite of these precautions, suggested information about the alleged Turkish preparations for an offensive in the direction of Broussa appeared. Two days before the attack the Turks managed to concentrate in this region the bulk of their forces—*i.e.*, about 85,000 men, as compared with 50,000 Greeks—having, moreover, at their disposal two-thirds of their heavy artillery with 1,000 shells for each gun. The Greeks were totally unaware of this regrouping of the enemy.

Execution

First phase: The liquidation of the Greek cul-de-sac in the region of Afion-Karahissar.

At dawn on August 26 the Turkish detachments, after a short but intense preliminary artillery preparation, passed to the attack. The 1st Army with two corps holding the frontal line of ten miles captured the fortifications of the enemy front between Aghyr-Dagh and Erikman; all the Turkish attacks on the second line failed, owing to strong resistance and continuous Greek counter-offensive; the 2nd Army on the right flank was the most successful, occupying Kis-Veran and coming into touch with the 5th Greek Infantry Division; a cavalry division, entering into the formation of the 2nd Army, made a sally on Duver-Eyret in the direction of the reserves of the Greek southern group, immobilizing it.

The Corps of Cavalry, after a five nights' weary ride from Ilgun to the left flank of the 1st army to Karahissar, broke through the breach in the Greek front at Tchai-Hissar, cutting off the railway line between Afion-Karahissar and Smyrna.

In the course of August 26 the commander of the 1st Greek Corps, General Trikupis, becoming aware that the main Turkish effort was directed to the south of Afion-Karahissar, pushed his men there, reinforcing at the same time the fighting detachments; at the end of the day, however, a certain weakening of the morale of the Greek army was remarked, due probably to the predominance of the enemy.

On the Greek side General Hadjanesti, commanding the front, was then at Smyrna, nearly 200 miles away from the fighting arena, and had only as liaison aviators and the wireless; he could have therefore no influence whatever on the course of action at the front.

It was only in the evening of August 27 that the commander of the front put the 2nd Corps, then in reserve, under the orders of General Trikupis, commander of the 1st Corps. The 2nd Corps

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was then partly immobilized by the action of the Turkish cavalry at Duver-Eyret.

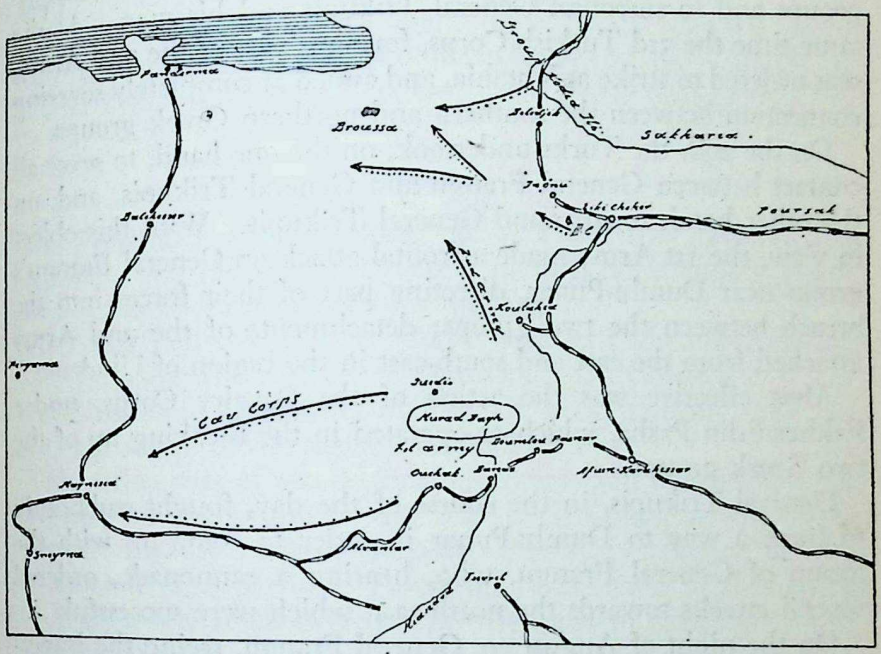
On August 27 the Greek front was definitely broken.

The 1st Army widened the breach made in the front line by the 1st Corps; the 4th Corps occupied Afion-Karahissar in the early morning hours, capturing a great quantity of war material.

The 2nd Army pushed its right flank further on, forming a contact with the detachments of the Cavalry Corps, which was immobilizing the 2nd Greek Corps then in reserve; the surrounding of the 1st Corps under General Trikupis began.

SKETCH No. 8

Pursuit of Turkish army



The situation being as it was, General Trikupis, in spite of the impracticability of the instructions of the commander of the front ordering a counter-offensive in the south, made his corps retreat to the line of Belsemitza-Kioprulu on the heights of Bal-Mahmud; part of the 1st Corps and the detachments of the 2nd Greek Corps concentrated in the region of Eyret-Ressil-Dagh.

On August 28 the 1st Greek Corps was broken, thanks to the action of the 4th Turkish Corps in the direction of Kioprul; the Greek division retreated without any contact whatever.

Towards the evening the Greeks managed to form two groups: the southern group, under General Frangu, consisting of the 1st and 7th Divisions, together with detachments of the 4th, 12th,

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and 13th Divisions; the northern group formed out of the remnants of the 1st and 2nd Corps under General Trikupis.

General Frangu and his group fought their way to Dumlu-Punar, where they thought they would break the temporary resistance of the Turks.

General Trikupis, commanding in person the remaining detachments of the 1st and 2nd Corps near Eyret-Ressil-Dagh, and knowing of the direction in which General Frangu's group had retreated, also ordered for the 29th a retreat towards Dumlu-Punar, with the object of bringing his troops into contact with General Frangu's group.

In the meantime the Cavalry Corps, acting already on the Greek rear, was given a twofold task to perform—viz., to cut off all communication between General Frangu's and General Trikupis' groups and to surround General Trikupis and his men. At the same time the 3rd Turkish Corps, forming part of the 2nd Army, was ordered to strike at Kutahia, and aimed at completely severing connection between the southern and northern Greek groups.

On the 29th the Turks undertook, on the one hand, to sever all contact between General Frangu and General Trikupis, and, on the other hand, to surround General Trikupis. With this object in view, the 1st Army made a frontal attack on General Frangu's group near Dumlu-Punar, directing part of their forces into the breach between the two groups; detachments of the 2nd Army attacked from the east and south-east in the region of Uludzak.

Most effective was the action of the Cavalry Corps, under Fakher-Edin Pasha, which co-operated in the breaking up of the two Greek groups.

General Trikupis, in the course of the day, fought stubbornly to force a way to Dumlu-Punar in order to come up with the group of General Frangu, who, hearing a cannonade, ordered several attacks towards the north-east, which were successful.

On the night of August 30, General Frangu, seeing the impossibility of taking a short cut to Dumlu-Punar, ordered a roundabout march through a pathless and hilly terrain, where he lost at Sal-Kioi almost all his heavy artillery. He gradually began to lose control over his detachments, which were becoming more and more demoralized and panic-struck. On August 30 the Turks fought with part of their forces against General Frangu, who offered considerable resistance on the heights near Dumlu-Punar, Hassan-Tepe. General Trikupis with great difficulty collected the remnants of his detachments west of Sal-Kioi (part of the 4th, 5th, 9th, 12th, and 13th Divisions, artillery and transport) with the purpose of organizing a further march to Dumlu-Punar to join General Frangu.

Surrounded by the superior Turkish forces, he was incapable of

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offering resistance, losing the rest of his artillery and transports, and with the straggling remains of his army he ventured into the hilly terrain of Murad-Dagh. On August 31 the Turks continued to fight against General Frangu (and in this battle the detachments of Colonel Plastiras were conspicuous for their bravery). They aimed at a complete annihilation of the detachments of General Trikupis, which, harassed by the Turkish cavalry, wandered in disorder through the woods and over the hills of Murad-Dagh.

Towards the end of the day, General Frangu began to retreat to Oushak. On September 1 the Turks regrouped their detachments for the new phase, which was to profit by the existing favourable conditions and pursue the enemy. The detachments of the 1st Turkish Army regrouped near Oushak, the 2nd Army and the 1st Corps of Cavalry near Guediz.

General Frangu and his men, after being repulsed from Oushak, retreated west to Elvenlar-Ala-Shehir; the remains of General Trikupis' forces surrendered to the Turks on September 2.

Pursuit

On September 2, after consideration, the Turks came to the conclusion that the final destruction of General Frangu's group was superfluous, and so started in pursuit.

1st Army and one Cavalry Corps were sent towards Smyrna, 2nd Army towards the sea of Marmara. 3rd Corps was to co-operate with the right flank of the 2nd Army fighting with the 3rd Greek Corps in the region of Eski-Shehir.

This action was of secondary importance, and concluded with the complete dissolution of the 3rd Greek Corps, which partly retreated towards Broussa-Mudania, offering resistance on the line In-Onu; and partly to Panderma, and lasted to September 18. Only a few small detachments managed to reach the ships; the bulk of the forces and all the war material fell into the hands of the Turks.

The Greek commandership, being aware of the liquidation of General Trikupis' group, still deluded itself as to the possibility of continuing the struggle; it issued orders to General Frangu, then commanding about 12,000 men, to organize a defence of Ala-Shehir.

On September 3 General Frangu surrendered at Ala-Shehir after destroying all railway stock and withdrawing by rail the best of his reserves under Colonel Plastiras, who, taking advantage of the railway line, organized in the course of the few following days resistance against the cavalry detachments. The last effort of Colonel Plastiras' detachments in the suburbs of Smyrna-Urla—

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took place between September 13-16, thus enabling the remnants of the Greek forces to embark.

The Greek detachments retreated in disorder and concentrated in Smyrna, which on September 9 was taken by the vanguard of the Turkish cavalry; the latter had covered 900 km. from the beginning of the offensive.

On September 10 Kemal Pasha made a solemn entrance into Smyrna with his staff, and on September 17 the remains of the Greek forces were shipped to the peninsula of Tchesme, west of Smyrna.

On September 18, after the dissolution of the 3rd Greek Corps near Broussa, not a single Greek soldier remained in Anatolia.

The Turks took 40,000 prisoners, 280 guns, 70,000 rifles, 1,200 heavy machine guns, 20 aeroplanes, a large number of motor-cars, and other war material.

Appreciation of the Operations

The operations on both sides, especially those of the Turks, offer much instructive material for careful study.

On the Turkish side we must emphasize the strict observance of the three essential principles which led to victory: surprise, rapidity, and concentration. To ensure the most important element of victory, which is surprise, the Turkish commandership took a series of measures—viz., Fethi Bey's journey to London to carry out diplomatic negotiations in order to show what an advanced peace policy was theirs, the closing of the frontier of the country for a few weeks before the offensive, the spreading of false rumours in the Turkish and foreign press as to the alleged regrouping of the army in the north, military demonstrations in the north and south, and finally secret regrouping of the army at the exit base. Till the last moment the Greek commandership was unaware of the Turkish regrouping being carried out, so that the offensive came as a complete surprise to the Greeks. The concentration of the attacking forces was done rapidly by night marches in the course of five days. Simultaneously within the same space of time the cavalry, also by night marches over heavy ground, advanced from Ilgun, where it had formed the reserve of the left flank of the 1st Army.

The moment of concentration was kept such a secret that in the region of the offensive the Turks used two-thirds of their men and three-quarters of their artillery forces.

It is worthy of note that all the above "war prescriptions and tricks of warfare" used for this excellent plan of action had been based on a previous and detailed analysis of terrain and operation hypothesis; we should also underline the meticulous

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execution of all the orders issued, controlled by all the commanders as well as by the Commander-in-Chief, Kemal Pasha himself, and the Chief of the Staff, Fewzi Pasha.

The effective use of the cavalry, too, under Fakher-Edin Pasha, must not be underrated, both during the general operations, where the firm decisive action on the enemy's rear helped in no small degree to attain victory, and again in the pursuit of the enemy.

With regard to the causes of the defeat of the Greeks, facts of a different nature are to be considered. After the loss of the battle on the river Sakkaria, the Greek front stretched along a distance of nearly 700 miles; terrain conditions, lack of adequate liaison between the detachments, and the frontal line too sparsely reinforced with men, gave it the effect of a "cordon."

Undoubtedly the position of the Greeks would have been much stronger had they retreated further west, even as far as the demarcation line of 1919; in this way under better conditions they would have been able to offer more resistance to the Turks.

We may remark here that owing to a lack of adequate operation liaison between the northern and southern groups, as well as a lack of central reserves of the front, the Greeks were deprived of the possibility of co-operative action. A point of moment, which to a great extent was instrumental in the defeat of the Greeks, was the considerable distance separating General Headquarters, which were in Smyrna, from the front. The commander of the front under such conditions was not able adequately to fulfil his duties, and his instructions based on belated reports were of little value.

Besides these tactical causes there was one cause more, perhaps the most important—*i.e.*, the ever-increasing decline in the morale of officers and men.

Under these conditions the Greek army ceased to be an important fighting factor, and in this respect its value, when compared to the Turks, consolidated by one mind intent on victory, fell gradually lower and lower.

Kemal Pasha was then well aware of the lack of adequate unity among the Great Powers in so far as the Turkish question was concerned, also of the fact that the nations of Europe were by no means willing to undertake a new war, particularly a war so far removed from their national interests. In view of the above, immediately after the occupation of Smyrna the following orders were issued: 1st army, after the liquidation of the remnants of the Greek army at Smyrna, was to move to the north in the direction of the Dardanelles; 2nd Army was to advance from Panderma to Ismid.

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Conference in Mudania

On October 3 three generals—Harrington, Charpy, and Mombelli—representatives of the three Powers (England, France, and Italy), submitted to Ismet Pasha the project of a new military agreement; on the next day, in reply to the interallied proposal, Ismet Pasha categorically demanded Thrace for the Turks and the withdrawal of the interallied armies. The attitude of Ismet Pasha was opposed by the generals, who interrupted the conference, awaiting further instructions from their respective Governments.

The Government of Angora sent a note to Paris and London on October 4 in reply to the interallied note of September 23. In this note the Government expressed its consent to send a delegate to the peace negotiations.

On October 9 the generals handed the new draft of agreement decide upon to Ismet Pasha, in which Greece was to surrender Thrace within fifteen days; the agreement was accepted by Ismet Pasha, and on October 11 this document was signed at Mudania.

In accordance with this treaty, the Greek detachments were to withdraw beyond the river Maritza within fifteen days; all the posts held by civil authorities were to be put at the disposal of the allies, who were directly to hand them over to the Turks.

As a guarantee to the term of conclusion of the peace treaty, a neutral zone some 40 km. wide along the Dardanelles and 15 km. along the Bosphorus was established.

The agreement signed at Mudania served as a basis for peace negotiations at Lausanne, begun on September 21, 1922.

These negotiations, carried on in a sometimes rather stormy atmosphere, often threatening the interruption of the conference, were finally concluded on July 23, 1923, with the signing of the treaty.

Though according to the Treaty of Lausanne Turkey was deprived of many of her former rich provinces, which entered into the formation of ancient Turkey, she, however, became more united, consolidated, and more capable of progress. In this way this treaty, which was the conclusion of the many years' hard struggle for independence, opened up new perspectives of development and a new era in her history.

Space does not permit of a detailed description of the war between my country and the Bolsheviks. I may, however, refer the reader to some excellent studies.

Lord d'Abernon, *The 18th Battle of the World*; General Weygand, "The Repulse of the Bolshevik Invasion of Poland," *Army and Navy Journal*, 1922; Major Farman, U.S.A., "The Polish-

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Bolshevik Cavalry Campaign," *Cavalry Journal*, U.S.A., 1922; General Camon, *La manœuvre liberatrice du Maréchal Pilsudski contre les bolchéviques en* 1922, Paris, 1929; etc.

I may, however, add a few comparisons and conclusions which are the result of my own study of these two wars.

The Conditions under which Turkish and Polish Armies* were Formed

From this point of view the conditions of formation of the Polish army were even worse than those under which the Turkish army sprang into being: the officers and the non-combatant corps were formed of the remnants of the former Austrian, Russian, and German armies, the legions of Pilsudski, and the military formations in France and America.

A further analogy may be found in the conditions of the material supply. From this point of view both armies were indeed in a critical situation: neither the Polish nor the Turkish armies possessed any military industry, stocks of munitions, of equipment, etc.; foreign purchases were fraught with difficulties.

Strategic Analogies

In both wars the proportion between the man force and the terrain was quite different from the conditions on the Western Front during the World War; such density of man force, and especially of means, were not to be thought of.

The result of this was the freedom and dash of manœuvre; this dash of manœuvre characterizes both Greek offensives and the great Soviet offensive on Warsaw.

The dash of the Soviet offensive especially recalls the grand rush of the German armies on Paris in 1914 and the Allied counter-offensive in 1918 (cp. sketch map 9).

The space for manœuvre especially favours the use of cavalry on a grand style; the cavalry played an especially big rôle on the Polish front; the rupture of the Polish front by Budienny's cavalry army caused the retreat of the whole front, and inversely the Polish cavalry accomplished many raids in grand style, described by me in English and American military books.

The cavalry in the Greco-Turkish War played an important part in covering the retreat of the defeated Turks on the defensive positions on the banks of the river Sakkaria, in the breaking of the Greek front at Afioun-Karahissar, and especially in the pursuit of the beaten Greek army.

* Both these armies were formed almost in the heat of battle; separate formations fighting on the front were reinforced by hastily improvised detachments in the rear badly instructed, poorly equipped and armed.

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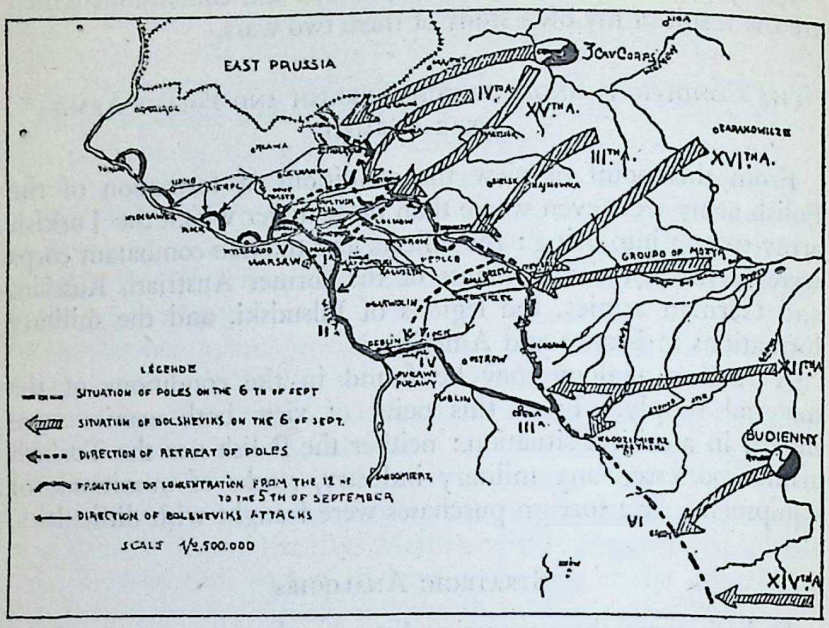
SKETCH NO. 9

The Directions of Soviet offensive



ANALOGIES BETWEEN THE BATTLES ON THE RIVERS WISLA (VISTULA) AND SAKKARIA

Copious material for study and comparison is given by the two great battles on the rivers Wisla (Vistula) and Sakkaria, which decided the fate of the campaign and of the war.

Inasmuch as the battle of the Wisla is described in many languages in military literature, it is to be regretted that the battle on the Sakkaria is almost unknown; this is undoubtedly the fault of the Turks.

In both cases the aim of the offensives was the capture of the capitals, Angora and Warsaw. Undoubtedly the effect of the capture of the capitals would produce a result quite incalculable on the further result of the war; in the Turkish and Polish armies the morale of the soldiers shaken during the sanguinary battles of retreat is regenerated, the whole nation unites and stands as one man at the disposal of their leaders and chiefs, Mustapha Kemal and Marshal Joseph Pilsudski.

The conditions of battle were, however, more favourable for the Turks than for the Poles on the Wisla. The Turks, after having been defeated with heavy losses at Eski-Chechir, retreat unpursued by the Greeks on July 21; the regrouping of the Greeks follows, and only on August 14 the Greek offensive begins

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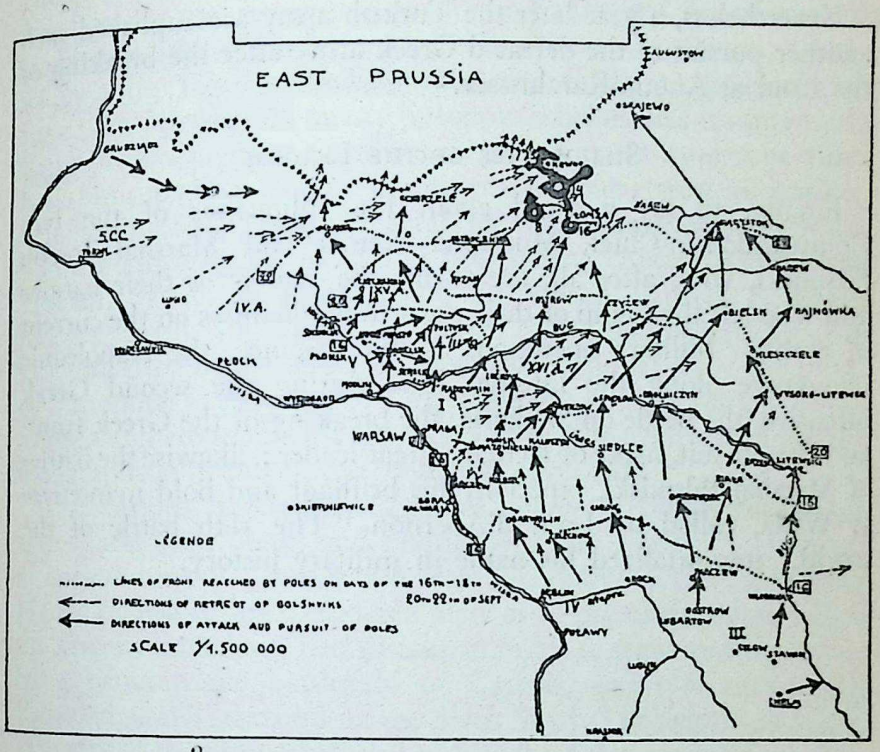
and contact takes place on the river Sakkaria only on August 23, giving practically a whole month for the organization of defence and reinforcement of the Turks.

The Polish troops retreat the whole month under the incessant pressure of the pursuing Bolsheviks and regroup for the decisive counter-offensive according to the plan of the Commander-in-Chief, Marshal Pilsudski, on August 6, 1920, during the hardest fighting. This plan, like that of Kemal, entailed the holding up

SKETCH NO. 10

The Polish counter-offensive



the enemy's centre, the weakening of one of his flanks by constant attacks, and the forming of a strong mass on the enemy flank to be able to act on his flank and rear.

On the right wing of the Polish army fighting along the banks of the river Wisla, over the length of the front of about 120 miles, a strong mass composed of five infantry divisions and one cavalry brigade under the personal command of Marshal Pilsudski was formed, just as on the right wing of the Turkish army a strong group of five infantry divisions was formed, also under the command of Mustapha Kemal.

The blows inflicted by these two battering rams decided the result of the battles.

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However, a difference in exploiting the success took place. The Polish troops, notwithstanding a month's fatigue of retreat, took up the pursuit, in the resulting battles broke the attempts of enemy's resistance and decided the victorious end of the war; the Turkish troops, exhausted after three weeks of heavy fighting on the Sakkaria, were unable to pursue; the Greek army, after heavy losses (about 40,000—almost one-third of the whole force), retreated unpursued towards the starting positions (cp. sketch map 10).

Undoubtedly the fate of the Greeks in the case of the Turkish pursuit would have been similar to the fate of Napoleon's army retreating from Moscow in 1812.

Nevertheless, a year later the Turkish army accomplished such another pursuit of the defeated Greek army after the breaking of the front at Afioun-Karahissaer.

Silhouettes of the Leaders

Finally, to say a word about the silhouettes of the two Commanders-in-Chief, Mustapha Kemal and Marshal Joseph Pilsudski, who, after all, are to-day the leaders of their nations and who left the stamp of their great individualities on the current of events. Military operations as, for instance, the Napoleonic manœuvre along the internal lines during the second Greek offensive, the battle on Sakkaria, the breaking of the Greek front, and the pursuit, make of Kemal a great leader: likewise the battles of Marshal Pilsudski, especially his brilliant and bold manœuvre at Wisla, called by Lord d'Abernon "The 18th battle of the world," immortalized his name in military history.

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THE ITINERARY OF XENOPHON'S RETREAT*

By Arshak Safrastian

Xenophon's adventure in Babylonia, and the participation of his Ten Thousand Greeks in a civil war fought between two rival dynasts of Persia in 401 B.C., is a subject which has always given rise to many interesting speculations. From the beginning of the last century the circumstances of the battle of Cunaxa and the problem of the Greek retreat, in the winter of 401 B.C., up the valley of the Tigris to the Euphrates, and, finally, to the Black Sea, have been discussed by many European scholars and travellers. In Great Britain, Germany, and Russia, in particular, numerous efforts have been made to explain the itinerary of the retreat in considerable detail. Soldiers like Generals Chesney, von Moltke, Strecker, and von Hoffmeister, and Major Rawlinson, scholars like Professor Malden, W. F. Ainsworth, and Sir Austin Layard, Professors Kruger, Koch, and Rehdants, Baron Nolde and others, have, in fact, travelled in the track, or what they believed to be the track, of Xenophon's retreat, with a view to proving their contentions as to the exact route taken by the Greeks on the evidence of minute topographical details in the countries concerned.

The various itineraries suggested by the travellers mentioned above, and their books and publications, are familiar to students of ancient history. About two years ago Professor C. F. Lehmann Haupt published his considered view as to the march-route which the Greeks must have had to take in order to traverse the country lying between the battlefield of Cunaxa, south of present-day Baghdad, and Trebizond on the Black Sea.† The text of *Anabasis*, the story of the retreat believed to have been written by Xenophon himself many years after the events recorded, continues to be taught in many universities and schools in the original Greek, and the subject is one which retains its interest for each generation of students. Recently, the archæological exploration undertaken in certain parts of Southern Kurdistan has presented new opportunities of a thorough geographical study. It is therefore certain that the end of this interesting enquiry has not yet been reached.

* I am indebted to Mr. W. E. D. Allen for reading the MSS. and making useful suggestions.

† C. F. Lehmann-Haupt: *Armenien, einst und jetzt*, Vol. 2, Part 2 (1931), pp. 687-833. This volume contains, also, a map outlining a possible route of Xenophon's retreat.

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Until now, as far as I am aware, all attempts to trace the route of the Ten Thousand through the territory of modern Armenia and Kurdistan have not been based on the comparative study of the historical, geographical, and linguistic sources which are available in both modern and ancient Armenian. With all due honour and credit to the industry and erudition of the scholars and travellers referred to above, who have made every effort to trace the itinerary in the light of the sources available to themselves, I will endeavour to make it clear, in this short article, that none of them have succeeded in tracing the correct route through Armenia because they have overlooked the approach to the subject which might have been afforded by a study of Armenian classics and of the contemporary Armenian language.

I am suggesting that it is possible to establish the route followed by the Greeks by a consideration of the names of the satrapal families and of the topography of old Armenia as preserved in the Armenian classics. It will follow, then, that the work of earlier students in this field has been inhibited by their use of modern geographical names, and that the distorted terminology upon which they have based their enquiries has led them into a confusion from which the study of old Armenian place-names can alone extract them.

In so far as I am able to discover, the Rev. J. F. Macmichael* alone had an accurate intuition, but, having no access to old Armenian sources, he has not carried his hypothesis to its logical conclusion.

After the battle of Cunaxa and the death of Cyrus, the Ten Thousand Greek mercenaries found themselves in a difficult position. It is generally assumed that they began the homeward trek towards the north in the middle of September, 401 B.C.—no doubt harassed by the royal army of Artaxerxes, and by his Arab, Kurdish, and Median auxiliaries. There is a large measure of agreement among scholars as to the itinerary of the Greeks in their march from Cunaxa to the frontiers of Armenia at the river Kentrites—modern Bohtan-su, which is geographically the Eastern Tigris. The road from Babylonia to the Bohtan-su is clear in its main outline, although the introduction of the names of cities like Larissa (*Anab.*, III., iv., 7) and Mespila (*ibid.*, 10) raises problems which cannot be discussed here. Again, the appearance of a general named Mithridates as an ally of the Persian monarch is an interesting point which can be explained in an enlightening manner by reference to the cuneiform inscriptions of the Assyrian kings. The account of the Kardukhoi mountaineers, against

* The Rev. J. F. Macmichael: *The Anabasis of Xenophon*, with Notes, Geographical Appendix, etc., 3rd edition, London (1873), p. 411, note 35.

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whom the Greeks had to fight incessantly for more than a week, is characteristic of the conditions of the country down to modern times. It is agreed that these Καρδοῦχοι people were the ancestors of the old-established and powerful Kurdish tribes, who later constituted the main strength of the Persian Sassanian Empire, and who, after the downfall of the Empire of the Mongol Il-khans in the fourteenth century A.D., founded the Kurdish Kingdom of Shahrazor.

The difficulty as to the march-route begins the moment the Greeks had forded the river Kentrites into the quieter and more peaceable atmosphere of Armenia—an atmosphere which Xenophon himself admits (*Anab.*, IV., iv., 1).

There are only two clear statements and four names in *Anabasis* which by all standards of accurate interpretation are susceptible of indicating the course of Xenophon's retreat through Armenia. The two statements are the following:

> After fording the Kentrites the Greeks " proceeded through the country of Armenia, consisting wholly of plains and gently sloping hills, a distance of not less than five parsangs. . . . The village, however, at which they at length arrived was of considerable size, and contained a palace for the Satrap (Orontes) " (*Anab.*, IV., iv., 1-2).

The second statement is:

> " Hence (from the Satrap's palace) they proceeded two days' journey, a distance of ten parsangs, until they passed round (?) the sources of the river Tigris. From hence they advanced, three days' journey, fifteen parsangs, to the river Teleboas (τὸν Τηλεβόαν ποταμόν), a stream not large indeed but of much beauty, and there were many villages on its banks " (*Anab.*, IV., iv., 3-4).

These place- and personal-names are the determining factors in tracing the route through Armenia. And they are so familiar in old Armenian classical sources that anyone conversant with them could not fail to detect with little difficulty the route which the Greeks had taken.

Almost all European writers on the subject have identified the river Teleboas with the modern Kara-su, which is the old Armenian Mela, a stream which rises some twenty miles west of Lake Van, flows through the fertile plain of Mush, and joins the eastern branch of the Euphrates at the foot of the Armenian Taurus. As Xenophon's Teleboas has been wrongly identified with the Mela or Kara-su, most writers have consequently taken

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the Greeks from the Kentrites to the city of Sgherd,* which is indicated as corresponding to the village containing the palace of the Satrap Orontas. Thence the Hellenes have been conducted to the Kara-su, or the Teleboas of Xenophon, in the plain of Mush, either through the difficult pass of Bitlis, which has been rightly rejected by Rawlinson, or through the still more impossible mountain passes of Kharzan and Sasun. Other alternative routes have been suggested with small deviations from the two main tracks mentioned above.† So far as I know, Macmichael alone has come near the truth. He says that—

> "Kara-su is Turkish for 'black river.'‡ It may be a descriptive, but is certainly not a distinctive, name, for there is at least one other Kara-su in this quarter.§ It is much to be regretted that such intruders should have been allowed to displace the old Armenian names. Possibly it is not too late to recover these latter and to trace Xenophon's Teleboas in some local name containing the radical *Telb*. . . ."

It is, in fact, possible to trace the name Teleboas to a family and a river name famous in Armenian history. A scholar of intuition, Macmichael has supplied a positive clue. It is not exactly the radical *Telb* which will solve the problem, but the radical *T'rp*, the stem-syllable of T'rpâtûnik' (Տրպատունիք), the mighty old Armenian satrapy (Nâkhârârûthiûn), which took its name from the district and the river of T'rpatunik' (*T'rpâtûniaç gavarn*). The ruling princes of the family, and the name of the district, are often mentioned in the Armenian classics.‖ After quoting all the

* Often wrongly written Sairt or Se'erd, owing to the dropping of the diacritical mark on the Arabic letter ڕ. The accurate spelling is سەرت and not سەرد, which is identical with the old Armenian Serkhet'k'. Xenophon seems to have coined his Kentrites (Bohtan-su) from this Armenian name. Al-Masudi and Al-Maqdisi give the name *wady* or *nahr*-az-Zarm (نهرازرم) to Bohtan-su. (Al-Mas'udi, *Kitab-at-Tambih*, 54, 6.)

† A good account of these discussions may be found in a *Commentary on the Anabasis of Xenophon*, by W. F. Ainsworth, 1855, or in the small book by F. Segl, *Vom Kentrites bis Trapezus: Eine Bestimmung des Weges der Zehntausend durch Armenien*, 1925.

‡ I have crossed and recrossed the Kara-su at least some thirty times, in every season of the year, and practically at every hour of the day. I have camped on its banks and forded it in many places. Except for about two weeks during the spring, at the melting of the snow, I have never seen the river "black" or troubled. It is clear, pure water. If ever, Xenophon must have crossed it in November.

§ I can count at least five of them in the region which used to be called the *vilayet* of Bitlis.

‖ Eghishê, the historian of the fifth century, in translation by V. Langlois: *Collection des historiens anciens et modernnes de l'Arménie*, tome 2 (1869), p. 215. As will be seen there, following the spelling of Western Armenian, Langlois has used the form Derbadouni.

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references to the name from old Armenian sources, Hübschmann says that the district has evidently taken its name from that of the family. In the carefully drawn map attached to the study, he places the district of T'rpâtûnik' round the south-east corner of Lake Van, at the sources of the river Ang'gh, which, in Armenian tradition, is precisely the river of T'rpâtûnik'. The district is bounded by the canton of Antzevaçik' (modern Norduz), and by the mountains of Çukh and Bashkala in the east and north-east; by the district of Arwândûnik' (see below) to the north, and by the district of Hayoç-Dzor to the west.

It is not unlikely that on hearing the name T'rpâtûnik' from the Armenians, Xenophon at once remembered the inscription mentioned by Herodotus (v., 59): Ἀμφιτρύων μ' ἀνέθηκε νέων ἀπὸ Τηλεβοάων; and possibly the alleged Hellenic occupation of Capreæ by Telebians, mentioned by Tacitus (*Annals*, iv., 67): "Græcos ea tenuisse Capreasque Telebois habitatas fama tradit." Such a mental exercise in connection with a "barbarian" place-name would naturally have appealed to the intellectual Greek commander.

It is suggested, therefore, that the river Teleboas mentioned by Xenophon is the river T'rpâtûnik', called Ang'gh today by native Armenians, and Khoshab-su ("sweet water") in Iranian tradition.*

The river is formed by several small streams which spring from the Çuh-dagh and the spurs of the Turko-Persian frontier *bloc*. In two main branches the river flows through the beautiful valley of T'rpâtûnik' (or Khoshab or Mahmûdiê); the two branches join in the western half of the district, and drain to Lake Van in a pretty village in the district of Hayoç-Dzor.†

Indeed, one can say with Xenophon that this river is not large, but "of much beauty, and there were many large villages on its banks," just as there were many until the year 1915.

The very fact that Xenophon does not mention the famous fortress of Khoshab (the fortress-city of the satrapy of T'rpâtûnik') shows the line of advance which the Greeks must have taken after leaving the river Teleboas.

For all the other references see Professor H. Hübschmann: *Altarmenische Ortsnamen*, Indogermanische Forschungen, XVI. (1904), p. 343. This work by Hübschmann is a complete and masterly study on old Armenian place-names and their historical development. Another illuminating note on the same subject by Professor J. Markwart in *Osteuropäische und Ostasiatische Streifzüge* (1913), p. 287.

* *Cf.* P. Amédée Jaubert: *Voyage en Arménie et en Perse faits dans les années* 1805 *et* 1806, pp. 319-21.

† *Cf.* C. F. Lehmann-Haupt: *Armenien. . . .* Vol. 2, Part 1 (1926), pp. 8-9.

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The strongest corroboration of this identification is supplied by the Hellenic commander in the lines which follow immediately:

> "This part of the country was called Western Armenia. The deputy-governor of it was Tiribazos" (*Anab.*, IV., iv., 4).

Tiribazos was the titular head of the old Armenian feudal family of T'rpâtûnik', with his fortress-city at Khoshab. Xenophon called the river Teleboas, because this very name was well known to him from Herodotus; whereas his reproduction of the name Tiribazos (Satrap of T'rpâtûnik') is nearer to the Armenian original, because there was no precedent for it in the Hellenic literature of the time. It must be noted, also, that in the sound-system of all Indo-European and Semitic languages the change from a soft "r" to the labial "l" is of common occurrence.

Before attempting to trace the itinerary of the Greeks from the Kentrites (Κεντρητες) to the south-east corner of Lake Van and to the river of T'rpâtûnik', a few words must be said as to Xenophon's conceptions of Western and Eastern Armenia, and the relations of the various satraps mentioned by him. Such explanations of geographical and historical problems in the light of Armenian tradition have a direct bearing on the accurate interpretation of the *Anabasis*.

While still in Babylonia, the Greek commanders had been told by native prisoners that further north of the Kardukhoi lay "Armenia, a large and rich country of which Orontas (Ὀροντας) was governor" (*Anab.*, III., v., 17). Many commentators of the text and historians have concluded from that passage that Orontas was the satrap of Eastern Armenia, and that Tiribazos was his ὕπαρχος in Western Armenia; or, alternately, as Krüger puts it more correctly, both were full satraps in the East and West respectively. Modern comparative research has almost cleared the apparent confusion which existed even some thirty years ago. On numismatic and literary evidence, Honigmann* has reconstructed the rule of the Orontas dynasty in Commagene back to about 480 B.C. Nevertheless the name of the family under its Armenian form, Arwândûnik', appears north of T'rpâtûnik' in the region of Lake Van. According to old Armenian tradition, here the name is not ethnic, but merely toponymic. This apparent anomaly can be explained by the antagonism existing between Armenia and Achæmenian Persia, as revealed in the Bagistan-Behistun inscription of Darius the Great.

The personal name Orontas or Orontes is the distorted form of

* Honigmann, in Pauly's *Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertums Wissenschaft*, Supplement-Band 4 (1924), columns 978-90.

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the Armenian Arwand, modern Yerwand, a very honoured and popular name among Armenians today. In direct line it originates from the Hittite personal name Ārwāndash or Ārnuwāndash; for instance, the eldest son of Shubbiluliuma, the Hittite Great King (1390-1356 B.C.) was one Ārwāndash, who died early, as a result of which his brother Murshilish mounted the throne. This last personal name, Murshilish, has been preserved only by Armenian tradition, under the form Mushegh, which remains a very popular name today.

Another interesting point occurring in Xenophon's text, without any further detail, illustrates the political distribution of Western Asia at the time of the Greek retreat. In IV., iii., 4, the Hellenic commander mentions Artuchas after Orontas (Ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι Ὀρόντα καὶ Ἀρτούχου). This single name is of more historical consequence than many other names which Xenophon heard from captured prisoners or unwilling guides. Artûchas is the distorted Greek form of the Armenian Artâshēs, or Artaxias, mentioned by Strabo (XI., xiv., 15). According to the latter, two Armenian commanders named Artaxias and Zariadres (Zareh) assumed sovereign power in 190 B.C., on the defeat of the Seleucid Antiochus the Great at the hands of the Romans at Magnesia. In comparing these two historical references,* we find that in 401 B.C. an Artûchas-Artâshēs was the sovereign of Great Armenia, as in 190 B.C. an Artaxias-Artâshes was the ruler of the same region. It follows from this that Xenophon was, in fact, in Eastern and not in Western Armenia, and it should be remarked that at that time the Armenian rule of the Artâshēs dynasty extended all over the present Persian province of Azerbaijan and round the shores of Lake Urmia.†

Now it is suggested that Artûchas-Artâshēs was the king of Great Armenia, with his capital, possibly, at Artâshât, a considerable distance away from the route which Xenophon was taking according to this thesis, and Orontas-Arwand-Yerwand was the king (? satrap) of Armenia Minor. Under these conditions Teleboas-T'rpâtûnik' assumes its proper status as a satrapy

* The archæology and history of Caucasia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Kurdistan have not yet been studied in an adequate manner, especially in the light of local traditions. Comparative studies carried out on the recorded evidence of existing local classics should greatly assist the work of archæological exploration in those regions.

† In passing it may be of general interest to state here that the traditional opinion in regard to Armenia having been "subject" to Achæmenian Persia, and to Alexander the Great and the Seleucids, is only due to the vague and scanty ideas of Hellenic historians on that region. Rawlinson and Gutschmid have proved that the rule of Alexander and the Seleucids in Armenia was nominal. It requires much space to prove the case historically.

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(*nâkhârârûthiûn*), one of many in the Armenian feudal order, for which we have historical testimony in the records of Sargon II. of Assyria (722-705 B.C.), as well as the work of Moses Khorenaçi, the historian of the sixth century A.D.

There remains one more point bearing directly on the itinerary of the Ten Thousand Greeks.

> "At daybreak," says Xenophon (*Anab.*, IV., iii., 3), "they perceived on the other side of the river [Kentrites] a body of cavalry in complete armour, ready to prevent them from crossing . . . another, on foot, prepared to prevent them from entering Armenia. These were Armenians, Mardians, and Chaldeans, mercenary troops of Orontas and Artuchas."*

The Hellenic commander could not possibly have known the composition of the Armenian cavalry and infantry across the river; he must have learnt it later on while passing through the old Armenian district of Mardastan ("land of Mardis"), which extended exactly from Nahjavan to the head-waters of the Eastern Euphrates (as will be described below). The same fact applies also to the Chaldeans, through whose country he passed after leaving the Euphrates valley.

By later historical evidence from the time of the Artaxias Kingdom, it may be assumed that the Armenian army contained contingents from other powerful satrapies like Bagratunik' and Saharunik'; but, as according to the itinerary traced below, these territories lay outside the route of the retreat, Xenophon had no personal knowledge of them, and therefore does not include them in the list of satrapal contingents.

It is possible now to define the march-route of the Greeks in accordance with the identification of Teleboas with the river Ang'gh-Khoshab (T'rpâtûnik') and in the light of the topography of the land itself. On several occasions and in various directions, I have ridden and travelled on foot in the region, and know personally the track traced below.

The exact point of departure from the river Kentrites into Armenia depends upon the locality where the Greeks actually forded the Bohtan-su. There are several possibilities, besides those proposed by Layard (at Tillo) and by Lehmann-Haupt (at Mutyt). Both fords fit in more or less with the description in the *Anabasis*. After crossing, the Greeks marched five parsangs and arrived at a large village which contained a palace for the satrap. There can

* If a diversion be permitted, I should like to point out that Xenophon and his Ten Thousand were mercenaries themselves in the fullest sense of the term. Yet such is the felicitous megalomania of Xenophon that he calls "mercenaries" troops who were in their own country under their own commanders and princes.

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be little doubt that this large village was Sgherd (مغرد), as mentioned above. All writers on the subject agree on this point.

For a better understanding of the further route it is necessary to visualize the configuration of the land and the material condition of the Greeks. Unaware of their future fate in Armenia, absolutely ignorant of the courses of the rivers and of the mountains, anxious about the approach of winter, tired, harassed, and without guides, there was no other course open to the Greek commanders than to fall back upon their own "horse-sense." Standing on the heights overlooking the town of Sgherd, they would have seen the peaks of mountains towering over the dim outlines of ranges, the beginnings and ends of which they could not possibly perceive. Even the possession of powerful modern binoculars would not have helped them very much. The Greeks must have chosen therefore the course of the nearest river coming from the north and flowing southwards. That river is the so-called Keser-su, which, in fact, roars in swift current about four miles to the west of Sgherd. The Keser-su is the old Armenian river Tatik, which rises in the hills behind the range at the south-west corner of Lake Van, and, after receiving a number of large and small tributaries, flows west of Sgherd and joins the Kentrites-Bohtan-su at Tillo.

Along the course of the Keser-su the Greeks marched in a north-north-east direction ten parsangs,* or two days' journey (*Anab.*, IV., iv., 3). Owing to the precipitous cliffs which rise along the left bank of the Keser-su, the Greeks, at intervals, made inland detours, but often they would be within sight of the river. At the end of the first day the Greeks must have camped at Kufra, the usual half-way station between Sgherd and Bitlis. On the second morning, instead of fording the Keser-su to the north-west towards Dukhan and Bitlis (this is where I diverge from all other writers), the Greeks marched along the Keser-su, or, in the language of *Anabasis*, "they (had) passed beyond (?) the sources of the river Tigris (μέχρις ὑπερῆλθον τὰς πηγὰς τὸν Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ) towards the old Armenian province of Khizan." The second night they probably camped at Verkhnis, a village at the opening of a smiling valley on the borders of Shirwan and Spaiert. There are a number of streams which flow mainly southward from the range of mountains, vaguely known as the Sack-Khizan block, which forms the watershed of the headwaters of the Tigris

* As is generally agreed, *parsang*, modern Persian *Farsank* or *Aghatch*, was not a measure of distance very accurately determined, but rather indicated a certain amount of time employed in traversing a given space. Travellers in Persia are well aware that the *Farsank* varies considerably according to the nature of the country, and the usual modes of conveyance adopted by travellers.

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between these valleys and the southward shore of Lake Van. The better-known of these rivers is the so-called Ghinduk-su, the old Armenian river of Ketsan,* another tributary of the Bohtan-su. At the time the Ten Thousand would be crossing these valleys—namely, early in December (401 B.C.)—the rivers run very low, and the weather is, as a rule, mild. I know this by experience.

From Verkhnis "they advanced three days' journey, fifteen parsangs, to the river Teleboas . . ." which, according to this article, is the river T'rpâtûnik', or Ang'gh-Khoshab. In fact, three days with somewhat long marches would have carried the Greeks to the Teleboas by the following route. From Verkhnis the Greeks would have crossed the Spaiert valley into the basin of Ghindukchai (Ketsan), and, passing through the undulating plain south of the old Armenian city of Khizan (Turkish, Kara-su), they would have camped the first night at Petar, an old Armenian village at the exit of the Mogk' valley (Greek, Moxuene; Turkish, Mukus). On the second day they would have followed due north to the valley of Mogk' into the country at the head-waters of the Great Zab, here called Mogk', and, a little higher up, Shatakh, and leaving the hamlet Tagh (chief centre of the district of Shatakh) they would have camped the second night by the well-known village of Körandasht. Even today this village is famous for its honey and dairy produce. On the third day the Greeks must have made a long march to reach the Teleboas-T'rpâtûnik. They must have crossed the low hills separating the canton of Hayoç-Dzor from Norduz to the east, and following a direction due north into the open plain of Hayoç-Dzor, they would have camped at a point along the middle course of the Teleboas, possibly at Nor-Ghiugh, a village well-known as a halt. By the itinerary traced above, the Greeks would never have seen the Lake of Van, hidden from them by unbroken ranges of mountains to their left.

I must add a rider here which is necessary for an accurate description of the local topography. Following their "horse-sense," the Greeks should have advanced up the head-waters of the Great Zab, here the so-called Norduzchai, and from there, taking a north-east direction, they should have gone from Shatakh into the old Armenian canton of Antzevatsik'. One of the reasons why the Greeks abandoned the natural course as described, and took a north-west direction to the Teleboas, is that, on the third morning, on starting, the Greeks had the rising sun straight in their faces. The sun must have provided them with a sense of direction. They must have had a general notion that the way

* *Cf.* Consul J. G. Taylor, *J.R.G.S.*, XXXV., pp. 21-49. A full comparative account of these regions may be found in J. Markwart: *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen nach den griechischen und arabischen Geographen*, 1930, pp. 336 *sqq.*, 341-2, 423-4, etc.

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to the Black Sea lay to the north and north-west, and not to the east. They followed, therefore, the direction through Hayoç-Dzor to the Teleboas.

> "Hence they proceeded three days' march, a distance of fifteen parsangs, through a plain . . . they then came to a palace with several villages round it stored with abundance of provisions" (*Anab.*, IV., iv., 7).

After making a treaty of friendship with the satrap Tiribazos, which—by their own confession—the Greeks did not keep, they started from Teleboas-T'rpâtûnik', at first in a north-west direction, and then, turning due west, they camped the first night at the central village called Sarai. This part of the journey is, in fact, not a high-road, but is the usual one for cross-country travelling from the river Teleboas up to Pir Reshid Dagh and further on to Kizil-Diza; it is in general a level plain.

In this fertile and smiling plain of the old Armenian province of Vâspûrākân (Urartu proper) the Greeks marched the second day due west, having the Turko-Persian frontier ranges on their right, and, after a long day, camped the second night at Khachan, today called Klissakend. On the third day they crossed the small streams which go to form the old Armenian river Arest (Bendimâhi today), and going due north, either on the third evening or on the following day they reached Kizil-Diza, an old Armenian fortress-city, the ruins of which can be seen today. Kizil-Diza is undoubtedly the palace mentioned by Xenophon. It stands at the entrance of the Taparês Pass, on the lower eastern spurs of the Tendurek-Ala Dagh range. It would require several pages to indicate the historical associations connected with this Kizil-Diza. It will be sufficient to recall that one of the Nairi kings mentioned by Tiglat-Pileser I. (*c.* 1100 B.C.) owned this fortress; and his family ruled one of the powerful satrapies in the early Armenian period. Xenophon's description of the wealth of the region is in harmony with historical facts.

Snow fell while the Greeks were in the neighbourhood of the palace. From the plain of Vâspûrākân, as described above, they had struck the mountains of the old province of Airarat. With rare exceptions seasons are regular in the plains of Armenia. At Kizil-Diza first snows fall, as a rule, in the first half of December, as happened according to Xenophon.

The remainder of chapter iv. (Book IV.) of *Anabasis*, coupled with the six paragraphs of chapter v., reveal some vivid episodes of history. In spite of their treaty of friendship with the satrap Tiribazos, the Greeks had burnt some houses in some of the villages through which they had passed. The Armenian satraps

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and their troops, at first curious at the sight of these strange, theatrical foreigners passing through their country in winter and asking hospitality of them, must have taken pity on these guests and supplied them with all their needs. That is the traditional custom of the East, today as in Xenophon's time. But the moment the Greeks began to burn houses, owing to some cause not stated, Tiribazos, most likely aided by the satrap of Kizil-Diza, held the mountain pass of Diadin, some fifteen miles to the north-west of where the Greeks had been allowed to camp—possibly with a view to chastizing them for the mischief they had done. Time and again Xenophon refers to the wealth and abundance of provisions —beer, wine, and fowl of Armenia—possibly making a comparison in his own mind with the poverty and harshness prevailing in Hellas (*cf.* Herodotus, v., 48). On the other hand, Armenian historians, from the fifth century A.D. onwards, have written in lyrical terms of the beauty, the bounty, and fruitfulness of their country. Mr. Allen has appropriately described* the same pleasant conditions of life prevailing in Georgia, in modern times as in the past. Peoples in possession of healthy climate and bountiful soil are generous and peaceful. If the Armenians did not attack the Greeks, like the Kardoukhoi (whose conditions were difficult in mountains), it is because they sympathized with a fugitive army which was marching in winter.

In his reconnaissance work (*Anab.*, IV., iv., 19), Sophænetos must have discovered the preparations of the Armenian satraps. Consequently the Greeks, instead of marching north-west to Diadin on the Euphrates (old Armenian, Aradzani; Turkish, Murad-su), moved due south to the level ground at the foot of Tendurek Dagh, and "marched three days through a desert tract of country, a distance of fifteen parsangs to the river Euphrates" (*Anab.*, IV., v., 2). The very fact that "the sources of the river were said not to be very far off" seems to prove exactly my interpretation of the march. The Greeks avoided following the most natural road to the Euphrates at Diadin, because they had heard that the Armenians were holding the pass; therefore "the next day it was thought necessary to march away as fast as possible, before the enemy's forces should be reassembled . . ." (*Anab.*, IV., v., 1). The Greeks, then, marched through the sandy stretch of country north of Tendurek Dagh and went somewhere near Eskik, the famous old Armenian fortress-city, near which rise the waters of the Eastern Euphrates (Aradzani-Murad-su).

This forced diversion from the natural highway, aggravated by the oncoming heavy falls of snow and the biting winds of the Pasen tableland, fully accounts for the aimless wanderings and

* W. E. D. Allen: *A History of the Georgian People*, 1932, pp. 3 *sq.*, 72 *sq.*, etc.

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blunderings of the Ten Thousand, of which Xenophon gives such a graphic description.* Their needless march to the Phasis (? Araxes), their long detour to the land of the Khalybes, their retracing of their way to the land of the Taokhoi and still further back to the land of the Phasianoi, show how the poor Greeks, badly led and handicapped by snow, "ran from pillar to post," until finally they got on the right track to the Black Sea. In December, 1911, in spite of my knowledge of the country and previous experience, besides being escorted by two local gendarmes, I almost got into the same plight between Bulanik' and the Alashkerd-Pasen tableland. I was blinded by snow-drift and was considerably hampered in the gorges, which were blocked by deep snow.

I will on another occasion outline the itinerary of the Greek retreat as far as Trebizond, with full notes on the ethnography, ancient history, and topography of the region, in accordance with Armenian, Iranian, Georgian, Arabic, and Kurdish sources.

* *Cf.* Sir Austin Layard: *Nineveh and Babylon*, 1855, p. 65.

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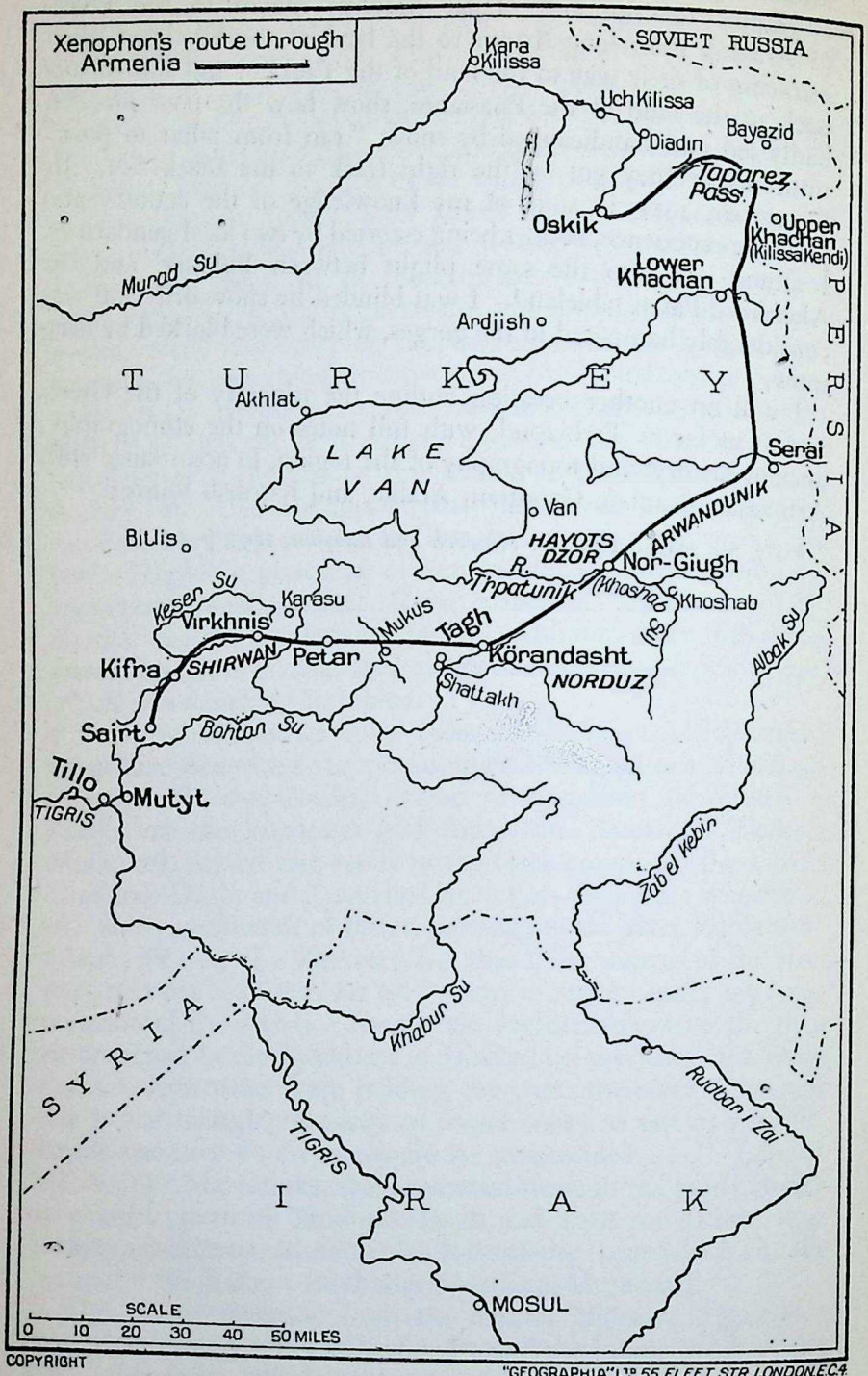

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL RESEARCH WORK IN SIAM

By Major Erik Seidenfaden
(Vice-President: the Siam Society.)

The study of anthropology as well as ethnology in Siam offers great possibilities by reason of the numerous and varied racial groups which constitute the population of this country.

While the ethnological problems pertaining to Siam have already been treated by not a few students, such as the late Colonel Gerini, Messrs. W. A. Graham, Evans, Dr. A. Kerr, Professor Schebesta, and myself, about which more anon, those of anthropology have, so far, been paid but scant attention.

About thirty years ago the late Dr. Brengues, a young French physician, carried out a series of interesting anthropometric measurements of individuals belonging to the so-called *Chong* people, a branch of the Môn-Khmer group of the Austro-Asiatic race, living in the extreme south-east of the kingdom of Siam. Most unfortunately this promising beginning was cut short much too soon by the untimely death of Dr. Brengues. Later on Dr. Congdon of the Rockefeller Institute, while teaching anatomy at the Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok, succeeded, during the years of 1928-31, I believe, in carrying out anthropometric measurements of no less than 30,000 *Thai* (*i.e.*, Siamese) conscripts. The results of this stupendous piece of investigation work have not yet been published, but the doctor has promised to contribute an abridged report on this matter to the Journal of the Siam Society.

Quite recently, during the winter months of 1932, I myself, in company with my friend, Mr. E. W. Hutchinson, visited a group of the *Lawā*, the remnants of a Môn-Khmer people, which no doubt formed the bulk of the population of North Siam prior to the Thai conquest of that country during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. We obtained measurements of about sixty individuals, besides other ethnological as well as linguistic information. Our joint report on this work will shortly be published in the Journal of the Siam Society. This constitutes up till now all that has been done in the way of anthropological research work in Siam and is thus only a very modest beginning.

We now come to the ethnological problems.

The population of Siam may be divided into three distinct racial groups—*i.e.* (1) the *Negroids*, represented by the Sĕmang pygmies, living in the extreme south of Siam in the jungles of the Malay Peninsula, so ably described by Messrs. Skeat, Blagden, Evans,

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and Schebesta; (2) the *Austro-Asiatics*, represented by the various Môn-Khmer peoples, to which both of the aforesaid Chong and Lawā belong; and finally (3) the *Mongoloids*, represented by the Thai with their many subdivisions; the immigrant Chinese and some hill tribes in Northern and Western Siam, which are partly of Chinese and partly of Tibetan stock. The *Karen* people, though undoubtedly of Mongoloid race, have not yet been finally classified whether belonging to the Chinese or Tibetan stock. They probably belong to the latter.

As the above three main groups are split up into more than thirty different peoples and tribes, subdivided again in numerous clans and septs, speaking a great number of languages and dialects, a detailed study of their anthropological and ethnological characteristics would most probably result in the discovery of a number of new and important facts which, besides adding to the total sum of our knowledge of these departments of science, might perhaps even alter our whole view on the origin and distribution of the human race. I beg in this connection to refer to Professor Paul Rivet's recent paper, "Les Océaniens," *Journal Asiatique*, tome CCXXII, No. 2, avril-juin, 1933, pp. 235-256, from which it seems clear that those mutations of the Primates that resulted in the creation of the various human species took place just in that part of the vast Asiatic continent which is represented by Hither and Further India. That the days of exploration and discovery of extinct or hitherto unknown living species of the human race, as far as regards Further India at least, are not yet over has been amply proved by the recent finds of the petrified skeletons or skeletal parts made by Mansui in Upper Tonking, as well as by the discovery of a tribe of stark-naked hunting nomads, the so-called *Khā-Tong Lu'ang*, met with for the first time by a European forest official in North Siam's jungles less than ten years ago.

We do not know who were the earliest inhabitants of Siam. All we *know* is that the Thai conquerors, coming down from their fastnesses in Southern China, seized the country from the Lawā, Môn and Khmer in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D.

It is probable that the Môn-Khmer people of Siam and the rest of Further India, coming from the north like the Thai, drove out or absorbed a former Indonesian population, to-day represented by the various peoples of the East Indian Archipelago, and, to quote Kern, that the Malays wandered down to their southern habitat from the shores of present-day Annam.

The *Jakun* and *Mawken*, the sea gypsies of the west coast of Malaya and the Mergui Archipelago, who have been called *Proto-Malays*, may also belong to the Indonesian stock.

The *Sĕmang* pygmies of the Malay Peninsula constitute the remains of a much earlier population than the Môn-Khmer or Indonesian. They may have inhabited the isles and coasts of

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Further India right up to Southern China, if one can believe the narrative of the famous Chinese pilgrim I-Tsing, who skirted those coasts when returning from India in the seventh century.

According to Mansui, the skeletal finds in the caves of Tongking represent (1) the Negrito race; (2) a race very similar to the Papuans of New Guinea; and (3) that of a tall, well-developed race with large skulls resembling those of the *Cro-Magnon*.

Among the so-called *Khi* or *Moi* tribes in the jungles of French Indochina certain tribes are distinguished by their tall, fair-skinned dolichocephalic members, which may represent a mixture of Indonesians or Môn-Khmer with the large race from the Tongkinese caves. These Tongkinese "Cro-Magnons" were perhaps an offshoot, the most easternly one, of that ancient and splendid artistic race which 20,000 years ago peopled southern France and the Italian riviera. In my opinion these large "Cro-Magnons" of Tongking do not represent the earliest inhabitants of Further India, but must be considered immigrants coming from the north-west. Systematic excavations of the numerous caves in North Siam would undoubtedly assist us in solving the problem of the habitat of these "Cro-Magnon" immigrants.

Professor Fritz Sarasin, in his papers on his searches for a palæolithic culture in the caves of Siam, suggests that the palæolithic people, whose stone implements were found by him, belonged to a *Proto-Melanesian race*. I would suggest that these Proto-Melanesians have been found by Mansui, and that they are represented by the Papuan-like skull found by him.

In conclusion, I shall venture to state as my opinion that the earliest inhabitants of Siam, and Further India, were pygmies, the direct ancestors of our present-day Sĕmang of the Malayan jungles. Furthermore, that these ancient pygmies may also have been the ancestors of the larger-bodied later races in conformity with the now prevailing theory which was first launched by Father Wilhelm Schmidt in his excellent work, *Die Stellung der Pygmäenvölker in der Entwicklungsgeschichte der Menschen*.

The free democratic Siam of to-day represents a melting-pot of many races, peoples and tongues which, at least outwardly, are in the process of being unified, speaking the same language, wearing the same national dress, and aspiring to the same social and political ideals. As such a process is bound to destroy a great number of ethnological and ethnographical characteristics, a thorough and detailed study of all the various groups, of which the present Siamese population is composed, is necessarily of the utmost importance for science.

Such research work should be taken up *now*, and it is sincerely to be hoped that the enlightened Government of Siam will do their best to assist and facilitate such work before it becomes too late.

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REALITIES IN THE FAR EAST

By William Nunn, M.P.

For some months past the Far East has been attracting increasing attention. Letters from old Eastern hands have been appearing in the Press in rising numbers; special correspondents have been on the move; Japan has made a statement of policy, and withdrawn it in a half-hearted way in order to placate outside opinion; and there has been growing disquietude about the relations between Japan and Russia. The Far East is definitely becoming "news."

It is at this stage, before the news value of Far Eastern affairs has soared so high as to indicate that a serious crisis has arisen, when nothing can be done but to stand aside and watch the conflagration burn itself out disastrously, or, if fortune be kinder, help to patch up some panicky haphazard settlement, that there appears to be available the last opportunity this country will have of exerting her influence in the interests of good government and peace.

But we need to know our own minds; to know for what we stand; to have a policy. The Far East today holds the view that we have no policy; that we are merely waiting upon events; and that if we attempt to exert any influence that influence will be negligible because it will be actuated by the impulse of the moment. Japan, although willing and indeed, it seems, anxious to be friendly, considers that we have lost touch with realities, and that we no longer count. She sees us enmeshed in Internationalism, befogging our national spirit in the atmosphere of conferences, cautiously following instead of leading.

Japan is too remote from European problems to have developed any strength of international feeling. She alone among the participants in the war was little changed in spirit by her experience, because her sufferings were insignificant. Her eyes are directed to the realities of the situation at her very doors, and she has little understanding of, and therefore little sympathy with, the new spirit of the West, which to her seems to be a spirit of compromise and indecision. Setting aside any Imperialistic ambitions she may have, there can be little doubt that she sees herself as the lonely guardian of peace in the Far East.

Her sense of power has been quickened by her remarkable

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industrial development and her freedom from internal disorder. Her pride in the strength of her own right arm has been increased by the weakening of Western prestige, and particularly by the loss of prestige which Great Britain has suffered throughout the East. The idealism and altruism which have actuated British policy in those areas during the past ten years appear to be, in Japan if nowhere else, the weakness of a people which has lost its hold upon reality and is drifting.

As for China, the Shanghai incident and the lamentable failure of the League of Nations over the Manchukuo affair convinced China that the West has no help to give her; while the Hankow incident, which evoked the openly expressed contempt of the Chinese, and the abortive negotiations for the abandonment of extra-territorial rights, confirmed Chinese opinion that Great Britain's strength and interest in China were founded only upon her hope of profit. There can be no doubt that the view held by leading Chinese is that no help can be expected from this country if China should be threatened by its powerful neighbour.

Even if the Imperialism of Japan should take an extreme form it is hardly conceivable that the most Imperialistic Japanese could entertain the idea of subjugating China. A process of lopping might, indeed, be undertaken, but if it were, the lopped areas would still remain Chinese in spirit and in fact. There is no people which can offer such a dead weight of resistance to the submergence of its national characteristics. But a process of lopping might well result in Japanese control being secured of the avenues of Chinese trade, of the direction of its government, and of the application of its influence. Such a process, undertaken little by little, could not be resisted effectively by China by force of arms. The handful of courageous men who control the government of Nanking are limited in their power. Although they constitute a "People's Government" they have no great nation-wide mass of popular support behind them. Apart from the fact that they are no more democratically elected than were the old Imperial rulers of China, the bulk of the people they rule have little interest in forms of government, so long as their humble industrious lives are not disturbed and they may live in peace and quietness. The untutored masses of China, as yet ignorant of the manifold blessings which may follow in the train of political enlightenment, would accept any form of government which brought to them freedom from the horrors of famine and the scourge of warfare and banditry, equal justice, markets for their produce, and security for their meagre earnings.

The government at Nanking has not only this national apathy to face; it has its active political opponents, in whose hands the Japanese position is a strong card; and it has to meet the constant

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drain upon its financial resources caused by the military operations which are necessary to maintain its power on its outer marches or prevent the Sovietized areas from encroaching upon its authority. Add to this the cost of carrying out the reforms in administration to which the government has set its hand, a cost which is all the heavier because the disturbed condition of the country makes effective administration more difficult; add the expense of flood relief and road-making, in which great strides have recently been made; allow for the desperately impoverished state of the people, and for diminished trade and shrinking revenue; and it is obvious that China cannot meet the strain of determined foreign aggression. The inevitable result of a definite quarrel with Japan would be that the government of China would fall, and the country be plunged once again into anarchy.

The rulers at Nanking are, in the main, realists. Aided by the conviction that the West no longer counts, they recognize the strength of Japan's position and the weakness of their own; and if they could be assured that their national pride would not be humiliated the best of them would be prepared to come to agreement with Japan. Such agreement must be arrived at if China is to be saved from collapse; and it must come quickly. While there is danger of war between Japan and the U.S.S.R. the position of China grows more and more precarious. Russian influences are strong in many areas, and Soviet propaganda is widespread. War would arouse all the Sovietized influences in China, and an inconclusive or adverse result to war might end in extending Bolshevism to the shores of the Pacific. Such an end would mean the subjugation within a short time of French Indo-China and Siam, and Bolshevism would be marching with Burma. Japan stands as the great Eastern barrier against Bolshevism, and as the potential saviour of Asia. Such a thought makes the menace of her perfectly natural commercial expansion a comparatively small matter. The question of real world-wide importance, the question upon which the fate of civilization may well hang, is how to bring the two great Eastern races together so that they may work hand in hand.

The outstanding obstacle to agreement between the two nations is the question of Manchukuo. Chinese national pride has been grievously wounded, and the wound is not likely to heal any the sooner while China remembers that with the loss of territory she has suffered, also, the loss of 15 per cent. of her Customs revenue, while the full burden of her foreign loan obligations remains on her shoulders. But the realists of China know that Manchuria was practically lost to her until, as a result of the Russo-Japanese War, the Japanese turned the Russians out. They know, also, that, after the Revolution, Manchuria was virtually a separate

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territory under the control of Marshal Chang Tso-lin; and they know that today Manchukuo is still Chinese in spirit.

Recognition of Manchukuo by the Chinese and the foreign Powers would relieve the tension immediately. It would be a bitter pill for China to swallow, and undoubtedly Nanking would find its political opponents ready to take the utmost advantage of any such proposal. But what is the alternative? The eminently practical Chinese must know that there is no alternative save to continue the existing unsatisfactory and unprofitable state of affairs, with its ever-present possibilities of friction, and with its incitement to the Japanese to carry their operations to the extreme limit of actual annexation.

At the moment, Manchukuo is Chinese. Its monarch is the chief representative of the old Imperial House. Its premier is a typical cultured Chinese of the old school. Its ministers are Chinese. Its people are preponderatingly Chinese. China cannot recover the territory by force of arms. She has nothing to hope for from the League of Nations, upon which she pinned her faith. Europe and America will afford her no assistance. What then does she stand to gain by her present policy? Time will not fight her battle for her, but will rather tend to make the position more acute. The Japanese are realists too. They may grow impatient. The present situation is unsatisfactory. In the eyes of the governments of the world Manchukuo does not exist. Danger looms on the Russian border. Would an incursion of Russian troops into Manchukuo be an act of offence against Japan if no damage were done to Japanese property or interests? One can see that the situation would be simplified if Manchukuo were definitely part of the Japanese Empire. And China would lose Manchukuo.

The loss would leave a wound infinitely more grievous than she suffers now. To many of her people, of the old school, Manchukuo is a part of China restored to the Imperial family, whose ancestral home it is. To all China it is a territory still connected by a slender thread. While that thread holds although it is not China it is not a foreign country, but rather something in the nature of a self-governing dominion. Can the thread be strengthened without demanding of Japan a reversal of her policy? To make such a demand would plainly be fruitless, whether or not it might be just.

When Manchuria became Manchukuo, China lost a large amount of Customs revenue, and Manchukuo ceased to carry its own portion of the burden of foreign indebtedness secured upon the Customs. The amount which Manchukuo should have paid has not been appropriated by the government of Manchukuo. It has been held in reserve, and China has been meeting the deficit out of her remaining revenue. It is conceivable that, in return

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for recognition, Manchukuo might undertake to meet its loan indebtedness, as in former days, and thus lighten the burden resting upon the shoulders of China. What then would be the position of Manchukuo in the eyes of China? Would not that indefinable spirit, "face," be to some extent appeased, if the bargain were made in friendliness? Nanking is realistic enough to know that such an arrangement would be much more helpful to its standing than the present *impasse*, and her historians would be aware that similar conditions, amounting to nominal suzerainty, have existed in the past in connection with territories bordering upon the old Empire. Indeed, today, Outer Mongolia is admittedly recognized as virtually autonomous, under nominal Chinese sovereignty and actual Soviet protection, while Inner Mongolia, still under the princes, is self-governing with direct dealings with Nanking. It would be a state of affairs true to tradition. The real value of such an understanding would be enormous. The tie between the two states would be greatly strengthened. Both peoples would feel that they had commen interests; both could proceed in friendly rivalry in establishing good government within their borders; and both could look forward to the time, far distant possibly, but not unattainable, when once again they would come together. Until that time arrived each could concentrate upon its own problems, secure in the knowledge of their friendly relationship, more vigorously because of the smaller area of responsibility.

The irreconcilables of China would probably wish for all or nothing, but the realists ought to feel some degree of satisfaction that their fellow countrymen in Manchukuo would be relieved of the menace of annexation by a foreign Power and would be maintaining their Chinese traditions under a ruler of their own blood.

The recognition of Manchukuo would remove from the minds of many thoughtful Chinese the sense of shame which they feel for the violent breaking by Feng Yu-hsien of the agreement made by the Revolutionary government with the Imperial family, by which the Emperor was guaranteed a revenue and sovereignty and the use of his title within his allotted territory of the Forbidden City.

China has gone some way towards recognizing reality. The difficulties which for some time deranged the postal service through Manchukuo to Europe have been surmounted by official face-saving. Through railway traffic is now running; and in August of this year the two governments came to an arrangement with regard to Customs traffic across the borders, an arrangement which provides for the establishment of Customs stations on the Great Wall and the passes, and which, most significantly, allows goods produced in Manchukuo to be treated in the same way as

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goods of the same nature produced in China. No recognition of the present régime in Manchukuo is entailed, but the agreement marks a happy stage in the evolution of Chinese opinion.

It does not lie within the province of any foreign Power to flout Chinese national pride by recognizing Manchukuo before China herself is prepared to do so; but it does seem to be a worthy mission for this country, at any rate, with its long tradition of interest in China, with its present friendliness of feeling towards both China and Japan, to try to bring two countries together and relieve the dangerous tension. Is it beyond the power of our diplomacy to form the connecting link? Are we bound to adopt an attitude of ungracious indifference because the efforts of the League were futile? Or are we afraid to let it be known that we have a policy lest we should be accused of having interested motives?

The policy of aloofness and waiting upon events, if it be a policy, has resulted in increasing the danger of the situation, and with every month that passes the possibilities of trouble grow stronger. The time has arrived when we must take a part, whatever other Powers may do.

There are opportunities which present themselves. There is the impending review of the Washington Conference. Despite the reluctance of the Japanese to consider the discussion of the political questions of the Pacific, such discussion is vitally necessary, and should be pressed, if only because it will bring Japan back again into the open field of diplomacy with regard to China. There is the question of the future of the government of the Municipality of Shanghai, a matter in which we are peculiarly interested and which might well serve to bring China, Japan, and ourselves into a common working partnership. There is, better still, the method of straightforward approach to both Powers in simple friendliness and good feeling. That friendliness can be shown by willingness to discuss those questions which are at issue between China and ourselves as part of the general clearing up and conditionally upon a satisfactory settlement of the relationship between China and Japan. Some of these questions affect Chinese sentiment very deeply, and while they remain unsettled the work of the Chinese government is made more difficult. Some affect the prosperity of Chinese, and British, commerce, because they give rise to a feeling of insecurity. All are vital to the well being of the only sound government China has known since the Revolution. That government, following the creed of Sun Yat Sen, who interpreted his idealism in realistic terms, requires all the help that can be given it. It has done much to build up a new state; most of its members are men of great ability, and recognize that, for many years, progress must be slow, and limited not so much by

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geographical boundaries as by the borders of accepted control. Their realism is illustrated by an article written a few months ago by one of the leaders of the "People's Party":

> "First things first; secondary issues can wait until a more favourable and appropriate moment for discussion. China's house has been set on fire in several places, and whether the outbreaks have been caused by spontaneous combustion, by accident, or by design are matters which can be investigated later. What has to be done now is to put out the flames—to save lives, and prevent the further destruction of property and consequent obstruction to the natural development of national prosperity. Those who obstruct the efforts of the fire brigade are not good citizens. Those who stand idly by without offering to lend a helping hand are little better than those who wilfully and maliciously attempt to cut the hose and prevent water being poured upon the flames."

That is the spirit which will save China if its continuance can be assured, and it is the spirit in which the government is working. We who are accustomed to be guarded and guided by governments which are single-minded, unmoved by popular clamour, and unswervingly direct in action, must not expect the same high standard of perfection at Nanking. There, there will be outbreaks of petulance, wavering, a tendency to fumble, a disposition to be suspicious, and an inclination towards pin-pricking; but it will be found that modern China, which, after all, is the heir to traditions of government which date back some centuries before Europe had begun to think about emerging from barbarism, possesses knowledge of statesmanship which is ample for its needs. What it wants is a field cleared of the débris left over from the Revolution, an assurance of national security, and the willing and disinterested help of its friends and neighbours. That help it should be our desire and resolve to give. We have done some good work for China in the past, and a not inconsiderable amount of mischief, both by our strength and our weakness; and our past connections have not been unprofitable. Now, with no thought of direct gain, let us try to add to our credit, and wipe out the record on the other side, by assisting China to secure those conditions which are essential if she is to establish a stable and efficient government.

While the sun rises daily upon suspicion, unrest, and disorder its beams can bring no blessing to the world.

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SIGNS OF BETTER DAYS IN CHINA

By O. M. Green

When, at the close of July, the Communists erupted from their mountains in Kiangsi and tried to rush Foochow, China came on to the "front pages" again, Chinese loans were marked down a few points on the stock exchanges, and foreign gunboats hurried to Foochow to protect their nationals.

Yet the importance of the event lay precisely in a direction opposite to all appearances. Paradoxically, the Red attempt on Foochow was a sign of the Government's strength, not of its weakness. It was evidence that the blockade, which General Chiang Kai-shek, with the aid of Canton and Hunan, has been maintaining for several months past, had become so intolerable that the Communists were compelled to attempt a sortie. And, within a week, Government troops and aeroplanes were at the invaders, who dropped such prizes as they had gathered up and fled, Foochow was relieved, the gunboats returned to Hongkong and Shanghai, China came out of "the news."

It is a perennial grievance with the Chinese that Western newspapers have no room for anything about China except her civil wars and bandits. What she is trying to do to rehabilitate herself goes apparently unnoticed. The answer, of course, is easy. Bad news from any quarter is always news, good news only occasionally. Yet the destinies of the Far East are so vital to the whole world, that some understanding of what is happening there is of moment to all of us. No great exercise of imagination is needed to show what an orderly, reformed, and peaceful China must mean to the trade of other countries, and it is no exaggeration to say that China has done a surprising amount in the past two years in spite of many difficulties and deficiencies. There is plenty to criticize; political partisanship remains insular, obstinate, and greedy; it would be altogether inaccurate to speak of China as a united country. But at least there is a better understanding among her different administrations than existed three years ago, coupled with a distinct disinclination for civil war, except, of course, as regards the Communists; public opinion has become vocal; and in high places there is evidence of a better spirit, of a real desire to get things done instead of merely issuing grandiloquent proclamations of utopian schemes which impress no one except by their impossibility. Since the Revolution of 1911 China

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has never been more hopeful than she is today, nor, in spite of the limitation of its powers, has her Government possessed more prestige or been inspired with a more apparently sincere desire to achieve peace and prosperity.

The really extraordinary material development which has taken place in the past three years was described at great length in the report made to the League of Nations last April by Dr. Rajchmann, who went to China as co-ordinating officer of all the twenty-eight or thirty Advisers lent by the League to China. There is space here only for broad outlines, but they are sufficiently striking. In May, 1931, Nanking decided to set up a National Economic Council to take charge of all economic development, and to invite the League of Nations to lend experts to help it. Although this Council is presided over by the chief Ministers of the Government, it was intended to be, and in fact has been, free from political influences, especially anything in the nature of "pull." The highly satisfactory result has been to attract to its service numbers of men trained for work that needed to be done, eager to do it, but previously deterred from offering themselves because the only road to public service lay through attachment to some political *régime* or programme in which they could not believe.

Communications were the Council's first aim. By the end of last year over 8,000 miles of roads had been built in the central and eastern Yangtze Valley. Some of these, it is true, are only beaten earth. But rural China is not particular. After ages during which her widest thoroughfares would not allow much more than two wheelbarrows to pass, these broad new roads with motor-buses trundling along them to hitherto buried villages were a revelation. The buses might occasionally break down or stick in the mire, but their crowded passengers take such little *contre-temps* with the utmost philosophy. Many letters from the interior testify to the remarkable influence of the new roads in breaking down old parochialisms and opening rustic minds to new ideas.

Besides road-building much has been done in strengthening the old, and building new, dykes at dangerous points of the Yangtze and Yellow Rivers. Thousands of years of relentless cutting down of trees and stripping hillsides bare of vegetation have made China more liable to devastating floods than any other country. These were a problem as far back as in the semi-mythical days of the Emperor Shun, who won the two daughters of the Emperor Yao in marriage, and succession to the throne, for his skill in coping with the Yellow River. The elaborate dyke system, built up through thousands of years, had fallen into sad disrepair in the early days of the Republic, and the repairs and extensions effected by the National Economic Council are unquestionably of

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high national value. The Council also has a scheme for conserving the Huai river, which runs through Central China, north of, and parallel to, the Yangtze, and cutting a proper outlet for its waters, which at present can only discharge into lakes in North Kiangsu. Millions of acres of rich land are thus to be saved from annual floods. But the undertaking is so gigantic and costly that one imagines it will remain a dream of the future for some time yet.

Railways, of course, engage a great deal of attention. China's entire system amounts to little more than 7,000 miles, of which 2,000 are unimportant branches. Years of civil war, during which rival Tuchuns devoured revenues, appropriated rolling-stock for the housing of their troops, and neglected the barest forms of maintenance, had reduced most railways to a pitiable condition. But in the past few years remarkable restoration has been effected. For this, it is true, the British Boxer Indemnity money, returned to China in 1930, about £11,000,000, is largely to be thanked. But the fact remains that the railways are being repaired, and in less than two years the gap in the Canton-Hankow Railway, through the difficult mountainous country on the borders of Hunan and Kuangtung, should be completed. China will then have a continuous railway system right through from Canton viâ Hankow to Peking—which, in fact, means that it will be possible to travel by train from Canton to Ostend. An entirely new railway, built by Chinese engineers, extends southwards from Hangchow through Chêkiang and will eventually link up with the Canton-Hankow. And, as a small but none the less important convenience, by means of a train ferry across the Yangtze at Nanking, it is now possible to travel in the same carriage all the way from Shanghai to Tientsin. Those who remember the unhappiness of arriving at Nanking by night train from Shanghai, and the bleak discomfort on a cold winter's morning of the ricsha trip through Hsiakwan and the launch journey over the river, will appreciate the blessing this means.

China's railways have attracted very unfavourable attention abroad owing to prolonged default in her loan-engagements to foreign bondholders. Partial resumption of payments has begun in the past year or so: and last February Mr. Wang Ching-wei, the Prime Minister, issued a long statement emphasizing that China had no thought of repudiating her debts, but pleading that the same consideration should be extended to her as to other countries whose pledges have broken down through various forms of storm and stress. It is a reasonable contention. But as China's railways are undoubtedly beginning again to earn good money, it is to be hoped that interest payments in full will follow suit. The point is that, while several other countries are actually far

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worse defaulters, justly or unjustly China's railways have attracted most attention, and this must militate against her chances as a borrower when she comes abroad to borrow money, as sooner or later she must do for all the rehabilitation work that has to be done.

Other activities of the National Economic Council in the general realm of social work can only be glanced at briefly. An extremely important part deals with public health, instruction in hygiene and establishment of health centres in country districts.

Food supplies are also engaging attention. That China, whose soil is as fertile as her peasantry is indomitably diligent, should every year be obliged to import more and more foodstuffs is little short of a disgrace. Partly this is due to antiquated methods of cultivation, partly to civil war and taxation, partly, it must be confessed, to the large extension of opium-growing forced upon the farmers by provincial militarists for the sake of the high revenue it yields. Thus it has recently been noted by missionary correspondents that large tracts of Hupeh, in which the poppy was formerly unknown, are now cultivating it to the extent of 25 to 30 per cent. of land that should be growing grain. General Chiang Kai-shek has lately started a new campaign to stop both cultivation and smoking of opium, and there is never any lack of energy in his undertakings. But China is so great, the Government's effective power at any distance from Nanking so much restricted, and the profits on opium so lucrative, that suppression must be slow and difficult. Undoubtedly the only ultimately effective way of coping with the evil is to make opium a Government monopoly, in which the provincial governments would have their share, as has been recommended more than once, since 1856 onwards. But at present Nationalist "face" cannot tolerate a course that would publicly admit the existence of an evil officially supposed to be on the verge of being, if not already wholly, suppressed. "Face," the offspring of the classic ideal of a gentleman, cause among Chinese of so much smiling and admirable serenity in misfortune, is also the source of many evils.

Strange as it may seem, China's innate courtesy and good manners are frequently her greatest stumbling-block. A committeeman or councillor proposes some preposterous scheme; everyone present knows that it is futile or worse, but nobody can be so rude as to contradict him publicly and make him "lose face." So the proposal goes through, to the immense inconvenience, it may very well be, to China and everybody else.

Perhaps the most promising feature of the general reform movement is the recognition that now exists of the peasantry as the foundation on which China stands or falls. Some three years ago I described in THE ASIATIC REVIEW the so-called "Tinghsien

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experiment," in which James Yen, a former Chinese student of Yale, is spreading not only simple education but also modernized methods of husbandry among the peasants of a selected district of Chihli, with the object of making it a model for others to copy. The experiment has had wonderful success, though as yet but few imitators. It has, however, undoubtedly served to attract attention to the peasant's sorely oppressed and necessitous plight. For those who know the Chinese it is impossible to believe that Communism can ever take root deeply among them. Its teachings are radically opposed to all the deepest instincts of the Chinese nature, property, individualism, and family. That there is a vigorous nucleus of genuine Communists in China, many of them Moscow-trained, who have succeeded in building up a stubborn, revolutionary State in the mountains of Kiangsi, is of course undeniable. But their armies and hangers-on are, for the most part, merely peasants driven wild by misfortune, who have turned outlaws as their ancestors had done again and again in eras of disorder.

Thus it was that, three years ago, General Chiang Kai-shek exclaimed that "the problem of Communism is three-tenths political and seven-tenths economic." His own plan of campaign against the Reds, as already indicated, has been changed—no more a campaign of movement, assault on impregnable hills, which destroyed the country it was supposed to save and won no battles, but a closely knit blockade. In villages around the Red area such necessities as rice and salt are obtainable only by licence, in order to prevent supplies from being smuggled to the Communists; and behind the lines of the blockade much has been done to revive the drooping countryside and bring the peasant back to his farm.

Since last March Nanking has made a regular monthly grant to the Kiangsi provincial government in exchange for the abolition of some of the most burdensome surtaxes; and, as from the beginning of July, it was decided that all the proceeds of the Wine and Tobacco Tax (traditionally, in China, a monopoly of the ruling body) should be retained by the provinces on condition of their taxation being lightened. The budget of the National Economic Council for 1934, totalling $15,000,000,* devotes, among its various allocations for road-building, improvement of cotton and silk cultivation, education, hygiene, etc., $1,900,000 to Kiangsi alone. In the *People's Tribune* for last August, Mr. Wang Ching-wei enumerates forty-two different sorts of levies and taxes in Kiangsi, twenty-seven in Hupeh, and no less than 280 in Chêkiang which, he states, are definitely being abolished this summer. As these three provinces are those most directly

* Roughly £1,000,000, which of course means very much more in China, where a peasant may be "passing rich" on £20 a year, than in the West.

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under Nanking's control, it is reasonably certain that a part, at least, of these glowing anticipations will be realized. But the appetite for provincial perquisites has grown greatly by feeding and is hard to curb. Taxes have an unpleasant habit of disappearing under one name and immediately reappearing under another. Still, there is no doubt that the Nanking Government is in earnest, and from many sources it is clear that the farmer's lot begins to be a little lighter.

Until China solves the problem of disbanding her gargantuan armies, amounting in all provinces to at least 2,000,000 men perpetually under arms, economic progress must continue to be slow and partial. These armies are the accumulation of sixteen or seventeen years of Tuchunism, Communism, and civil war (reckoning from the death of Yuan Shih-kai), and, if anything, they tend to grow more rather than less. To disband the men and turn them adrift with a few dollars apiece, as has once or twice been tried, merely ends in their being enrolled afresh in the next province's army or swelling the ranks of brigandage. Land settlement on a large scale might be feasible, since every Chinese is by instinct a farmer, but that means money, and the soldiers already eat up nearly half the available revenues.

Nanking's budget for the year 1934-35 (July 1 to July 30), is balanced at a total expenditure of $777,302,226: the balancing, by the way, without fresh loans, is distinctly creditable, especially as on the expenditure side there is an item of $257,530,231 for the service of foreign and domestic loans. But of the remainder no less than $307,750,910 is earmarked for military expenditure. It is to be remembered also that each province has its own separate budget, and, when we get away from those directly under Nanking's control (broadly speaking the Yangtze Valley), its own armies. It has been estimated that in the so-called South-west Federation—Kuangtung, Kuangsi, Kueichow, Fukien and Yunnan, of which Canton is the titular head—military expenditure amounts to 70 or 80 per cent. of revenues. Nobody knows what it amounts to in the vast western province of Szechuan, as big as all France, and naturally one of the richest districts in the world, but latterly reduced to the verge of ruin by internal civil war.

In recent years China has been spending largely on aircraft. Both Nanking and Canton sent special aviation missions to Europe during the past summer (charming people they were, by the way), who were extensively shown round as potential purchasers. What the result will be is not yet certain, but there are reports of large additional outlay projected by Canton. Nanking is said to have a fleet of 300 aeroplanes, and there is a huge aviation school at Hangchow, directed mainly by American instructors. It is only fair to add that civil aviation is being exten-

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sively developed. There are regular daily services now, radiating from Shanghai and Nanking to the principal centres, north, south and west, and a system is promised, viâ Kansu and Chinese Turkestan, but held up by the long confused fighting in the latter province, to link up with the Russian aeroplanes across Siberia to Europe. But all aviation in China is a Government monopoly, so that the machines now used commercially might be turned to purposes of war. Unquestionably the aeroplane has put tremendous power in Nanking's hands, as shown by the ease with which the recent Communist eruption (mentioned above) and the more serious revolt of Foochow last year were suppressed. Obviously, by aviation, Nanking can bring its strength to bear on distant points of disorder with a rapidity and terror that previous Governments never possessed. But it must be doubted whether China is not increasing her aeroplanes far beyond her real needs and means, and there can be no question that Japan eyes her neighbour's aerial ambitions with growing suspicion.

Fundamentally, of course, all China's problems centre in the political question. Having discarded the Imperial system of 4,000 years it is hardly surprising that in only twenty-four she has not yet found a substitute suited to her needs. A community of feeling has developed between one province and another such as was unknown only a decade ago. Recognition is accorded to Nanking as the Central Government such as Peking never knew after the death of Yuan Shih-kai. But outside the Yangtze Valley provincial governments have a distinct idea of what orders they will and will not obey from Nanking. It is a happy circumstance that relations between the capital and Canton are much more amicable than they were a couple of years ago. A conspicuous example was the revolt of Foochow last year. The rebels counted as a certainty on the support of Canton, where General Chiang Kai-shek is not popular with many politicians, and the supposedly pro-Japanese policy of Nanking seemed a good battle-cry. But the strong common-sense of General Chen Chi-tung, the unacknowledged dictator of Canton, was dead against further futile and causeless civil war. Foochow was left to its own resources, with no real sympathy anywhere in China, which is sick of civil war, and the rebels were easily suppressed.

It must, however, be pointed out that Canton is fully determined to manage its own affairs. A few months ago it was announced that the South-west Federation, mentioned above, was to be dissolved and its members were to come under the control of Nanking, but there is no sign of this prophecy being fulfilled. Since, in 1931, China recovered the right to frame her own tariffs, an enormous amount of smuggling has been going on from Hongkong, a free-trade port, to the mainland. It is indeed a

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question whether the unpleasant decline in Customs revenue during the past two years is not at least partly due to this smuggling. Hongkong has no wish to live on bad terms with her vast neighbour, does what she can to check the smugglers, and would be quite willing to enter into an arrangement with Nanking which would suppress them entirely. But as Canton profits heavily by the smuggling, no arrangement is possible.

In November it is expected that the National Congress of the Kuomintang will meet in Nanking, when the chief business would be to adopt a constitution of which the draft has already been published. The Congress has been announced and postponed two or three times already, and a betting man might lay good odds against its meeting in November. The reason is quite simple. Under the instrument of government adopted in 1928, when Nanking became the capital, the Kuomintang made themselves the supreme authority, source of all power, eternal, unquestionable. They proved themselves, to put it mildly, quite unworthy of such omnipotence and, by a series of events too long to detail, have been largely ousted from it in Nanking and have fallen back on their old stronghold in Canton. If they go to a Congress in November and subscribe to a new constitution, there is an end of all the pretensions which at present they can advance with some show of legality. *Voilà tout.*

From a practical point of view, it is early days to talk of a fixed constitution: indeed, it is doubtful whether the Chinese with their admirable gift for settling questions on common-sense *ad hoc* lines would not find such an instrument as much a nuisance as England has always instinctively felt it to be, while the mere attempt to write a constitution would arouse all sorts of dogs which are much better left asleep. Actually, in spite of many difficulties and abuses, China seems to be moving along lines which, given a few years of internal peace, should automatically develop into a system far more suited to a country so vast and disparate than the uniform machinery rigidly centred in one city such as the Kuomintang tried to force upon China in 1928.

The germs of this development are found in the declaration by Nanking in May, 1932, that thenceforward civil wars, except for defensive purposes, would be eschewed; if distant provinces wished to pursue "a particularist policy" (*leitotes* for doing what they pleased) Nanking would not try to prevent them: she would concentrate on reform and development in the Yangtze Valley and trust to the future and the good condition of her own domains to bring others into her orbit by the inevitable attraction of the prosperous for the unprosperous. On the whole Nanking has stuck very fairly to this principle, the only practicable one—as I think Professor Tawney has urged, namely, to take one area, how-

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ever limited, and make that peaceful, orderly, and well-governed before attempting to go further—and, if it can be pursued resolutely, its benefits for all China are certain. The ultimate ambition might be a Federated or United States of China, which would reproduce, on republican lines, the old Imperial system of viceroyalties, which is thoroughly understandable by the Chinese and the only practicable scheme of governing so large a country, chequered with so many and wide differences of climate, custom, and temperament.

This is not the place to discuss foreign politics. But if China could bring herself to accept some *modus vivendi* as regards Manchuria, and for the adjustment of differences with Japan, an immense cloud would be lifted from her own prospects and from all the Far East. The chief stumbling-block is Canton, which remains rigidly and explosively anti-Japanese. But it is certainly significant that the idea of coming to terms with Japan begins to be discussed in Central China with some approach to a sense of its merits. No Chinese, of course, is "pro-Japanese" (except, for propaganda purposes, in the mouths of his enemies), but more and more practical Chinese begin to realize that continued animosity between themselves and Japan is suicidal between neighbours so closely situated, and the surest way of bringing about the evils with which Chinese imagination is so darkly haunted.

It would be easy to pick holes in what China is trying to do today. Graft, arrogance, insubordination, and political hatreds are still bitter; the rule of law continues to be more honoured in the breach than the observance; taxation is still intolerably burdensome; foreign policy is mistrustful (possibly not altogether without cause) and still largely blind to its own interests.

Yet beneath all "life's enormous disarray" there is a stirring of the dry bones which points to a real and vigorous spirit at work. It is immensely significant that the retirement, last year, of the powerful and most able Finance Minister, Mr. T. V. Soong (the event has never been cleared up, but policy towards Japan is believed to have been the main cause), and the succession of his brother-in-law, Dr. H. H. Kung, can have taken place so smoothly and quietly. Less than a decade ago it might have brought about another civil war. In the bureaucracy, too, one finds a new reality, men who are keen on their jobs and take a pride in getting them done. No doubt there is still much of slackness, fumbling, mistakes, actual dishonesty. But the visible records of the National Economic Council, the new roads, bridges, renovation of old cities, spread of electricity, are proof that there are men in all provinces who mean to get things done. Incidentally, the attention now being paid to the resuscitation of China's peculiar in-

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dustry, silk, "the royal trade," is particularly welcome. It has lately been stated that Canton is now producing first-class silk cheaper than artificial.

In social affairs the changes wrought in recent years, not only in the treaty ports but in most of the big cities, are enormous. No doubt *mo-têng*—the popular Chinese equivalent for "modern," in the same sense as the Japanese *moga*, or "modern girl"—is responsible for much that is extravagant, laughable, and even mischievous. Yet it has also given birth to wholly welcome ideas of health, initiative, and energy. The growing popularity of athletics in all provinces is really extraordinary. Part of Nanking's equipment is a vast stadium capable of seating 70,000 people (another, like it, is being built at Shanghai), and here periodically many hundreds of youths and girls, the pick of thousands of others in distant provinces, meet for athletic contests of all kinds, and show no small prowess and abundant sportsmanship.

One extremely interesting movement, founded by General Chiang Kai-shek is known as the "New Life" movement. The important feature in it is that it is not confined to schools and colleges, but goes right down into the village. It might be described as a compound of the manners that maketh man and the cleanliness akin to Godliness, with the ultimate object of moral and physical betterment. Its rules are few and simple, and by all accounts it has caught public fancy amazingly.

And herein one sees a definite attempt to supply China with a new ethic, which indeed has obvious connections with a very old one. The most momentous change in China's recent history was, not the overthrow of the Emperors, but, six years earlier, the rejection of the classics for public education and the substitution of western learning, whereby the youth of China were deprived of the all-pervading ethical training in which the classics are steeped, while nothing was given them in its stead. Here is the great deficiency of China which must be made good. That it will be there can be no doubt, though how has not yet been revealed. Many experienced observers believe that there will be a return to Confucius. Again and again he has been temporarily eclipsed by the rival popularity of Taoism or Buddhism, yet always he has returned to his own. It is immensely significant that in 1929 when the Kuomintang, then at the height of their power, tried to seize the Kung family estates ("Kung Fu-tzu" is the Chinese form of "Confucius") the nation rose as one man and refused to allow it. Already here and there one reads of a revival of Confucian study, even in Canton. It would have to be a modified Confucianism. The tremendous implications of the central virtue of "filial piety," so far beyond what the West understands by the

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phrase, which indeed are in some ways as cramping as they are far-reaching, would have to be relaxed. But there is that in the teachings of the Sage which has grown into the very fibre of the Chinese nature, which realizes for them the best ideals of a gentleman as no other teaching has ever done, and from which they will not for ever be parted.

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THE MANCHURIAN SITUATION

By Wilfrid Hindle
(Editor, "Review of Reviews," London.)

Three years have passed since the Japanese Army's occupation of Manchuria. The experiment has had time to show the results which, the Japanese claimed, would be its final justification.

But, whether we accept the motives Japan attributed to herself or those imputed to her by others, the results must be admitted negative. Neither as an experiment in idealism nor as an experiment in an older-fashioned imperialism have Japan's actions in Manchuria proved fruitful. It is the belief of many who otherwise sincerely sympathize with Japan's overcrowded people that, from its very nature, Manchuria can never be a suitable theatre for experiments on the present lines.

If we were to look only to Japan's own avowed reasons for the conquest of Manchuria, we should find that they were of the highest. Her purpose in entering the country was to restore peace and order to a bandit-ridden and financially mal-administered people. Her purpose in remaining is to preserve Manchukuan independence not only against an imperialistic West which has no business in further Asia, but against what Japanese writers still quaintly call "China's continued aggression."

The main purpose in which these two minor purposes merge is the preservation of peace in the Far East and hence in the world at large. In preserving it Japan seeks no special privilege. The door into China which she is by treaty committed to leave open remains open; there are the repeated declarations of her own spokesmen and of the Japanese-advised Manchukuan Government to prove it.

So much for Japan's avowed motives. It is impossible entirely to ignore them since, indifferent as she is sometimes thought to be to world opinion, it is by them that she attempts to justify herself to the world.

It is also impossible, however, to ignore the more realistic motives—in other words, the interested motives—by which both her friends and her enemies believe Japan to have been actuated. They are threefold.

The first of them, and the one to which most prominence has been given, is the purely imperialistic motive of national aggrandizement.

But imperialism in the "pure" state is a phenomenon. There is generally some political or economic reality of which im-

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perialism is only the outward and visible expression. In Japan's case there were political and economic realities both.

The political reality was Russia. Whether as Empire or as Soviet Union, Russia has been a reality of which Japan has had to take account ever since she was brought forcibly into contact with the outside world in the middle of last century. Topography and climate make Manchuria the only practicable outlet for Russia on to the Pacific. That she seeks such an outlet is apparent in her "urge to the East," continuous from the sixteenth century to the Bolshevist establishment of industrial centres in Siberia. That the search might bring her into conflict with Japan is apparent in (to take only the most grossly obvious instance) the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905.

More important than the imperialistic or political motives, however, is the economic. Japan has a population of seventy millions, of whom about half are engaged in agriculture. The agricultural half—a fact the significance of which will be noted later—supplies not only a large proportion of the rank and file, but the bulk of the officers of Japan's conscript army.

The remaining civil population is engaged in industries which the recent factitious outcry against Japanese "dumping" has made to appear astonishingly successful. In fact, these industries depend on foreign countries for their raw materials and on foreign markets for their sales; and the apparent success of Japan's export trade must be balanced against the very real increase in her imports.

Besides these agricultural and industrial populations Japan has to provide for yet another population—the generations of Japanese as yet unborn. At the present rate of increase they number about a million a year. Their native land cannot—or so it is generally assumed—provide them with the means of subsistence.

To these political and economic problems of Japan, Manchuria seemed alone almost a sufficient answer. A land one quarter the size of China and with a population only one-fiftieth as dense as that of China, it could support millions more, at any rate on subsistence agriculture. Under thorough-going Japanese control (and assuming for the moment that Japanese-Manchukuan declarations of intention to maintain the "open-door" policy are not to be taken absolutely at face value) it would provide an assured and readily accessible market for Japanese manufactures. On a rough estimate its natural resources would supply, when properly developed, all the coal, all the timber, three-quarters of the iron, and one-quarter of the oil which Japan now imports from other countries, besides unestimated quantities of the aluminium ore and soda ash which are required respectively for the manufacture of aeroplanes and explosives.

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Control of Manchuria, whether direct or by way of alliance-protectorate, would also ensure Japanese security. Whoever holds the passes in the Great Wall has Peking and the northern plains of China at his mercy. Looking still further ahead—and it is a reasonable assumption, if no more, that the Japanese General Staff has looked further ahead than the conquest of Manchuria—control of both Inner and Outer Mongolia would make the Siberian frontier of the Soviet Union so vulnerable that Russian expansion could at any moment be checked.

It may be interpolated here that, in assessing Japanese motives in what the Japanese themselves still describe as the "Manchurian incident," Western writers and politicians assume in Japan's leaders an almost superhuman intelligence and in Japan's foreign policy an unbroken continuity. There is no justification for either assumption. A Japanese politician or a Japanese general, like a politician or a general of any other country, is just as likely to be a mediocrity as a Machiavelli. Neither foresight nor clear intention was apparent in, for example, the bombardment of Shanghai in 1932. And in fact Japanese foreign policy has fluctuated widely since the war, as is only to be expected when control of the Foreign Ministry is vested now in the descendant of aristocratic generations, now in the son of a stone-seller of Kyushu.

But the explanation of Japan's conduct given above is the most reasonable and logical that any but a whole-hearted Japanese propagandist can give. It is also the explanation privately given by some Japanese. It therefore provides a fair criterion for the estimation of Japanese success in Manchuria. By that criterion Japan can be shown to have failed in the object she set out to achieve.

To take first the political aim, conquest of Manchuria, far from bringing Japan security, has enormously increased her insecurity. The old Manchurian-Soviet frontier was not entirely trouble-free; but by comparison with the Manchukuan-Soviet frontier of today it was a paradise of peace. "Incidents" there are now of almost daily occurrence. True, the Soviet Union does not resent them except with words. But the Soviet Union is at present deep in the midst of a second Five-Year Plan which is intended to industrialize her for war as well as for peace. When the plan is finished—a familiar phrase in Soviet politicians' mouths, but one not the less meaningful for that—she may resent them with force.

She may then resent, too, and check the encouragement given by Japanese-Manchukuan leaders to the Inner Mongolian princes' plans for a restoration of the aristocratic rule which Soviet influence displaced in Outer Mongolia. (And, incidentally, Japan's encouragement of Mongol nationalist aspirations may

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result in the Mongols turning against her as well as against the Soviet Union).

In hostility to Japan the Soviet Union has been joined since the "Manchurian incident" by China—a strange bedfellow, but not a new one. Russia and China were joined in a common hostility to Japan after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895.

It is the fashion to ridicule Chinese military capabilities—the Chinese soldier's umbrella has been taken as a symbol of incompetence, although rain on occasion stopped the last war in Europe—and to deny that there is any entity of "China" which could exercise them. But if it be true that there never was a "China" in the sense of a unified country, the Japanese are doing their unintended best to create one, witness the truly national phenomenon of a boycott of Japanese goods. And the Chinese soldier of today is not the Chinese soldier of the wars which accompanied the struggle of the Kuomintang to power. Foreign advisers have been engaged to train the armies of Nationalist China; the first-fruits of their efforts were seen in the astonishing resistance offered to the Japanese forces by the 19th Route Army at Chapei. Since then foreign loans (not always intended for that purpose) have enabled China to begin her military equipment. She is not yet a military nation, and, if the popular conception of the Chinese character be accurate, the military virtues are antipathetic to the character of her people. But it must not be forgotten that the Japanese themselves have given a supreme example of the manner in which an Asiatic nation can adapt itself to a Western technique.

Besides China, moreover, the Soviet Union has an even more powerful potential ally in the United States. American firms have a stake of $12,000,000 in Manchurian economy, and American national prestige stands or falls by the maintenance of the "open door" policy in China. American recognition of the Soviet Union (accompanied by the manufacture of American-designed aircraft under licence in the Soviet Union) followed closely on the heels of Japanese occupation of Manchuria.

Where it seems possible that their interests in Manchuria may clash seriously with those of the United States, many Japanese lay store by the fact that it was an American President, Theodore Roosevelt, who proposed a Japanese "Monroe Doctrine" for Asia. But the kinsman of Theodore Roosevelt, who at present occupies the Presidency of the United States, is clear-sighted enough to see the difference between an American Monroe Doctrine aimed solely at preventing the seizure of South American territories by European Powers and a "Japanese Monroe Doctrine" aimed—if we discard the civil language in which it is sometimes clothed—at restricting European commercial or political contact with China.

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On the political score of security, Japan's intervention in Manchuria has been a failure. On the economic score her intervention has failed equally of its intended effect.

Calculated in thousands of Manchurian yuan, Japanese exports to Manchuria rose from 57,191 in 1931-1932 to 167,119 in 1932-1933. Textile exports particularly showed a remarkable increase. But account must be taken of the fact that a fair proportion of present Japanese exports to Manchuria is for military purposes or for capital investment in mines and railways. At the same time Japanese exports to other provinces of the former China decreased by 20 per cent. While the resentment aroused by the effective restriction of other countries' trade with Manchuria must also be reckoned to the debit side, since it undoubtedly contributed to the recent world-wide restrictions on the entry of Japanese goods.

Moreover, the question of Japanese exports to Manchuria is but a part of the greater question of the Japanese export trade in general. This trade has never paid for itself. Ever since it began the trade balance has been unfavourable; and last year, when an increase of 34 per cent. in Japanese exports seemed to show a very healthy condition in Japanese economy, imports rose in the same degree and there was still an adverse balance of 80,000,000 yen.

The economic question, too, has here political ramifications which suggest that Japan's Manchurian adventure may in the long run be more costly than its results, potential and actual, justify. Of Japan's imports a large part go to war industries. That is to say that Japan's productive export industries pay for the maintenance of a war machine which has become steadily more expensive since 1931, and which is now much more expensive than it was before the Washington Treaties restricted naval expenditure. They are doing so by virtue of the low cost of production which enables them to underbid competitors. Which is to say that wages are low, and will become lower as barriers against Japanese products are raised higher—they had already become lower in 1933 than in 1932—and that, in consequence, there will be increasing discontent among the industrial workers.

The export industries in their turn are supported in part by the Japanese farmer, who pays 30 per cent. of his income in taxes, while the manufacturer pays less than half that amount. And the Japanese farmer, as already noted, has the closest of connections with the Japanese Army, which seems likely unwittingly to create with its forward measures the very means by which those measures may be frustrated.

Nations are not moved solely by the economic fact. If that were the case, the Bolshevist régime in Russia would have fallen long ago, and the Nazi régime in Germany would be falling now.

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But neither can nations remain for long indifferent to the economic fact, as Lenin admitted when he introduced the New Economic Policy in 1921 and as Herr Hitler may also soon have to admit.

The Japanese industrial interests which provided at least a part of the energy behind the Japanese "drive" in Manchuria remain powerful, particularly in the Diet. But alongside them are growing up forces, derived in part from the "drive" itself, which may make it necessary to call a halt. For Japan's apparent trade success in Manchuria covers some very real failures at home.

As an outlet for Japan's surplus population, the Manchurian adventure has proved failure undisguised. Had Japanese statesmen possessed the unlimited wisdom with which they are often credited, they would have seen that it could not be otherwise. Before 1931 there were never more than a few hundred thousand Japanese in Manchuria, including those in the leased territory of Kwantung. When the new State of Manchukuo was founded, the Japanese Youth Movement, a genuinely idealistic movement in reaction against industrial civilization and political corruption, evolved a scheme for the settlement of Japanese peasants in a different land. Some of their leaders dreamed of colonization at the rate of 100,000 immigrants a year.

Realization has lagged far behind intention; the Japanese themselves admit it. They have been unable to colonize Manchuria for the same reasons that Chinese immigrants immeasurably outnumbered Japanese in the days before the latter had Japanese bayonets to back them. The Japanese immigrants have found the climate too cold for them. They are unable to compete with Chinese peasants whose standard of living was even lower than their own.

The failure of their immigration plans has thrown Japanese apologists back on to the long-term explanation of their activity in Manchuria. It may, they say, be true that Manchuria is unsuited to Japanese colonization. But, when the country is settled and its resources developed, it will be a fertile source of Japanese raw materials and a vast market for Japanese manufactures.

Leaving aside for the moment the implicit assumption that other nations would be content to leave a vast new market entirely to Japanese exploitation, we may observe that there is much virtue in that "when." And in making that observation we come to a consideration of the extent to which Japan has fulfilled her ostensible task in Manchuria.

That task, it may be repeated, was to restore order and to protect the hapless inhabitants of Manchuria from the rapacity of Chinese officials and overlords. Officially, the Manchurian "bandits," a year ago estimated to number a million, have been

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reduced to some forty thousand. Officially, order was to be restored within two years, a term which is now well past.

Privately, the official figures are doubted by both Japanese and foreigners in Manchuria. Japanese generals are credibly reported to have admitted that it will take ten years to restore order. A recent writer in *Contemporary Japan* stated that "it is impossible even to hazard a conjecture as to the time required for the suppression of banditry in Manchukuo."

Such news as comes from Manchuria supports the private rather than the official view. Trains have been wrecked within the past two years on the Mukden-Shanhaikwan, South Manchuria, Kirin-Hailung, and Chinese Eastern Railways. Half the available agricultural land, it is reported, remains uncultivated because of bandit activities.

To the true state of the country, however, comparison is the only safe guide. Train-wrecking and banditry are no new features of Manchurian life. On this subject, therefore, hear the opinions of men long acquainted with or resident in the country. "It will require two or three years," says Mr. H. V. Timperley, "before conditions are brought back even to the unsatisfactory pre-Manchukuo level." "Manchukuo came into existence," said a Tokyo correspondent of the *North China Daily News* after a recent return visit to Manchuria, "on the basis of a belief that it would be able to excel its purely Chinese predecessor in the art of maintaining law and order. Yet attacks on the Siberian mail trains are frequent."

It would not, however, be fair to Japan to pass over in silence some of the substantial contributions she has unquestionably made to Manchurian welfare. By common consent Manchukuan-Japanese financial administration is greatly superior to that of the Changs which preceded it. Japanese model farms were an incentive to the Manchurian cultivator even in pre-occupation days. Except on the Chinese Eastern Railway (which an impartial observer cannot but believe is being sabotaged in order to bring down its price), they have done much to develop and unify communications by both road and rail. If ever they are able to ensure security of life and property—they themselves admit that that is a primary condition—there is little doubt that they will develop Manchuria's mineral resources more actively than they were developed before.

But it is part of the irony of the Japanese position in Manchuria that the more the Japanese develop it the more Chinese it will become. Before the building of the Chinese Eastern Railway the population of Manchuria was reckoned at about 16,000,000. Today it is over 30,000,000. Of the increase 15,000,000 is due to Chinese immigration, which from 1928 to 1931 reached a rate of

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about a million a year. Harbin, which was a village before the Chinese Eastern Railway came, is now a city of over 400,000 inhabitants.

If and when Japan develops Manchurian communications and natural resources, the same causes will produce the same result. Migration will flow from an over-populated country to a country under-populated and expanding. Even were the former rate of Chinese immigration not to be exceeded, the Chinese population of Manchuria would then soon be beyond the control of a much larger army of occupation than the large army Japan has there now.

On every count, in short, Japan has caught a Tartar in Manchuria. National pride, if nothing else, would make it impossible for her to let go of him immediately and entirely. It would be to her interest to loosen her grip a little before the Naval Conference and the withdrawal from the League of Nations in 1935 give her more than enough occupation for her hands elsewhere.

Any political or economic loss she might sustain would be more than compensated by gain in other directions. American goodwill is worth more than raw materials for war industries, and China's present large, and future immense, market are worth more than a hypothetical market in Manchuria which, if present conditions continue, may never be created.

It is inevitable in geography and ethnography that Manchuria should one day be reunited with China. Japan has everything to lose by hindering that reunion and everything to gain by assisting it.

She can assist it, too, without loss of "face." Manchukuo is in form an independent entity. It would not be difficult to proceed from that formal independence to a real independence in which legitimate Japanese interests could be safeguarded; and thence to the creation of a new State of China and Manchuria in which a Japanese industrial, commercial, and administrative skill could fittingly co-operate.

There are signs, indeed, in the constitution and character of Manchukuo that such a consummation was not reckoned impossible. Perhaps, after all, some Japanese have supreme political wisdom.

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INDO-CHINA: POLICY OF GOVERNOR-GENERAL ROBIN

(Translated from *La Quinzaine Coloniale*, Paris.)

GOVERNOR-GENERAL ROBIN, on his arrival at Saigon on July 23, delivered a speech in which he gave a first outline of his programme, and we publish below some extracts from it. Mr. Robin received a very warm welcome in Indo-China, and he certainly deserved it, in view of his successful work before leaving France. We feel sure that he will carry out with the same energy the programme of which he spoke.

After paying a tribute of respect to his predecessor, and publicly thanking the acting Governor-General for his efficient administration, Mr. Robin expressed his regret at the departure of Governor Krautheimer. "I should have liked to find again in this assembly Governor Krautheimer, who has been far too early removed from the active list, and has been, like so many other fine public servants, sacrificed to a general order to which he had to submit, thus giving for the last time the example of his fine feeling of discipline. He had succeeded in winning the affection of all the people of Cochin-China, and no greater praise than that could be given to him. I trust that Governor Pagès, who is now at the head of the Government in Cochin-China, may one day receive the like unanimous appreciation: he is endowed with fine intellectual powers, his youth and his energy are already known to you, and he will devote his fine qualities to the service of the country."

Mr. Robin then gave a statement of his policy and of the first steps he has already taken towards carrying it out:

"To assist me therein, I have gathered round me the men whom I judge to be the best qualified. First, for the important duties of Secretary-General to Government, I have called to my side Mr. Chatel, the resident superior. You all know him; you know his stimulating and original personality. There are few men who know how to make highly important decisions with greater practical judgment and intelligence and sense of reality. There are few who can, with so much prudence and caution or with more pleasantness and good feeling, impose a will that is just and wise. No one is better fitted to support the Governor-General during the difficult times through which Indo-China is passing.

"Next, I had to fill the place of Mr. Diethelm, the Director of

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Finance and Customs and Excise, resigned. I considered that the opportunity of this change should be taken to replace the Customs and Excise under a separate Director. The indirect taxes which produce the greater part of the receipts in the general budget should be in the hands of an administration affording, technically and politically, the most stringent security. Such an arrangement, moreover, is based not on fiscal considerations alone, but also on the desire to improve economic conditions. The complexity of the problems nowadays raised by Excise organization and Customs administration, the constant attention needed in a time when receipts are weakening and smuggling is on the increase, the pressing duty of directing and co-ordinating and encouraging the efforts of the very numerous staff in Indo-China —these are enough wholly to absorb the energy of a departmental chief, whatever his fitness and working capacity.

"I therefore obtained the repeal of the decree which, in 1930, placed the administration of Customs and Excise under the Director of Finance. That was not an easy matter, and I ought not to conceal from you that I met with opposition from some of the financial authorities in Paris, who were disposed, from their theoretic point of view and by analogy with their own organization, to consider that the amalgamation made in 1930 should be permanent.

"The two administrations being thus separated, I have appointed as head of the financial services Mr. Cousin, ex-officer of the inspection body, who was recommended to me for his steadiness and for his practical and sympathetic understanding of the responsibilities entrusted to him; and to Customs and Excise I have appointed Mr. Prats, the departmental Director of Customs, who is highly esteemed in the finance department. These two officials from Paris, where they gave me assistance for which I thank them, appear to me fully qualified to perform the front rank duties with which they are now charged. I have the best hopes for their success in the onerous task that is incumbent on them.

"It is highly important that the Director of Customs and Excise should endeavour to secure, before anything else, the maximum receipt from the fiscal dues at present in force. This result he will secure, I feel sure, by more efficient supervision of the establishments subject to the tax, and by measures against smuggling. In this respect, by the way, he will find the position less critical since the beginning of this year, for certain measures due to the ability and activity of Resident-Superior Eutrope have brought some improvement.

"When observance of the present regulations is secured—and I am determined to secure that—I shall examine what modifica-

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tion in them can be made so as to increase the consumption of products liable to Excise duty.

"As regards the Customs system, my efforts will be directed towards effectively protecting industry against foreign competition, to securing the greatest possible number of outlets for producers and exporters, to protecting business men from the unscrupulous practices of traffickers in low-priced goods fraudulently imported, and lastly to ensuring the due payment of the prescribed duties."

VICTOR JACQUEMONT

SIR,—I am at present engaged upon an edition, which I hope to make as complete as possible, of the letters of Victor Jacquemont, the French traveller, who spent the years 1828 to 1832 in India; and should be greatly obliged if you would extend me the hospitality of your columns for the purpose of inquiring whether any descendants of the prominent officials and officers whose guest he was during those years—among whom I may mention Mr. Pearson, Attorney-General, Calcutta; Sir C. Grey, Chief Justice of India; Sir C. Metcalfe, Member of Council, Calcutta; Brigadier-General Cartwright, Delhi; Colonel Arnold, Meerut; Captain Kennedy, founder of Simla; Captain Wade, Resident of Loodianah; William Fraser, Commissioner, Delhi; and Sir Edward Ryan, Judge, Calcutta—happen to have still in their possession any letters from Jacquemont to their ancestors; and whether I might kindly be allowed to see these. Any letters courteously communicated to me would, needless to say, be scrupulously taken care of and returned in due course.

Believe me, Sir, your obedient servant,

Yours, etc.,
PIERRE MAES.

78, RUE E. BEENAERT,
OSTEND, BELGIUM,
July, 1934.

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THE PROBLEM OF NATIVE CUSTOMARY LAW IN THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES

By Professor Dr. H. Westra

It is of the greatest importance that all Crown colonies should take into account the problem of the diversity of laws these colonies with their divergent populations present to us. Apart from the particularly thorny ground of juridical conflicts among the various sections of the community, the number of difficulties confronting the student of native customary laws are by no means small.

Centuries have come and gone before a national customary law (to use Professor van Vollenhoven's happy term) was "discovered." In the time of the (East Indies) Company from 1602 down to the close of the eighteenth century, this problem, for obvious reasons, did not present itself, as the Company was a trading body, to which government was a matter of an incidental character. It was not until this trading body was liquidated that interest was aroused, and it is indeed remarkable that, when it did come, it came from the side of the British. In 1817 there appeared *The History of Java*, by Raffles, then in 1820 *The History of the Indian Archipelago*, by Crawford, was published, both of which refer to Marsden, the pioneer of the movement, who, in 1873, records his views on customary laws in existence among the natives in his *History of Sumatra*.

Even though interest had been aroused and assistance had continually been given by the Dutch, it was not until recently that, thanks to Nederburgh and van Vollenhoven, this field of study came to be more systematically investigated. In Leyden the study has been promoted by the Institute of Customary Laws, which has made a collection of these customary laws, by means of which investigation has been extended to the Dutch and non-Dutch territory of the Indies, and also to the Malay Peninsula, the Philippines, Formosa, and Madagascar.

When we recount the difficulties connected with native customary law, in addition to the diversity in locality, we are confronted by the fact that by far the greater part of it consists of a customary law which has never been committed to writing. This has turned out to be a serious difficulty, especially in the matter of the administration of justice, and one which men have tried to overcome by applying, as far as possible, European law as a guide or by administering Muhammadan law. Both of these are mis-

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placed. Western jurisdiction does not lend itself to Oriental conditions, and from Muhammadan law it has been proved that in the same way as Hindu or Christian law it has not had any considerable influence on native laws.

However, it has been realized that matters could not be allowed to remain thus. Fortunately the constitution of the East Indies has been given full discretion by sanctioning applicable interpretations of the European law and a codification of native customary laws, either as a whole or in part, and has even permitted of the compilation of a code of national laws that is not specifically European or native: one that can be applied to some or all sections of the community.

The course that the Government has now adopted is first to arrive at a definition of the laws for one particular individual section, as is now done in the case of Western Java, and then to formulate a codification applicable to all sections. The difficulties presented by this method are, in the first place, that, if it cannot be brought to completion, years and years of labour will have been wasted. But this does not constitute the greatest difficulty. The present condition has been stabilized by the codification, but no account has been taken of what is already making itself felt, and in the future will make itself felt still more. I allude to the fact that the Indies are becoming more and more involved in international relations, and will have to equip themselves, also judicially, for the position they are to occupy and for which native customary law will not suffice. This is too primitive and varied to be of any service in carrying out this task. Hence it is understandable that voices are being raised both in the leading native circles and in European (among whom is Nederburgh) that we should not blindly adhere to native law alone and thereby overrate the meaning of this native law.

What is really needed is a code of laws conforming to the requirements of modern international relations, such as Japan and Turkey have already, involving, if necessary, the sacrifice of native jurisdiction. This code would have to be national in character while embracing Western ideas.

The constitution offers the facility, where it is possible to make laws applicable for the nation as a whole, of a sort of code that is neither purely Western nor purely Oriental, but a blending of the two. The curious thing about it is that in practice much more is being done than is generally realized. It is just in these juridical conflicts arising between the Westerner and the Oriental, the so-called inter-racial law, that we find adequate material for a national code. This, then, might be applied at once to those Oriental sections of the community who have more or less withdrawn from the native sphere, such as the Chinese, who, in by

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far the greater part, have conformed to the common Dutch Civil Code, the native Christians and similar groups. For the remaining portion a gradual compliance with these laws (a voluntary one, of course) might be possible. But this system, too, would be attended by considerable difficulties. It would, just as the codification of native law, take many years to complete; but this is not the main objection. In many quarters it is contended that the inlander would never give up his law code voluntarily. On the other hand, however, I venture to state that, as a member of the Netherland Indian Parliament, I have been in a position to listen to what native members say, and have been able to ascertain that they are not blind to the great importance of a national law code for the Netherland Indies, and that it has indeed been brought home to them that for the elevation of their country in such a "speeding-up" age as ours is at present, there is no better means than a modernly equipped juridical system. Besides this, they are quite anxious to be subjected, together with the Europeans and the other Orientals, to one and the same law, in which the idea of inferiority has been removed.

The plan of a national law code for the Indies, which Nederburgh has worked for during many years, is one of great importance, and its implications should be discussed in a periodical such as THE ASIATIC REVIEW wherein such problems common to all Crown colonies are being considered.

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LITERARY SECTION

LEADING ARTICLE

THE ETHICS OF EAST AND WEST

By Stanley Rice

The history of ethics is in effect the history of civilization. It was natural enough that, according to the earliest records we have, man should have worshipped the visible forms of Nature, and when he observed her orderly processes it was natural, too, that he should have supposed some controlling authority and have personified it in his own likeness and in the likeness of his own institutions. Just as in the earliest constitution of society we find the king or chief as supreme head with his subordinate counsellors as his assistants, so we find in the ancient hierarchies a supreme god with his subordinates presiding over what we should call their departments. Thus it is that we find in Vedic literature Varuna, the king of the sky, with Indra, Pasupati, the Maruts, and Savitar presiding over the rain, cattle, storms, and the sun, and thus we find in Greek mythology Zeus attended by Apollo and Artemis, Athene as Queen of the Air, Poseidon and Hades. To our ideas the ethical qualities of these deities were not of the highest. We must remember two things—first, that these ancient peoples conceived the gods in the light of what they themselves knew and practised. The king was not bound by the same laws that bound humbler men; he could with impunity do things that they could not do. Next, these ancient peoples seem to have been vastly attracted by the idea of fertility; hence the numerous customs in connection with the spring. It is, to me at any rate, exceedingly probable that the veneration—sometimes described, though wrongly, as the worship—of the cow, which persists, as everyone knows, to this day in India, had its origin in the cult of fertility. It would take too long, even if it were relevant, to develop the argument here. The bearing of it on the question of ethics may be seen in the immorality which is ascribed to the gods. All ideas tend to degenerate. The Master Mind speaks and the disciples, only half understanding, put their own construction on his words. The mind of the ordinary man is too finite to grasp abstractions, and the idea gradually becomes crystallized and is expressed in terms of human experience. There is life abundant

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in Nature, and if you postulate a controlling Deity, it is an easy transition to the conception that all life emanates from the One Source. But the most obvious forms of life, those of the animal world, spring from the union of male and female, and if the Deity is conceived in human shape, it is natural to suppose that He produces life in much the same way as human beings do, but since the life of Nature is so varied, and since the gods are not limited by human laws, the process is sublimated and extended. This conception presupposes the female element, and clearly the female must be of the same nature as the male. If man mates with woman and bull with cow, the gods must mate with goddesses. It is in some such way as this perhaps that we find those legends of drunkenness, immorality, and other vices, which we ourselves recognise as such, for it is inconceivable that the ancients should have deliberately clothed their heavenly conceptions with vices which they themselves despised and rejected. If later—in Homer and elsewhere—we discover these legends related as a matter of course, that is because, having taken shape in the baser form, they have come to be regarded, not as ethical truths, but as the everyday expression of the accepted religion. Christians will find plenty of this sort of thing in the Old Testament, which not so very long ago could be no more questioned than the New. The doings of Abraham, of Jacob, and of Samuel are very far from conforming to our ideas of ethical virtue, but the Israelites chose to exalt them into heroes, and heroes they have remained.

But there is one vice, if you so call it, which is attributable to quite another cause. The God is a god of vengeance, a god of battle, the Lord of Hosts, with thunder and lightning as his weapons, because he is a tribal god. Every ancient people looked upon themselves as the chosen people under the special protection of their god, and it is only because the teaching of the Hebrew prophets exalted the tribal god into a universal Deity that we have come to consider the Israelites as the Chosen People par excellence. Hence it is that we get such unedifying stories as that of Samuel and the Amalekites, and even in the Prophets and the Psalms we are told that "Vengeance is mine" and that the Lord "smote his enemies in the hinder parts" as they fled from this terrible tribal divinity. The Vedic peoples were no less anxious that their gods should lead them on to victory. Islam later on identified itself with Allah, in whose name they went forth to conquer—to the glory of Allah and still more to the great benefit and glory of themselves. The idea persists to this day. The Germans invoked "unser alte deutsche Gott," and the English, though not expressing themselves so crudely, appealed to God to give them victory and to protect the cause of justice—that is, their own cause.

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But by degrees these rather crude notions became sublimated. The gods of Nature became gods of ethical qualities—gods of Wisdom, of Justice, of the Purification of the Soul, and so forth. Thus was obtained a starting point for the more detailed ethical systems. In India, in Palestine, in Greece, and in Arabia the founders of the great systems of religion were in fact the products of their respective ages and were greatly influenced by their environment and by the conceptions of the country of their origin. They were all protestants who did not in fact seek to impose upon the world an entirely new product of their imaginations, but rather sought to restore the purity of the older ideas which had become overlaid with superstition, with ritual, and with the worship of ecclesiasticism. In India Gautama protested against idolatry, against artificial divisions of society, against the undue ascendancy of Brahmanism. In Palestine the great prophets denounced the "blood of bulls and goats," the slavish and meaningless adherence to form and the outward trappings of religion, and called the people to repent and to practise "justice, to love mercy and to walk humbly with their God." And when the influence of these had again evaporated and the people were again wedded to their forms and ceremonies, Jesus appeared with his fierce denunciations of the scribes and Pharisees who had divorced religion from ethics, with his withering contempt of the "washing of cups and pots," with his clear-sighted announcement of what it is that defileth a man. In Greece the intellectual cast of the national mind drove her greatest philosophers to discard the worship of anthropomorphic gods and to inquire whether, after all, it was not justice or happiness, or if not these, some other fundamental quality, which was the mainspring of life, the guiding star of human conduct. And finally, in Arabia the camel-driver of Mecca, the servant of Kadija, sought only to purify what he had found, to think out the problems which were presented to him, and so to evolve the system of submission to the Will of God which is enshrined in the word Islam.

The spirit of reform is plainly apparent in the Chinese system also; indeed Confucius said, "I am a transmitter, not an innovator." There was, it would seem, much to reform, but the ancient way of wisdom was still the best way. Like the other reformers, he founded himself upon the religion of his country, purged it of its dross, and presented, as far as he was able, the pure gold for their acceptance. Of the Japanese it is hardly possible to speak with the same precision; they did not produce a reformer who can claim, if not to have founded, at any rate to have offered, a new starting place for ethical religion. That ancestor worship was a special feature of Shinto is clear enough, and it is worthy of passing notice that "at the core of all Shinto

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ceremonial and at the core of all Shinto beliefs is the idea of fertility." We may also notice that the killing of cattle is classed with such offences as leprosy, incest, and bewitchments, though there is no evidence that Japan had any connection with India in early times.

Good Bishop Heber, in a hymn which, though not very good poetry, has become a Christian classic, propounded the theory, not altogether exploded, that—

> "The heathen in his blindness
> Bows down to wood and stone,"

but he comforted himself with the thought that—

> "They call us to deliver
> Their land from error's chain."

It was a pretty conception. It struck the right missionary note and invited missionary response. It had, however, one defect; it did not happen to be true. It cannot be laid to the discredit of the missionary that, in obeying what he conceives to be the call of his Master, he has carried his message into lands which never asked for or wanted it. The call came from within, not from without, and that for a simple reason; the "heathen" in question was not aware of any error or any chain. The idea that "wood and stone" were the objects of worship was at that time the generally accepted opinion based upon a superficial knowledge and observation of the visible religion of the masses. Later on we find unphilosophical treatises which purport to be an exposition of the religious systems, but whose object is really to prove the super-excellence of Christianity and especially of its ethical ideals. Mr. Kenneth Saunders* reflects the spirit of the present age. He deals more or less impartially with India, China, Japan, Greece, and Palestine (both Jewish and Christian), and if he shows a deeper acquaintance with the three last it is only natural, since a man can hardly show equal knowledge of every aspect of so vast a subject. There are two ways in which the material might be treated. You can take each system separately and show its content, contrasting or equating with other systems; or you can make a category of the virtues or of groups of them and show how each is treated. The first of these is the easier and is the one chosen, and that was perhaps inevitable, as the book was originally in the form of lectures delivered in America. It has, however, the disadvantage of a lack of synthesis. On the other hand, unless you are prepared to write a long and comprehensive work, the other plan is apt to land you in a maze of

* *The Ideals of East and West*, by Kenneth Saunders. Cambridge. 10s. 6d.

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abstractions and even in comparisons in which the same word means two different things. On the whole Mr. Saunders has chosen the better course in leaving his readers to collate and to form their own judgments. The impression one gets is that no religious and ethical system can claim to be "better" than another; each has its good points, and the foundation of ethics is still the same, though the categorical valuations may differ. Thus we can call the keynote of Hinduism renunciation, of Buddhism sacrifice, of Christianity love, and of Chinese ethics social rectitude, but all these are only convenient labels which, as likely as not, will end by misleading. A keynote does not make a symphony; that is made up of themes woven and interwoven, varied and combined, in a general pattern. There is submission in Christianity, though it may be the keynote of Islam. There is love in Hinduism; there is social rectitude in Islam, as you will see if you read the sura entitled "Women." One would say that the comprehensive keynote of all the great ethical systems as propounded by the greatest of their prophets is righteousness, though righteousness may be attained in various ways according to the genius of each place. Buddhism is a quietist religion; it suffered persecution in its own home and travelled far afield. It lighted upon Confucius and his teaching in China, found there a congenial soil prepared for it not only by Confucius but by the antecedent environment of which he was a product. Perhaps if it had encountered the fierce persecution of the Mussulmans it would have been far different from that which we know. The heresy we associate with the name of Nanak entirely changed its character and consequently the values of its ethical ideals when it suffered the persecution of Aurangzib.

There is a curious uniformity in all religious systems in that they tend to degenerate into legalism and formalism to the exclusion of ethical content. After the simple Vedic worship of Nature-gods there ensued a period in which the method of performing a thing was more important than the thing itself. Sacrifices became more important than the gods; austerities more valuable as a means of getting power than of pleasing heaven. Buddhism came as a corrective to this. Gautama preached the right way of living, and no doubt his ideas were stimulated by the philosophical and metaphysical teaching of the Upanishads. In doing away with the gods and setting up the Absolute in their place, in propounding atheism in its strictest sense, he tried to abolish superstition and the vested interests of sacerdotalism. But the same fate overtook Buddhism. It became formal and legalized. The purely ethical system became a sacerdotal system and the atheism a worship of Buddha himself and his satellites. Much the same thing has happened in China. The ethical content

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of Confucianism has been depressed in favour of the ritual which the older cults when blended with Buddhism have brought about. Islam has followed the same course, and Christianity began to degenerate from the appearance of St. Paul. Not that there is not a vast amount of ethical teaching of the highest value in his writings, especially for the outside world which he addressed, but it was he who turned the thoughts of lesser men from ethics to dogma and by doing so set Christianity upon the path which turned the Kingdom of God into the Supremacy of the Church. Continence became celibacy, right living was centred in orthodoxy, charity was represented as ecclesiastical almsgiving, and even murder itself was interpreted as the merciful care of men's souls. As Jesus denounced the formalism of the Pharisees, as Buddha sought to purge Hinduism of its baser elements, as Muhammad purified Arabia, as Socrates and the philosophers fought against superstition in Greece, so Luther and his fellows tried to bring back Europe to the higher ethical view. The world has relapsed once more; it is waiting for the periodical reformers. Sacrifice is once again better than to obey and the fat of rams is better than to hearken.

That this should be what might almost be called the natural course of evolution is not wholly due to the priests nor to the glorification of the Law of Dogma. Lesser minds are unable to grasp the deeper part of the ethical teaching; they misinterpret, and in misinterpreting they give disproportionate weight to the letter and the trappings. The common people cannot put into practice the lofty ideals that are set before them. The abstruse learning and dialectics of the Upanishads and the Six Systems are too difficult for the ordinary Hindu villager, and even the Bhagavad Gita is beyond his intelligence. When Bhakti came in with Ramanujam and Chaitanya it supplied a want which is also felt in England. The idea of Bhakti was what the Christian priests call "communion with God," but it degenerated into the meaningless repetition of a name. Of all ethical systems Buddhism is perhaps the freest from dogma; it inculcated right conduct with the ultimate goal of absorption into the Absolute. The prophets of Israel, using the characteristic national method of denunciation as the Hindus used that of philosophic speculation and the Greeks that of subtle ratiocination, seem to despair of making any impression on the people at large. "We must remember," says Mr. Saunders, "the position of any legislator who sought to apply to a stiff-necked nation the high ideals of the prophets, and much was accomplished. The book (Deuteronomy) reveals the bitter opposition of the people, and we know that they refused to listen." They went on refusing to listen. Mr. Saunders suggests that the leaders of thought gave up the hopeless task; "the

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prophets seem to be seeking to comfort Israel rather than to reform it."

And yet, through all this seeming indifference to the teaching offered, there was something in it which has left its traces on the masses. The Dialogues of Plato are probably the clearest exposition in the world of a reasoned system of ethics; they were far above the comprehension of the man in the street, and the way in which the disputants are led on to admissions and are convicted of error by Socrates is almost reminiscent of Sherlock Holmes and "my dear Watson." But Socrates was condemned by the judges of corrupting the youth of Athens and of "making the worse appear the better reason." In other words, they were afraid that this new teaching would so work upon the masses that it would upset the accustomed order of society, and perhaps also that it would reflect upon the ruling class. In like manner when Jesus preached "the common people heard him gladly," and the priests were afraid to take him "lest there be an uproar of the people." If the disciples could not grasp the meaning of the "Kingdom of God" (for though they were rough men they were in close contact with the Master) it was not very likely that the common people would have understood these transcendental ideas. But they understood well enough the more homely teaching which was in conformity with experience. In fact, Ramanujam and Gautama and Socrates and Jesus were building upon foundations which were already laid. They were reformers, but, like all reformers with originality, they not only used the foundations of the national ethic, but added something of their own to it and transformed a great deal more. The people were not wholly ignorant of ethics; the prophets gave them a new direction which turned the people's lives into a new current, however slightly divergent from the old, however imperceptible the influence which took effect. If there is one thing that specially distinguishes the Christian ethic today it is the idea of social service. "But he said unto Jesus, 'And who is my neighbour?' And Jesus answering said, 'A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho.'" That, if nothing else, has become a part of the people's life; to desert a neighbour in difficulties is thought to be shameful. It has not always been so in other countries; it has not always been so in India, where at one time the preservation of caste seemed more important than the relief of suffering. Not, however, that Christianity has any monopoly of such service; it is only that that system has laid greater stress upon it than have others. Again, the law of Karma has undoubtedly influenced the people. It is often misunderstood. Mr. Saunders says of it that "personality is merged in the mass and its nerve is too often cut—a fatalistic attitude being very usual." What he means by this I for one do

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not know. If there is one tenet of the Hindu religion that appeals to personality it is Karma. Critics complain that the end at which the Hindu aims is the extinction of individuality, but Karma is surely special to the person. It is the very opposite of fatalism. For whereas fatalism implies that since all things are ordered by an outside agency, so that it does not matter what a man does, it is of the very essence of Karma that what a man does makes all the difference. As caste, whatever its defects, has held Hindu society together for centuries, so the doctrine of Karma has in company with instinct and tradition gone far to preserve the Hindu ethic, not only in the educated classes, but in the uneducated masses too.

Similarly, much that we can discern as the special characteristic of China may be traced back to what Mr. Saunders calls the root concept of Chinese ethics—"Man is essentially nature's child; let him be natural." But Nature proceeds by orderly methods, and the Chinese therefore deduced a cosmic order "in sympathy with human endeavour, and to be followed in their further progress." The Chinese ethic, founded in this concept and putting filial piety in the forefront, is of just that homely, practical description which we would expect to produce the practical virtues. It is generally admitted that the people as a whole are peace-loving, honest in business affairs, simple in living, patient and industrious. As usual, however, the lower has in certain respects conquered the higher. Love of social order has developed into arrogance among the higher classes; propriety becomes an exaggerated ceremoniousness. "If self-control," says Mr. Saunders, "is inculcated, it is often lost in the flood of passion; if reason holds sway, it is often dethroned; and as the impartial student reads the long story of China's evolution, he will see that with many noble qualities she has stagnated and degenerated after each period of progress and vigour; that without constant accession of barbarian blood she has allowed her *vis inertiæ* and her detached aloofness to ruin what her strong men have achieved."

From a general survey of Mr. Saunders's interesting study, which he fortifies with short anthologies from the great writers on each system, one gets the impression first that the foundations of ethics are much the same in every nation; secondly, that as every people gets the government it deserves, so every people has the ethical system most suited to itself. For when any religion travels beyond the land of its birth, it impinges on its ethical side upon already developed national characteristics, and while it modifies them, it is also modified by them. Christianity started (in spite of its origin) by extolling the gentler virtues of humility, patience, charity, endurance under persecution. As it travelled westwards it became more militant, more aggressive; it moved

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towards the Archangel Michael and away from the Archangel Gabriel. So also, as Mr. Saunders points out, Buddhism in China, alien in some respects and especially in celibacy, was gradually adapted to Chinese conditions. Japan has not sacrificed the cult of beauty, which she shares with the ancient Greek world, though beauty has little part in Buddhism, except in so far as "beauty is truth, truth beauty." And finally we may notice that, although at all ages the cardinal virtues have been recognized, they have not always meant the same thing, nor have they been appraised in the same order. When Krishna causes the defeat of an enemy by a rather shady trick, Indian apologists have sought to "explain" away such a lapse from virtue; it is more probable that it was looked upon by the chronicler as something quite venial or possibly even no lapse at all. When Peter struck down Ananias and when Paul smote Elymas with blindness they were practising a primitive ethic which we should not approve in these days. In the eyes of the early Church such things seemed right and proper. Human sacrifice, mutilation, prostitution, and unnatural vice were no doubt justified in the eyes of those who practised them, or custom blunted sensibility; slavery even in modern times was upheld not only on utilitarian but also on moral grounds. We are all seeking after righteousness and the quest is endless; no one has or ever will have the monopoly.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

MYSORE ADMINISTRATION REPORT for the year ending June 30, 1933. (Bangalore: *Government Press*).

(*Reviewed by* JOHN DE LA VALETTE.)

The turn for the better which economic conditions have taken in this country seems to have its counterpart in India. At any rate it is encouraging to find that almost the first sentence in the latest Administration Report for the State of Mysore reads: "There was no sign of distress in any part of the State." Partly, no doubt, this was due to the ample rainfall during the year under review which was, in fact, better than it has been for at least fifteen years. Crops were consequently good and the supply of foodgrains as well as of cattle fodder was adequate in all parts of the State. Prices for agricultural produce, however, were still unduly low, and though the abundance of the harvests compensated agriculturists to some extent for the drop in prices, the financial trend of agriculture was not yet such as actively to raise the demand for land.

On the other hand, some indication of the incipient improvement in conditions generally may be found in the fact that "no abnormal movements of people either into or outside the State in search of food or occupation" took place, whilst there was little, if any, unemployment among the labouring classes. Money-wages, in fact, were unaffected by the fall in the price of foodstuffs, and both skilled and unskilled workers found adequate occupation, although unemployment remained widespread among the educated classes. Measures mentioned in the Report as having had a salutary effect on the material prosperity of the people include the operations of the Land Mortgage Bank and others under the Agriculturists' Relief Regulations, and are stated to have materially helped the raiyats.

The improvement in the means of communication between the towns and the villages in the interior also contributed to this end by facilitating rapid and cheap transport of agricultural produce and cattle from the interior to the markets. In connection with the financial support of agriculture it is stated that a satisfactory improvement was registered in the co-operative movement. The number of societies was not greatly increased, as a specially cautious policy was adopted in registering fresh societies under the existing economic conditions, but the aggregate working capital of the societies rose from 205 lakhs of rupees at the end of the previous financial year to 223 lakhs at the end of the year under review, whilst the amount of loans outstanding to individual members augmented from 102 to 104 lakhs.

Among new departures in agriculture mention is made of the satisfactory development of sugar-cane cultivation in the Irwin Canal tract, the whole crop of the Irwin Canal Farm being cut and supplied for seed purposes. Moreover, a new Assistant Director's post has been created in Mandya with a special staff for the purpose of inducing the raiyats to cul-

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tivate sugar-cane, and teaching them the best methods of doing so. A sugar factory has been established at Mandya which is making rapid progress, thus adding to the many efforts now being made in India to render the country less dependent on imported sugar.

Of another industry, based ultimately upon agriculture, less satisfactory news is reported, namely the silk industry. This appears to have been affected, not merely by the continued slump in silk prices, but particularly by the dumping in India of abnormally cheap Japanese silk and silk yarn at prices which are below the cost of production in Mysore. Whilst in 1925-26 Mysore exported silk to other parts of India aggregating 866,000 lb. in weight, she only exported 366,800 lb. during 1932-33. On the representations of the Mysore Government and the Mysore Chamber of Commerce, the Government of India referred the question of affording protection to the indigenous silk industry to the Indian Tariff Board. It is hoped that the measures since taken by the Government of India, both on the recommendations of the Tariff Board and under the "Safeguarding of Industries Act," will extend a helpful measure of support to this industry.

Another industry which was adversely affected by Japanese competition was the Iron Works, cast-iron pipes being especially hard hit. Here, too, it is hoped that Government action will eventually extend such a measure of protection to the indigenous industries as will enable them to consolidate their position.

On the other hand, the Government Soap Factory continued to operate satisfactorily, whilst there was an expansion in all departments of the Porcelain Factory which produces insulators, bushings, and similar articles for the Electrical Department.

Trade and Commerce figures reflect the general conditions in the State as a whole: whilst imports remained roughly stationary, both in quantity and value, as compared with the previous year, namely at around 11 million maunds, aggregating Rs. 110,000,000 in value, exports dropped in weight from about seven to six million maunds, the value shrinking from Rs. 89,500,000 to Rs. 80,600,000. Among the main items which contributed to this falling off in exports were oil seeds and ground nuts, both as regards quantities and prices, while the exports of raw silk fell from Rs. 2,200,000 to Rs. 1,900,000, and the value of exported pig iron and castings dropped by Rs. 100,000 to Rs. 1,270,000. On the other hand, there was a slight increase in the export of cotton goods and silk goods, woollen piece goods and shawls contributing Rs. 2,500,000 to the aggregate export figure.

That mining activities during the year 1932-33 were affected by the general depression in the mineral market is indicated by the fact that the total area covered by mining leases and prospecting licences was only about 20,000 acres, as against 26,000 acres the year before. Operations by the various mining enterprises were generally also on a lower scale than in the preceding year. Nevertheless, the confidence which the Mysore Government possesses in the ultimate value of its geological assets was evidenced by the various investigations which were carried out in connection with several minerals, such as certain clays suited to the manufacture of stoneware; raw materials for cement production; graphite deposits and others.

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Experiments were also resumed for the manufacture of ferro-chrome, ferro-silicon, and carborundum. The expectation is apparently that, when bigger plants have been installed, results will be achieved on a commercially satisfactory basis.

In the matter of public works the principal activities have centred around the Krishnarajasagara Dam, the Irwin Canal, and certain works in the Cauvery valley, some of the latter in conjunction with the Madras Government. Expenditure on the Krishnarajasagara Dam now totals Rs. 24,000,000 and that on the Irwin Canal Rs. 14,800,000. Extended irrigation facilities in the Cauvery valley, under arrangements with the Madras Government which allow the Mysore Government to add about 29,700 acres to its irrigated area, have so far been completed in respect of nearly 9,700 acres, while projects for other substantial additions are under active consideration.

In addition to all these measures intended to add to the material prosperity of the people, public health and public education are receiving the Government's constant attention. General sanitation in towns and rural districts, and anti-malarial activities, especially in the new Irwin Canal area, formed an important part of the Government's endeavours to circumscribe the prevalence of diseases and appear to have met with gratifying results. The medical service, too, has been fully maintained and improved. The total number of hospitals and dispensaries in the State increased by four to 278, the number of out-patients treated rising from 3·6 to 3·8 millions, to which in-patients added a further 43,600.

Education has long received the earnest attention of the Government in Mysore, a feature to which great value is attached being that all primary and middle stage education shall be, as it now is, entirely free. Although during the period under review there was an actual reduction in the total number of public and private scholastic institutions in the State, namely from 7,914 to 7,737, the number of public schools grew from 6,698 to 6,746, whilst as the result of better organization and improved attendances the aggregate number of pupils actually rose from 309,000 to 311,000, the increase being shared by all classes of institutions, high, middle, and primary. Estimating the total population of school-going age at the usual figure of 15 per cent. of the total population, it will be found that the school attendance amounts to one-third of the total in respect of boys and girls combined, and just over one-half where boys alone are concerned, the number of schoolgirls alone amounting to only 13·6 per cent. of the total number of girls of school-going age.

Apart from enabling the young to be educated, if they so wish, right up to the University of Mysore, or in the several technical schools of different kinds, the Government of the State have felt that it was worth while to encourage authors whose works might perhaps, without such support, not have been produced. Consequently an annual provision is made, out of which authors of books are granted sums varying in amount according to the merits of the case. During the year under report nine such amounts were paid and copies of the respective books distributed among the schools and libraries.

In all these and several other respects, the Report furnishes ample indica-

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tion of the far-sighted policy pursued by the Mysore Government, as well as of the fact that even the relative stringency of the present times is not allowed to interfere with those activities which are considered beneficial to the physical, moral, or mental wellbeing of the population.

THE POPULATION PROBLEM IN INDIA. A Census Study by P. K. Wattal. (Bombay, Calcutta, and London: *Bennett, Coleman and Co.*)

(*Reviewed by* Sir Edward Gait.)

This little book, which is a new edition of one published in 1916, deals in a clear and interesting manner with some of the main features of Indian demography. The author points out that owing to the universality of marriage and the absence of preventive checks, the birth-rate in India is extraordinarily high. The population is mainly agricultural, and in many parts has already reached saturation point. The productiveness of the soil is increased by irrigation, but except in a few provinces the field for successful new irrigation works is limited. Nor does the author think that much relief is likely to be derived from improved seeds and better methods of cultivation. He concludes that agriculture affords no prospect of relief for the large annual addition to the population that is now taking place. He is equally pessimistic regarding the possibility of any material relief being derived from industrial development. In quoting the census statistics of occupations to show that there was a large fall between 1901 and 1911 in the number of persons supported by industry, he overlooks the fact that comparison between the result of these two enumerations is vitiated by a change made in 1911 in the system of classifying occupations. For instance, about two million fishermen were then shown under the main head "Production of Raw Materials," who in 1901 had been included in the industrial category. Even so, the fact remains that in 1931 the number of persons shown as supported by industry was slightly smaller than in 1911. Nor is much relief to be looked for from emigration. The total number of Indians resident overseas is less than 2½ millions, and the number is likely to fall rather than increase. Even though many take a more hopeful view than the author of the possibilities of further irrigation, improved methods of agriculture, and industrial developments, it is impossible to dispute his conclusion that a great reduction in the birth-rate is a matter of urgent necessity.

It is generally found that where the birth-rate is high, so also is the death-rate; and India is no exception to the rule. The high death-rate is attributable in the main to (*a*) high infantile mortality; (*b*) the heavy toll which parturition takes of immature mothers; and (*c*) disease and malnutrition. The author shows that the birth- and death-rates are both highest amongst the aboriginal tribes, and lowest amongst the Parsis, and concludes that fertility is in inverse ratio to the standard of living and intellectual development. He proceeds to argue that their relatively high birth-rate shows that the economic and intellectual development of the Muhammadans must be lower than that of the Hindus. This argument is vitiated

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by the fact that in spite of their higher birth-rate the Muhammadans enjoy a lower death-rate than the Hindus. Their higher birth-rate is due to reasons which the author himself mentions elsewhere, notably the later age at which Muhammadan females are married, whereby their effective fertility is increased, and the fact that their widows are allowed to remarry, whereas those of the Hindus remain sterile.

Most of the facts which Mr. Wattal has adduced will be familiar to all who are acquainted with Indian census literature. But census reports are heavy reading and are not readily accessible. It is therefore all to the good that the information should be made available to the general public in a handy and very readable form. Of even more interest than the facts are the author's main conclusions, which are that—

(1) Child marriage should be prevented altogether;

(2) Widow marriage should be actively encouraged; and

(3) Everything possible should be done to inculcate and facilitate birth-control.

Chapter V., dealing with this last subject, is the most interesting and valuable part of a very useful little book. It is gratifying to find the case for birth-control set out so cogently and persuasively by a Hindu, whose views are much more likely than those of foreigners to carry weight with his fellow countrymen.

Slavery in British India. First thesis for the Bombay Doctorate of Letters. By D. R. Banaji. Foreword by H. G. Rawlinson. (Bombay: *Taraporevala.*) Rs. 10.

(*Reviewed by* G. E. Harvey.)

This book ends with the Abolition Act of 1843 and concentrates on the preceding half-century.

The author rejects the idea that in some remote Golden Age slavery was unknown to India; the Greek travellers cited in support of the idea cover only small areas; the most ancient writings—Rig-Veda, Laws of Manu, Edicts of Asoka—show that it existed, and they accept it as a matter of course. In 1843 probably a tenth of the population were slaves of one sort or another. When in 1784 Tipu Sultan subdued Coorg, he enslaved 70,000 of its people to his zemindars, and throughout India there were large areas which depended on the labour of agrestic slaves. The kidnapping of children was a regular industry, the girls becoming temple prostitutes and therefore sacrosanct. Many families had domestic slaves, as from time immemorial, and sometimes treated them well enough. Debtor slaves existed everywhere, and parents sold their children in time of famine to save them from starvation.

In 1785 Sir William Jones, Chief Justice at Calcutta, told a jury that slavery was unknown to the law of England, and no human law could sanction it. But in India there was no actual law against it, and although after 1774, in one part of the Company's territory or another, orders began to issue discouraging it, they were little more than dead letters. The courts ad-

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ministered Hindu and Muhammadan law, both of which recognized it, and the judges, though empowered to override practices repugnant to humanity, were chary of exercising the power, as they knew so little of Indian life. Warren Hastings knew, and deliberately chose, in the circumstances of the age, to sell the families of convicted dacoits as slaves. In Malabar, where slaves were sold, like any other form of private property, in realization of revenue arrears, it was not till 1819 that Government prohibited the practice, and then the prohibition was ignored for years as Collectors found it made their work impossible.

In 1812 Sir Charles Metcalfe, on his own initiative, abolished slavery in the Delhi area; the only objectors were slave dealers and brothel keepers; respectable Indians, though put to inconvenience, acknowledged the righteousness of his act. By this time reformist Collectors and Judges had begun to appear—Richardson Harington and Leycester in Bengal; Baber and Campbell in Madras; Neufville in Assam, besieging Government in and out of season. The correspondence dragged on for decades, verbose and academic after the manner of the age, until Wilberforce and his friends gained the private ear of the Court of Directors.

The East India Company Charter Act of 1832 specified abolition as an issue to be faced. The Indian Law Commission of 1835, under Macaulay, found they could not codify the criminal law without investigating slavery, and issued the Anti-Slavery Report of 1841. The portentous difficulties foreseen by cautious functionaries for so many years were resolved in the bare two hundred words of the Government of India's Act V. of 1843, subsequently embodied in the Penal Code, which abolished slavery without compensation. The only protests were from Bengal and Assam, where Hindus and Muhammadans alike said it was a blow at religion and they would be ruined; their protest was disregarded and they were in no wise ruined.

The book suffers from repetition. There are long pages of paraphrase in which it is difficult to distinguish between Mr. Banaji's and the original wording. Page 68 gives the text of a regulation by Warren Hastings from a Parliamentary Paper of 1828, but not the date of the regulation, more than half a century earlier. Page 61 condemns an action as contrary to "the Proclamation of 1793," without explaining what the proclamation was, and the index gives no other reference to it.

The author could have written a sensational book. He has chosen the better part, interspersing his own lengthy narrative indeed, but devoting himself mainly to an industrious compilation of uncollated and indeed unpublished records.

Eastern Indian School of Mediæval Sculpture. By R. D. Banerji. With 69 plates. (Delhi: *Government Press.*)

In opening the large volume one cannot but deplore the early passing of this scholar. Mr. Banerji has left a permanent mark on account of his *History of Orissa* and the present work, which forms Vol. 47 of the Archæological Survey of India.

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The text, as regards both appearance and substance, is entirely in keeping with the previous volumes of the Survey, which were generally compiled by European scholars. The volume is divided into eight chapters, of which the second gives a full description of sculpture obtained from Northern India; the third deals with the rise and development of the Eastern school of mediæval sculpture. The fourth chapter describes the style in the delineation in the life of the Buddha, whilst in the next two the Buddhist and Hindu Pantheons are specially treated. Another chapter deals with metal casting and Jaina images, and the volume concludes with temples and architecture. The table of contents does not mention the important and very exhaustive Index of 40 pages, while it mentions a preface on page iii by mistake. The text is remarkably free from printers' mistakes.

Lawrence of Lucknow. By J. L. Morison. (*G. Bell and Sons*). 15s. net.

A life of Sir Henry Lawrence, our hero, was published in 1872 by General Edwardes and Mr. Merivale, which has long been scarce, and Professor Morison has now undertaken to compile, with the help of hitherto unpublished private papers, a new volume by which the memory of one of the great generals of the Mutiny of 1857-8 will be brought before the present generation. This makes it a book of historical value.

Born in Ceylon, brought up in Ireland, and finally trained in the East India Company's college at Addiscombe, he went to Calcutta and was moved to Arakan in 1824, where his military career began. He later took part in the campaigns against the Sikhs, Afghanistan, Nepal. Everyone knows that he died in 1857 during the defence of Lucknow. Henry Lawrence was, perhaps, not a diplomatist, but he had the qualities of a fine soldier. He was outspoken, did not use the choicest words, and his relations with Lord Dalhousie were strained. However, Professor Morison paints his portrait as a courageous soldier and a devoted Christian. Lawrence is one of the outstanding figures in British Indian history, and his premature death at the point of duty leaves for ever a halo around him.

The Wheels of Ind. By John W. Mitchell. With maps and illustrations. 1934. (*Thornton Butterworth.*) 12s. 6d.

Though written by a railway engineer, this book is by no means dry—in fact, it abounds in most interesting and frequently humorous sketches of the life on an Indian railway station. The author was called to Bilaspur on the Bengal-Nagpur line, and here made full use of his powers of observation. He was able to notice the change in the outlook of the Indian who has become self-conscious. If the British organized the wonderful railway system, the Indians are now replacing them to a large extent. From such information Mr. Mitchell turns to the life in the Settlement. Any intending resident in India will learn from these pages the unpleasant side of the country, with its flies, lizards, and snakes, whilst stories of the snake-

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charmer will entertain the reader. During his times of relaxation, the author experienced the joys and dangers of the jungle. Stag and tiger hunting have rarely been so well narrated as in this book. Apart from this side of life, the sights of the country are passed under review: amusements, religious festivals, hard work in the coalfields. And everything is told from first-hand knowledge.

Highnesses of Hindostan. By E. L. Tottenham. (*Grayson and Grayson.*) 15s. net.

This record of the impressions of the author in Baroda State during the years 1911-1920 contains a good deal of miscellaneous information regarding pre-War India. She also travelled outside the State and accompanied the Maharani to Europe in 1914. There is an interesting account of adventures on the Continent in July and August of that year—adventures that terminated fortunately with a safe return via England to India. The author gives a readable account of the social life of that time, and shows that a progressive Indian State is "full of life and longing to live."

Ancient Siamese Government and Administration. By H. G. Quaritch Wales. (Bernard Quaritch Ltd.). £1 1s. net.

(*Reviewed by* A. M. Hocart.)

In reviewing Dr. Quaritch Wales' *Siamese State Ceremonies*, I expressed a hope that, having proved his competence to expound to us the civilization of Siam, he would not stop at the ceremonies of the state, but would give us also the structure of that state. Dr. Quaritch Wales has now fulfilled part of that wish in that he has given us an account of the government. To have described the present system would have been to describe a copy of our own institutions. He has preferred to give us the indigenous system that is now extinct. Since it is extinct we must be content with the dead body, often the bones. But if we cannot watch the living body, we can on the other hand trace its evolution to a considerable degree; we can follow its rise and its decline. We note the same progress from feudalism to officialdom as in modern Europe and Japan, in ancient Egypt and Greece, the same passage from a territorial to a personal organization. Siam has carried the process of centralization further than we have, but not further than we are likely to go. Whereas formerly "the comparatively small amount of revenue levied from the people by the prince and his court was expended within the province, from the time of this growth of centralization there began that drain on the provinces which was during the next two and a half centuries to impoverish them." We have only to follow the career of Ancient Rome, to compare the relations of London and country as they are now to what they used to be, and the question must force itself upon us whether it is not a law of nature that as nations grow old they become centralized. To such an extent did the centre control the periphery in Siam that the whole population was in government employ. The freemen

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became "king's men, whose duty it was to do personal service in the royal corvées or in the military units" (53 f.). They owed no less than six months to the government (151). If a government makes excessive demands on the labour of its subjects or on the wealth amassed by that labour, evasion is inevitable. Some Siamese freemen took refuge in the Church "till, for fear of being deprived of much of his available man-power in this way, the king was obliged to hold examinations from time to time, on the results of which large numbers of ignorant monks were obliged to return to the secular state" (239). As the corvée work of some departments "was much lighter than that of others, there was naturally an incentive for freemen to sell themselves as debt slaves to masters attached to departments where the work was light." "If a man went further and sold himself outright, he escaped from the corvées altogether" (61). One is again reminded of declining Rome, when poor freemen similarly placed themselves under the protection of rich patrons.

The author lays part of the blame for this growth of absolutism on divine kingship (246); but divine kingship has nothing to do with absolutism. A divine king may be a very modest personage. I have met one who was serving his second term after a first deposition, and who was treated in a very off-hand manner by his unruly subjects. A divine king may be put to death for being mean or failing to produce prosperity, just as we turn out a ministry if trade goes wrong. He exists for his subjects, and it is only by a perversion of the institution that his subjects come to exist for him: partisans of absolutism twist the doctrine of divine kingship to serve their ambitions, even as the devil quotes scripture for his purpose.

The theoretic flights of the author suffer from a lack of comparative knowledge. They are few and short. He has wisely restricted himself as a rule to the task of reconstruction for which he is very well equipped. Let us hope that he will continue his good work and show us next the organization and life of a village; for a government governs a people, and the one has no meaning apart from the other. He has dissected for us the brain of the body politic; may he now turn to dissecting the muscles.

The index might have been somewhat fuller. There is, for instance, no way of finding all there is about right and left divisions, about the fourfold organization, and so on. A glossary would have been useful.

THE INDO-EUROPEAN MOVEMENT. By J. Th. Petrus Blumberger.

(*Reviewed by* JOHN DE LA VALETTE.)

The term Indo-European, as it used to be understood in the East Indies until a generation ago, covered the descendants of European fathers, mainly of Dutch nationality, and mothers belonging to the indigenous races or who were Indo-Chinese, and as such usually themselves of mixed race. During the last thirty years or so the meaning of the term has been extended so as to include also "persons of pure European stock born in the East Indies," creoles in other words, and "pure-bred Europeans who

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have settled definitely" in the Archipelago and are usually intermarried with native or Indo-Chinese women. In this wider acceptance of the term it embraces about 80 per cent. of the total European population. As the vast majority of those included are of Dutch nationality, the social and political importance of this section cannot be overlooked. In a recent contribution to that scholarly work the *Encyclopædia for the Netherlands East Indies*,* Mr. J. Th. Petrus Blumberger, at one time a civil servant in the Dutch Indies, now attached to the Colonial Office at The Hague, treats clearly and with precision of the social and political activities of this part of the population which has always found itself somewhat ill at ease between the two pure-bred sections: the natives and the Europeans.

Today, as is well known, there is no administrative bar, nor any social prejudice, to handicap the Indian-born Dutch subject of mixed race. It was not always so. The Dutch East India Company set its face sternly against all "bastards of Europese," and excluded them completely from its service. It even discouraged the employment as servants of "mixtese" natives. After the re-establishment of the Dutch Government in 1816 the position remained substantially the same, until the latter part of the nineteenth century, by which time the changed outlook since the 'sixties and the educational reforms of 1882 had paved the way for Indo-Europeans to prepare themselves for higher positions and to be accepted for them.

With full justification a Dutch writer could recently say:† "The Indo-European group does not form a layer in our social structure, but spreads right through it in a vertical direction. Its lower sections stand among the native population, its crest rises in the midst of the best among us."

The earliest successful examples of organized co-operation between Indo-Europeans as such are to be found in the *Indische Bond* (Indian Association) of 1898, and *Insulinde*, which was founded in 1907. Both societies carried on useful activities of economic and social types, and to some extent drew into their organizations the adjoining elements from the purely native and purely European ranks.

Of opposition to Dutch domination there was little sign, until a movement arose within a section of *Insulinde* which was to bring to the fore the names of Dr. E. F. E. Douwes Dekker (himself an "Indo") and his two Javanese associates, Tjipto Mangunkusumo and *Raden Mas* Suwardi Surianingrat. Out of their revolutionary and anti-Dutch activities grew up the *Indische Partij* (1911). For a while the Dutch authorities allowed it to develop, until it became apparent that the slogan *"Indië voor de Indiërs"* was nothing less than a determined effort at national disruption. The *Partij* was then suppressed and distant islands assigned to its leaders for their domicile.

The revolutionary atmosphere of the war and immediate post-war period led to the forming of *Sarèkat Hindia*, the National Indian Party, which, not uninfluenced by what was happening in British India, placed the in-

* "De Indo-Europeesche Beweging," by J. Th. Petrus Blumberger, in the *Encyclopedia van Nederlandsch-Indië*. (*Martinus Nijhoff*, The Hague, 1934.)

† H. C. Zentgraaf in *De Indo-Landsdienaar*. (*Koloniale Studien*, 1932.)

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dependence of Indonesia and non-co-operation between the brown and white races in the forefront of its programme. At one time the population in Central Java (the movement had struck rather strong roots in Semarang) was somewhat seriously disturbed by it, for it was directed not only against Dutch overlordship, but also against the hereditary Javanese rulers. In 1923 the Dutch Government, again by the practical expedient of withholding its approval of the society's statutes, effectively suppressed it.

Meanwhile the growing sense of a community of material and social interests among the Indo-Europeans had, in 1919, led to the founding of the *Indo-European Association*, which has since played a useful part in promoting their interests in several directions. Education has been fostered by scholarships and the establishment of special schools; women and the youth have been organized in associations which aim at raising their status, character, and outlook. In Sumatra, Java, and New Guinea Indo-Europeans have been settled as small farmers on land granted to the Association for the purpose by the Government on terms which enable it ultimately to be acquired by the settlers. At the request of the Association, which has secured a fairly large number of representatives on the Volksraad and other legislative or administrative bodies, the Government has taken into serious consideration the amendment of the existing regulations concerning land tenancy and ownership for the benefit of small farmers. The pledges made from time to time to the native population on the alienation of land are a factor which complicates the situation, and no decision has yet been reached.

It would seem from Monsieur Blumberger's lucid exposition that the disruptive tendencies in the Indo-European movement have made place for constructive activities. A recent development is that which aims at breasting the rising tide of native competition, especially in the lower clerical and mechanical posts, caused by the progressive "Indianization" which is taking place not only in the Administration, but also in private organizations.

In conclusion one is left with the impression that the difficult problem of finding a suitable niche for the Indo-European in the East Indies, though by no means yet solved, is being taken in hand sensibly and effectively by those directly concerned, with the practical encouragement and assistance of the authorities in Insulinde.

TAMING PHILIPPINE HEADHUNTERS. By Felix M. Keesing and Marie Keesing. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 10s. 6d. net.

This study is a survey of the non-Christian peoples of the Philippine Islands and serves to show how far the Government has succeeded in its cultural penetration. The writers deal in turn with these non-Christians and with the peoples of the mountain region, their mode of life, their manners, customs. Some ethnic maps accompany the chapter. The Spanish and American influences are specially studied, and here again it is worthy of note that order and safety reign in these mountain parts. The more one

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studies this most interesting volume the more one admires the native instinct of man. He possesses a sense of individual ownership of natural resources. Mr. Keesing is a profound student, as the reception of his previous work on the Maoris has shown. He has here dealt effectively with a less familiar subject: the mountain tribes of the Philippines.

THE CONFESSIONS OF A PLANTER IN MALAYA. By Leopold Ainsworth. (*H., F., and G. Witherby.*) 10s. 6d. net.

The author describes how he left a city office and took employment on a rubber estate in Malaya. The journey out, his first impressions, the picture of the estate, the Malay Kampongs, the forest, and the epic of his own rubber factory erected with the aid of his faithful Malay henchman make a tale told with sincerity and vigour, which is excellent reading.

The book brings out the difficulties and drawbacks of a planter's life, which is very much a man's job, and on many estates is insecure and ill-rewarded.

The chapter on Sakai is interesting. These people in recent years are tending to make permanent settlements.

In the next edition it would be an improvement to adopt the conventional romanized spelling of Malay and other vernacular words and names. "Maliarlum" is, as they say in official circles, irregular.

The book is well worth reading, and it is a treat to read a book on Malaya written by one who knows it and writes of the country and its people.

We should have appreciated more of the author's excellent pen pictures of local scenery, local characters, and the everyday life of the people.

NEW LIGHT ON THE MOST ANCIENT EAST, THE ORIENTAL PRELUDE TO EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION. By V. Gordon Childe. (*Kegan Paul.*) 15s. net.

Ex Oriente lux might have headed this handsome volume. Professor Gordon Childe published in 1928 a work, which was widely appreciated, entitled *The Most Ancient East*, wherein he recapitulated the recent discoveries in Western Asia. But the last few years have disclosed so many new archæological discoveries that this book had almost become antiquated and a new résumé had become necessary. The new volume will be of service to the specialist, but it is issued chiefly with a view to showing the wider public the origin of civilization as far as it has become known to the present day. The discoveries of the Royal Tombs at Ur in 1928 was of the utmost importance, but also the Nile Valley continues to contribute to our insatiable knowledge. The most epoch-making news, however, came from Sir John Marshall, when in 1932 he issued in three magnificent volumes the results of excavations conducted under his direction, which brought for the first time the Indus Valley into line with Babylonia and Egypt. Professor Gordon Childe deals adequately with these subjects as

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well as with Syria and Iran, though naturally in an abbreviated form. There are numerous illustrations which will induce the general reader to take a keener interest in prehistory, which will soon become history.

The Nine Magazines of Kodansha, the Autobiography of a Japanese Publisher. By Seizi Noma. (*Methuen.*) 10s. 6d. net.

A most unusual book. Kodansha indicates the Kodan Magazines Publishing Co., of which Mr. Noma is the director. Born of struggling parents, he began his life as a school teacher and reached the post of inspector of schools. He then accepted employment in the administration department of the School of Law and turned to journalism. The first magazine which he edited and induced a large firm to publish was the *Yuben*, and in 1926 he started the last of the nine magazines issued by the Kodan Company. All these journals enjoy an enormous circulation which has brought him fame in his country and capital. Mr. Noma can claim success through energy, perseverance, and hard work. In perusing the pages of his career one cannot help comparing this magnate with his colleagues in the West. But what is more interesting still is the insight one obtains into the life and thought of the Japanese people, and especially of a great business man.

Twilight in the Forbidden City. By Sir Reginald F. Johnston. (*Gollancz.*) 18s. net.

(*Reviewed by* O. M. Green.)

Among books on China that really count—how many among the hundreds written?—Sir Reginald Johnston's account of the five years he spent as tutor to the Ching Emperor (now Emperor Kang Teh of his ancestors' birthplace) will always take high rank. It is indeed unique, charmingly written, bringing before the reader vivid scenes of life where no other foreigner has ever moved, full of humour and humanity, and in almost every page throwing new lights on Chinese character and history. Sir Reginald went to his work in the Forbidden City peculiarly well prepared for it, by years of intimate association with the Chinese, and profound study of their language and literature; and the result is a valuable contribution to history, and a book of indescribable fascination.

His likes and dislikes may be a little strong for some readers. He does not like the Kuomintang, nor can he believe that those who have dominated its policy have anything of permanent benefit for China. People who hold those views are too often stigmatized as "anti-Chinese," when it is precisely their love of China which makes them hold them. Yuan Shih-kai was, to Sir Reginald, utterly false and unscrupulous, who deceived both Imperialists and Republicans in 1912. The late Sir John Jordan, who knew Yuan intimately from old Korean days, took a very different view. One may let it go at that, though most Chinese side with Sir Reginald. Of the Empress Dowager, Sir Reginald holds that had she been the really great woman that some have depicted her, she would have read the signs of the times and adapted China to meet the new conditions of world life. She did

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make a half-hearted attempt on her return from Shensi after the Boxer year, but she was then too old. Here again controversy expends itself vainly upon the "might-have-beens." But certainly no woman deserving to be called really great would have let her hatred of her nephew, Emperor Kuang Hsü, so blind her that she actually built a wall across some rooms of his prison, not to keep him more tightly prisoner, but to deprive him of the only pleasant view his gaol afforded.

Of the Emperor Pu Yi, Sir Reginald gives a singularly charming picture, as a gentle, sweet-tempered, wholly unvindictive lad, with strong poetic tastes (only now for the first time is it disclosed that "Luminous Unicorn," whose poems in Peking papers attracted much attention about the year 1920, was really the Emperor), as evidently devoted to his tutor as the latter to him. The tremendous authority which, in China, a tutor holds over his pupil is shown by the fact that the Emperor always had to rise when Johnston entered the room for lessons; and, if ever the tutor got up for any purpose, the Imperial pupil must rise and remain standing till the tutor sat down. On the other hand, great things were expected of the tutor. He must turn out his pupil a gentleman in the best Chinese sense of the word (an exceedingly high sense that is) or disgrace is his portion. It is certainly no undue flattery to say that the Emperor has owed a great deal to his British tutor. The material was there, but it needed developing, and the remarkable strength that he showed in ousting that evil agency, the Nei Wu Fu, or Household Department, from its plunderings, and in driving the eunuchs from the palace, he certainly owed to the years of stimulus and encouragement received from Johnston. Incidentally, it is rather remarkable that Johnston was not poisoned, especially when the Emperor made him Commissioner of the Summer Palace and he began to cut down the expensive sinecures.

It was always Johnston's dream to get the Emperor away from the hothouse atmosphere of the Forbidden City, with its centuries of evil association, to a healthier, bolder life in the Summer Palace, not with any idea of restoring him to the throne, but to make him a man and a worthy son of his country. The Emperor, too, was keen to go, eager also to travel abroad. Had he done so, the possibilities open up a long vista of interesting speculation. Unfortunately (or fortunately, who can say?), Feng Yu-hsiang, the "Christian General," intervened, hauled the Emperor from his palace to captivity; and it was only through Johnston's wit and promptitude, and the Emperor's implicit trust in his tutor, that the young man was rescued and brought into safety in Legation Quarters. The chapters describing this episode are of thrilling interest.

What will be the end of it all? Two important facts are very clearly brought out: one, that the monarchical idea remains intensely strong in North China; two, that the monarchical restoration movement in Manchuria is by no means the Japanese invention that is commonly supposed, that it is, in fact, the outcome, as Sir Reginald convincingly shows, of Chinese and Manchu ideas starting at least ten years ago. In estimating Far Eastern events one must never forget that time counts for nothing in China and that her patience is infinite.

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La Mandchourie Historique—Politique—Economique. Son Avenir. Préface de François de Jessan, Député, Vice-Président de la Commission des Affaires Etrangères. By J. C. Balet. (Paris: *Payot.*)

(*Reviewed by* Brig.-General C. D. Bruce, C.B.E.)

M. Balet's book of only two hundred odd pages might invite comparison with Mr. Owen Lattimore's masterpiece—*Manchuria*—of exactly the same title. But in its contents and in the aim of the book as expressed by M. Balet, the two are wide apart. The author looks at the Manchurian question from the Japanese point of view, but he is eminently fair. The dedication to Mr. Pu-yi, the first Regent of Manchukuo, and M. Balet's preface make no secret of the author's point of view. Of his credentials to write such a book there can be no doubt. M. Balet begins with a very brief summary of the past history of Manchuria, bringing it up to date and emphasizing the unanswerable point that China has never really absorbed Manchuria, Mongolia, Tibet, or Annam. It will be interesting to readers to be told the origin of the name Manchukuo (p. 20). The author proceeds to make another strong point in showing how easily and how rapidly the thirty million inhabitants of Manchuria accepted Japanese support. Surely, as he remarks, the huge army of Chang Hsüeh-Liang would not otherwise have disappeared, as it were, in a night before a comparatively infinitesimal number of Japanese troops.

M. Balet naturally refers to the extraordinary situation over Soviet Russia into which the League of Nations has allowed itself to be drawn. Even more extraordinary now that Russia is being pressed to enter by a back door. While condemning Japan root and branch for her attitude to the new State of Manchukuo, as well as for upholding Japanese undoubted treaty rights therein, the League actually invites representatives from the U.S.S.R.—which State quite lately overran and occupied Outer Mongolia—to sit in judgment upon Japanese action in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia (Jehol). To M. Balet, as it will to many of his readers, this extraordinary procedure seems inexplicable.

The author gives useful information and briefly upon the position of the new State *vis-à-vis* the Great Powers, the League of Nations, and Soviet Russia. He adds a summary of its resources, which include mines, forests, minerals, railways, and industrial possibilities. There is a useful outline map. In summing up, M. Balet writes:

"La Mandchourie, née d'hier et, en outre, enfant bâtard pour quelques-uns, n'a pas encore son nom dans le *Gotha* des nations, où l'on trouve pourtant celui de plusiuers Etats dont la venue an monde demeure infiniment plus discutable que celle de la Mandchourie. . . . La lutte pour la suprématie dans le Pacifique, c'est-à dire pour la conquête des marchés de l'Extrême-Orient, n'est pas fini, loin de là. Ni les Etats-Unis, ni la Chine, ni l'U.S.S.R., ni le Japon n'envisagent certainment comme décisive la phase du drame que vient de marquer l'indépendence de la Mandchourie."

Few students of affairs in the Far East are likely to disagree.

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RED ROAD THROUGH ASIA. By Bosworth Goldman. (*Methuen.*) 12s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* W. E. D. ALLEN.)

This book fulfils a very definite need, since it is the first account by a really qualified observer of Siberia and Central Asia, after nearly two decades of the Soviet experiment. Mr. Matters made the journey with the annual trading convoy to the Kara Sea, some two years ago, and several writers, often ladies and generally journalists, have attempted to describe conditions in the Soviet Republics of Central Asia. But the present author, an ex-naval officer and a member of a British Trade Union (he does not state which), with the experience behind him of previous residence in Russia and a competent knowledge of the language, is the first who has managed to penetrate to Central Asia from the Arctic, travelling neither as a conducted tourist nor as a journalist, and living the crowded, half-starved, and exceedingly squalid life of the people of the country.

The book is a record of personal experience and observations, and, as such, has a value of its own, but it is to be hoped that the author may yet make use of his unique knowledge to give us the type of book which is sadly needed—a coherent account of the political revolution in Siberia and Central Asia since the collapse of the Tsarist régime.

The author finds that whereas the more primitive tribes of Northern Siberia—Samoyedes and Tunguses—have, on the whole, benefited from the Soviet régime, which has protected them from the exploitation of the private trader and put a stop to the dangerous traffic in drink, the more advanced nomads of Central Asia have suffered severely from the attempts to control and modify their old-established ways of life. Their stock has been decimated as the result of efforts to prevent their nomadizing and to compel them to settle down to agriculture in large and uneconomic groups, while at the same time the policy of enforcing the growth of cotton at the expense of the cereal crops has brought both the permanently settled peasantry and the compulsorily settled nomads to starvation conditions. The effort to educate the older Uzbeg peasantry has been abandoned, and it is hoped, instead, "to increase the divergence of ideas between parents and the children growing up to the new political orientation."

Writing of the destruction of the old streets of Tashkent and their replacement by communal flats, the author regretfully observes:

> "Even the good proportion of modern buildings were unpleasant beside the reserved detachment they were displacing. Behind those tumbling walls life had been static and self-contained, and the uneven floors had been trodden only by the family of the owner.
>
> "Under the Czar the East had been able to preserve, to a certain extent, its detachment, allowing Europe into its midst but never into its life. The new régime has brought boots, telephones, kerosene lamps, and Primus stoves; it takes away the prodigality and stately courtesy once possessed by the meanest beggar—his grace and dignity."

The author found considerably less interference with Siberian affairs from Moscow than he had on a previous visit noticed, for instance, in the

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Ukraine. The Siberians were more stalwart and independent in their attitude towards the central authority than were the European Russians. Criticism of the régime was not concealed in the Siberian towns.

> "Several considered it unreasonable that Siberian affairs were not dealt with exclusively in Siberia, since the mineral wealth of the Union was concentrated there and since Western Siberia was at that time feeding the whole country. 'We would stop this fighting between leaders, and then we farmers might have some share in the prosperity they all promise us,' said one. Another added: 'We know how to manage our own affairs.'"

Having travelled up the Yenisei from Igarka to Krasnoyarsk, the author reached Tashkent via Novo-Sibirsk and the Turk-Sib Railway, and then visited Samarcand, Bukhara, and Askhabad. As against the destruction of old streets in Tashkent, the author found that the Soviet authorities had done much to preserve historical monuments in Samarcand and Bukhara.

> "Had the Revolution not taken place, with its desire to 'bring culture to the masses,' much that is now being preserved would have been lost."

The author found more covert hostility to the Soviet régime in Bukhara than in any other city of the Union. The Five Year Plan, so far as Central Asia is concerned, appears to have failed. An agricultural expert told the author that "only one in three of the tractors in Central Asia was in working condition."

The author proceeded home by way of Baku, Erivan, and Tiflis. The two chapters on the Caucasus are rather superficial (possibly owing to the weak state of health which the author suffered during this part of his journey). His generalizations on the Georgians do not do justice to his usually balanced judgment.

Secrets of the Red Sea. By Henri de Monfried. Translated by Helen Buchanan Bell. (*Faber and Faber.*) 12s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* L. F. Rushbrook Williams.)

This is a book of the Aloysius Horn type, now become so popular with the general reader. The author has led an adventurous life, in the course of which his contacts with authority have most frequently been in the nature of conflicts. Nothing that is adventurous has come amiss to him; pearl-diving, gun-running, and even a little secret-service work, have all in turn occupied his energies. He is sporting enough to take his reverses in good part; and has no grievance against the British authorities who more than once spoilt by their vigilance a promising, if unorthodox, little enterprise.

His picture of the pearl industry is full of interest; with its elaborate system of intermediaries between the actual divers, who daily risk their lives, and the buyers of the great European firms. He has one grim story to tell, centring round the priceless collection of a dying man, which might well have come bodily from the *Arabian Nights*. The rivalry between

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French and Greek buyers, the seduction of the pearl-collector by morphine, the chance discovery of the author which exposed the whole plot, and the terrible vengeance wreaked upon the unscrupulous Greek by the dead man's friend, form together a miniature epic of greed, cunning, and loyalty. Yet this is but one of the many stories which the author relates, calmly, and in a matter-of-fact manner, which never interposes between the reader and the stark, raw elements of drama with which his pages are filled.

But the principal charm of the book for many readers will be the descriptions of the little-known region of the Red Sea, with its guano-clad islands rising sheer out of almost fathomless depths; with its age-long industries of slave-trading, arms-running, piracy, and murder. Obviously a fine seaman, the author finds nothing strange in setting forth in his small country-craft, with a native crew, to brave Nature and Man indifferently, but with infinite resource and sagacity. He may well stand as the representative in modern days of the ancient filibusters.

The translation is on the whole competent, and the dialogue reads smoothly enough. But the proofs should have been looked over by an Englishman familiar with the locality. There is no necessity for such solecisms as Cheikh, Mascatte, Djumelé. They tend to mar the simplicity and naturalness which are among the great charms of the French original.

ANNUAIRE DE DOCUMENTATION COLONIALE COMPARÉE

This Year Book is published by the International Colonial Institute (18, Avenue de la Toison-d'Or, Brussels), and has completed its sixth year. The work to date consists of nineteen volumes, in which are brought together all the official documents published by the principal colonies of the world during the years 1827 to 1932, thus forming a valuable source of information. They give not only the text of the laws and regulations passed by those governments, but also their commercial statistics and their budgets, and the data showing their political, administrative, economic, and social development. For convenience of reference, a special volume of nearly 600 pages has just been prepared, which brings together the chronological and analytical tables from those volumes. The Year Book is issued in three volumes each year, dealing with (1) the Belgian Congo, the Netherlands, Italian, and Portuguese Colonies; (2) French Colonies, Indo-China, French West Africa, Madagascar, and Togoland; (3) British Colonies, Burma, Ceylon, Bechuanaland, Gold Coast, Nigeria, Kenya, Northern Rhodesia, Tanganyika, and Uganda.

THE MOTHER. By Pearl Buck. (*Methuen.*)

(*Reviewed by* O. M. GREEN.)

Mrs. Buck is not one to spare us the mud and blood and tears of Chinese life. Her peasants live in an atmosphere of monotonous gloom relieved only by horrors. The effect on one reader, at any rate, was unspeakably depressing. Now is this quite fair? Nobody would question

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Mrs. Buck's exceptional knowledge of her subject, her skill in transferring it to paper, her almost uncanny knack of getting inside the Chinese mind. Yet other writers who knew the Chinese peasant through and through—Macgowan and Cornaby, for instance—could see beauty and joy and tenderness in their lives, without any sacrifice of its very real sufferings and privations. It is true that neither Macgowan nor Cornaby lived long enough to know China under recent conditions. On the other hand, Mrs. Buck's villagers, in *The Mother*, were not visited either by civil war, bandits, or famine. By Chinese country standards they were moderately well off. But there was no laughter among them. Now surely one of the most noticeable features of a Chinese coolie is his keen interest in everything, his readiness for a joke. Would not the picture as a whole have gained in effectiveness by some lighter touches?

These criticisms apart, and recognizing that Mrs. Buck has chosen for her theme the tragedy of a single life, *The Mother* is an extraordinarily fine piece of work. Every character is alive, every scene brought clearly to the reader's eye; and yet, with rare skill, all alike are made to subserve the development of the central figure, apart from whom they have no importance. The mother (there are no names all through the story) is deserted by her husband and left to work the farm single-handed and maintain three children and an aged mother-in-law. We see her trials and her errors, the family growing up, the dutiful but hardly lovable elder son, the warm-blooded irrepressible Benjamin, the quarrels between the two, the piteous blindness of the daughter. The elder son marries and we see the growing conflict between mother and daughter-in-law (by no means the least brilliant portrait in the book), and the mother gradually coming to see herself as, in her daughter-in-law's eyes, a weary incubus. The blind daughter is hastily given away in an awful marriage; the younger son joins himself to the Communists. No one knows what that means—"a new sort of bandit," says one, with unconscious penetration. The youth is caught, and, with twenty others, beheaded. (The execution scene, particularly the twenty-word pen picture of the indomitable girl Communist, is one of the most graphic, poignant pieces of description in the whole book.) The mother, now utterly broken and wellnigh childish, is only saved from madness by the birth of a long-desired grandson. So the story ends on the same note on which it began, and life is rounded out between the senile prattlings of one old woman and another. It is wonderfully imagined and narrated. The reader is left to himself to imagine the moral and the remedy, if either there be.

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THE KERALA PHYSICAL EDUCATION

By N. K. Venkateswaran

India is, happily, at last waking up to the need of minding the body. The health and strength of the nation depend upon the health and strength of the individual, and the young must be taught not only the sciences and humanities of the age but also the mechanism of the human body and the way to keep it in trim. It is, therefore, right and proper that playing games and minding muscles have become a part of the political and educational vocabulary of the times.

This reawakened affection for physical culture is particularly strong in Kerala. Once, and that is not so very long since, the vast majority of men in Kerala prided themselves on their modulated limbs and beautiful muscles. The Nairs of Malabar were the envy of all who knew them in physical prowess. Before the rise of "John Company Bahadur" to ascendancy in India they formed the militia of their land, protected the people from both internal and external menaces, controlled the collective affairs of the villages, and set a limit even to the tyranny of local chieftains. The term *Nair* derives from a Sanskrit word meaning "leader."

William Logan, in his *Manual of the Malabar District*, written in 1887, quotes the following passage from the 1611 edition of Johnston's *Relations of the most famous Kingdom in the World.*

> "It is strange to see how ready the Souldiour of this country is at his Weapons: they are all gentile men, and termed Naires. At Seven years of Age they are put to School to learn the Use of their Weapons, where, to make them nimble and active, their Sinnewes and Joints are stretched by skilful Fellows, and, annointed with the Oyle Sesamus: by this annointing they become so light and nimble that they will widen and turn their Bodies as if they had no Bones, casting them forward, backward, high and low, even to the Astonishment of the Beholders. Their continual Delight is in their Weapons persuading themselves that no Nation goeth beyond them in Skill and Dexterity."

The Travancore Nayar Brigade, consisting of two battalions and an artillery unit, still maintains some of the high traditions of the Nair caste. It recently elicited the commendations of Sir William Birdwood for its "remarkable smartness and neat turnout."

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It is natural that in this time of ardent desire for physical perfection the Nairs of Malabar should be particularly keen on recapturing the strong old days. One of the resolutions passed with unanimous approval at a recent session of the Kerala Hindu Conference appertained to the revival of the *Kalari* system of physical culture, which gave the ancient Nairs the physical supremacy of which they were so justly proud. This *Kalari* culture is an altogether unique and interesting organization of physical drill, and, whatever might be the result of its proposed revival, there is little doubt that in days gone by it served its purpose eminently well.

The *Kalari* was the village gymnasium, and there was no village in "middle age" Kerala without its *Kalari*. Usually there was attached a small temple to the gymnasium for the invocation of the blessings of the god on the young learners. Fencing formed the chief subject in the curriculum. The boys entered the *Kalari* at the early age of seven with their tender muscles and supple bones. Their limbs were rendered at once elastic and pliable by a highly complex technique of massage and treatment with *gingili* oil. They were subsequently taught the use of sword and shield, bow and arrow, and lance. The training extended to a few years, and when it was over the pupil presented himself before the ruler of the land with the usual *Nuzzar* and the ruler formally invested him with the sword, making him a member of the citizen-army of one of the many villages.

Instruction in fencing was given through mock-fights with sticks, defence being more emphasized than attack. No stroke, from whatever quarter, was to be allowed to hit the body. A perfect fencer was generally able to defend himself against a score of enemies. Such fencers are not uncommon today in some villages in North Malabar, where the *Kalari* used to be pursued most vigorously. The people of North Malabar still remember their Heracles, *Thacholi Otanam*, the hero of a hundred deeds, the leaper over wide wells and respectable streams.

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ANNAMESE ASPIRATIONS

By Bui quang Chieu

(Representing the indigenous populations of Cochin-China in the Conseil Supérieur des Colonies, France)

[Mr. Bui quang Chieu, the head of the Annamese Constitutionalist Party, is the first Annamese who has been called to represent officially his fellow-countrymen in France.]

In a world which is deeply concerned with the difficulties of practical life, and at a time when anxiety about trade and financial balances is prevalent among the nations, it may appear somewhat simple or unreasonable to wish to interest the West in a question of a moral kind in the distant Orient. It concerns the Annamese, a people of some 18,000,000 souls, forming a homogeneous ethnic group on the shores of the Pacific, occupying a territory three times larger than Great Britain, with a civilization which goes back to some ten centuries B.C.

The fate of Annam having been handed over to the generous consideration of France, who has taken up the great mission of directing its evolution, it seems to us worth while, once again, to state the Annamese claims in this matter. We do this without any excess of enthusiasm, but with the greatest sincerity, and with the hope of being of some service to both France and Annam.

What do the Annamese wish? The answer can be put into a few lines: They wish to develop, like every people not lacking in intelligence, in order to attain self-government as a French Dominion in the Far East.

By the side of Japan, who has become a great world power; of China, who is organizing herself in spite of many difficulties; of Siam, who is adopting a constitution suitable to her national genius; of the Philippine Islands, whose independence at last has been conceded, the Annamese cannot forget that up to the French conquest three-quarters of a century ago they were masters of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, from the Chinese frontier to the Gulf of Siam. From north to south they spread victoriously, slowly but surely, conquering and organizing new lands, occupying gradually the valley of the Red River and the plain between Annamese China and the China Sea, and finally the wondrous delta of the Mekong—that is to say, more than 300,000 square kilometres, extending along more than 1,200 kilometres of

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the coast of the Pacific Ocean. However far we go back into the history of this people, we find in its life an admirable moral and political unity which was its strength in presence of its northern neighbours, whose crushing superiority, in intelligence and in numbers, had to reckon with its indomitable will to liberty and independence. Ten centuries of uneven and bloody struggles testify to this without dispute. We can understand that in these conditions the Annamese, faced with the fact of French rule and having sufficient intelligence and practical understanding of the necessities of life to desire to come to terms with it, should have reason to wish for a system different from one that is the outcome of conquest. They aspire to share in the control of their national life, within the framework of French protection. By their progress in Western culture and the formation of their young intelligentsia, the Annamese are proving their fitness to take up the share they desire in the public life of their country. This share not only implies a sincere wish to retain the French co-operation they highly appreciate, but also assumes a loyal intention on the part of France to assist Annam in her full and normal development. It is necessary that France should be convinced that "Indo-China has become conscious of herself, that she is seeking her destiny," as was well said by a former Governor-General of Indo-China, a highly respected former minister and parliamentarian. And the statesman added, "France will carry out to the full the mandate which she holds from her single tradition, which is to enlighten and train up individuals and peoples." Another French statesman, also a former Governor-General of Indo-China, and formerly President of the Council of Ministers, declared on this same subject, "I wish to give you the freedom which will lead you gradually towards the higher spheres of activity to which you aspire."

The French Government, therefore, is not unaware that Annamese nationalism aspires to high aims, aims which no honourable and loyal man could deny. More justice, more liberty, more dignity, in the fulness of an autonomous national life, such is the dream of the Annamese, whatever be his culture and social condition. Annamese patriotism, however, is not uncompromising nor unduly impatient; for by temperament, tradition, and culture, the Annamese are, as indeed are most Eastern peoples, patient and calm; they have strength of will without undue haste, knowing that nothing permanent evolves without time, which is the greatest of empire-builders; and therefore, despite disappointments, they continue to have faith in the protecting nation, in the sure belief that they will be repaid, because they know the traditional generosity of France, and because they have a keen sense of justice and a clear perception of the realities of

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life. When they claim to be admitted honourably and loyally to share the national life of their motherland, it is because they believe their development has been directed by a generous idea of progressive yet complete emancipation. In pursuing this ideal, the nobility of which the French people understand perhaps better than any other, the Annamese have on various occasions laid before the French Government a programme for consideration, which they trust that France will agree promptly to examine and discuss and then put into operation, if she desires to retain that affection and confidence which she has taken pains to win, and which are the foundation of all loyal, lasting, and fruitful co-operation. These claims are so modest and so just that the French public, when it happens to know of them, is always surprised at their moderation, and asks why, after seventy years of life with Frenchmen, the Annamese, an intelligent and cultured people, have still to beg for that which every man in Western Europe and many other countries enjoys as his birthright: freedom to travel, to write, to meet together, and opportunity to share in public life according to his mental and moral capacity—in short, to attain all the rights inherent in his status of man and citizen. In theory the Annamese have these rights, but in practice that is not always the case; indeed, one Governor-General of Indo-China, in a moment of despondency, said that in that country administrative action was often not in accord with government intention. The Annamese like to believe, indeed, that the instructions from France differ at times from the practices of the local government; they hope that sooner or later the latter will end by following the former, and will continue in the liberal traditions of the Metropolis.

The remedying of these grievances would, of course, be an important step, and it would cause a great improvement in Franco-Annamese relations, but it would not solve the fundamental problem. The present state of things, which results from the conquest, is due to a certain misunderstanding. The Empire of Annam, which comprised three countries forming one block—Cochin-China, Central Annam, and Tonquin—was peopled by an ethnic group completely unified, politically, morally, and socially. It found itself, by the fact of its conquest by France, split into three fragments under three differing administrations; Cochin-China was made a colony, the two others became protectorates, Tonquin being under almost direct administration. Even supposing that this arrangement was necessary at the time of the conquest, it does not, after seventy years of peace, cease to offend the sense of justice and the national sentiment of the Annamese. That unity and autonomy were dearly won by their ancestors, and jealously preserved up to the middle of the nineteenth century, and so long

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as they are not restored to Annam there will persist between the two peoples a source of trouble which cannot be settled by concessions of an administrative or social kind; the status of the country of Annam in the view of the Annamese will remain *litigieuse* (contentious at law), to use the apt term of M. Georges Garros (in *Les Forceries Humaines*), father of the eminent Roland Garros, and famous counsel in Indo-China, who has put his brilliant and generous pen at the service of the Annamese cause, to recall his country to a saner understanding of her duties towards Indo-China, in a spirit of clear-sighted patriotism and justice.

No doubt it could be objected that the treaties which settle the French protectorate in Annam are in good and due form. It depends upon France whether these treaties become agreements freely assented to, and ratified by a nation aware of its own destiny, hearing the promptings of reason and the appeals of its heart. If indeed colonization is what some have called "an act of civilization," if it is, as writes the former President of the Council quoted above, "a work of human solidarity" and "the duty of the stronger to protect the weaker," the Annamese are right in expecting from France the gesture of disinterestedness and generous understanding which shall restore, under the ægis of France, their national unity, with a constitution suitable for ensuring to Annam a normal evolution. Ever since the conquest the native populations have protested against the present system. Their aspiration, complicated of late by communist agitation and very sternly suppressed, revives as soon as it is quieted. The time has come to examine carefully whether French protection, whose beneficent results in order and peace the Annamese very fully recognize, would not gain by transformation into an association freely accepted by both sides, with a clear knowledge of the higher interests of both. It should be the logical close, the natural term of the long experience of life together and of fertile co-operation during the last seventy years, between the French and the Annamese in Indo-China.

At a time when the Far East is threatening to become the scene of struggles on which will partly depend the destiny of the world, France, which has taken up the duty of protectress of Annam, cannot refuse to investigate the grievances put forward by the Annamese with the most sincere desire to reconcile the rightful interests of the French and the Annamese, so that they may together be able to defend the latter from external aggression; they purpose loyally transforming a business of force into a work of progress, education, and fraternity. That would not be only for the sole satisfaction of the moral and material aspirations of Annam, but also for the greater good of France, whose moral prestige would be notably increased throughout the whole world,

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and especially among Asiatic peoples; her activity in Asia would henceforth rest upon a solid foundation with the earnest help of a grateful people of 18,000,000 souls conscious of their destiny. For the Annamese and with the Annamese the great world power France would become an Asiatic power. Under her ægis the children of Annam would resume their traditional evolution. Wholly and without reserve they would bring to this Franco-Annamese task the material and spiritual resources of their country. Such would be the effects of the magnanimous gesture which we wish to see France make of her own free will, for the common good of the two peoples. There would be formed in the Indo-Chinese peninsula, on the shores of the Pacific, a Franco-Annamese nation which, thanks to the vitality of a population which doubles itself every twenty years and to the abundant natural wealth of its soil and sub-soil, and thanks also to its geographical position in one of the great highways of the world, would quickly take rank among the Asiatic nations capable of playing a great part in the Far East.

May this not be a dream!

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TOURING THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES

By John de La Valette

The City Magnate—godfather to the tourist
Week-ends at Borobuddur
Plucked eyebrows in Borneo.

Dark clouds are supposed to be silver-lined. If there ever was need for that lining to shine forth it is now, when the gloom that has so long overcast shipping business in all parts of the world shows little, if any, signs of being dispelled. But perhaps these linings are apt to disclose themselves only to those who take the trouble to discover them. Meekly to await until the manna of State subsidies drops into one's lap may not be the best prescription.

Neither in this country, nor in Holland, have the governments so far followed the misguided and disruptive policy of subsidizing uneconomic shipping ventures in the hope of spreading the national renown abroad, or even of promoting general trading interests. How soon they may be driven to join in this futile competition the near future may possibly reveal.

Meanwhile the shipping interests of the two countries that face each other across the lower North Sea have had to bear the full brunt, first of the sudden "economic blizzard," then of the steadily settling depression, as best they could. As the seamen of both nations have a long tradition of sturdy self-reliance bred in their marrow, it is interesting to observe some of the ways in which they have reacted against the forces that are assailing their livelihoods.

In the matter of building up-to-date ships, the Germans were, at Versailles, gratuitously presented with the immense advantage of having their pre-war ships taken away from them. Their Government was thereby enabled to subsidize the shipowners to build brand new ships to correspond with the needs of the day. This they did, and at first very effectively. But it cannot be said that their lead has been maintained, though the causes need not all be laid at the shipowners' door.

Other nations, the Dutch among them, utilized their post-war prosperity to renew and expand their merchant fleets at a time when the shipowners in this country were forced to content themselves with their existing ships and the ex-German vessels they had acquired. To some extent there were good points about this policy of waiting, for it prevented British shipowners in many cases from building ships at the excessive prices ruling when their Continental colleagues ordered theirs.

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At the same time it must be said that, not so much perhaps in the matter of first-class passenger vessels, but to some extent where up-to-date tramps and other cargo ships are concerned, our shipowners were for a while outdistanced. In recent years the leeway has been reduced, but its complete removal may well depend upon the latest developments in British State-aided ship-building.

Meanwhile an interesting phenomenon could be observed in the big passenger lines, not only in this country but elsewhere, for instance in Holland.

Even before the war the big lines in the northern transatlantic trades had experienced that, during the slack season, their normal complement of passengers was inadequate to enable all the ships to be profitably maintained on their regular routes. Thus grew up, somewhat reluctantly, the practice of sending certain ships on longer or shorter "cruises," carrying tourists making the round voyage in the same ship, instead of normal travellers proceeding from one country to another. At first the shipping companies restricted themselves to supplying the ships and the service, leaving some tourist agency, in those days usually an American concern, to find the tourists and organize the tour. But after the war, especially after the first post-war slump of 1921-22, when the shortage of ordinary passengers became more acute, the lines themselves began to devote greater attention to their tourist cruises as a means of eking out their normal earnings on passenger traffic. Gradually these cruises came to occupy an essential place in the economics of many passenger lines.

As happens in such cases, fortuitous circumstances and deliberate propaganda interacted to produce a cumulative effect, until now we can, in the jargon of the day, speak of a "cruise complex" as a normal attribute of large sections of the people in many countries. Among the external circumstances which fostered the desire to go for a cruise, instead of travelling by land to and from some sunny destination, the international complications during the last ten years have played their part. At one time they affected rates of exchange this way or that; at another they raised troublesome formalities or unexpected hazards which deterred many from facing the inconvenience or the risk of what had once been favourite trips. Finally the Continental hotel keepers were not always wise in good time. By attempting to make their remaining visitors pay for those who came no longer—they drove the last faithful customers away.

Thus the urgent need for the shipping lines to find new "traffic" coincided with a desire on the part of the public to be saved the worries and expense of overland travel, and yet to see foreign places, whilst all the time enjoying the amenities offered ashore only by first-rate hotels. The tourist agency and the pub-

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licity man did the rest. Thus the tourist cruise was born, flourished, and became an institution. Today it may be said to be "booming."

Nor was it only by means of specially arranged voyages that the wanderlust of the public was appeased—or whetted, as the case may be. Passenger managers began to study their statistics, looking for "sags" in their traffic curves. Having found them they proceeded to straighten them out by drawing tourists to such parts of their ordinary trips as seemed insufficiently patronized. Here again some of the British and Dutch lines found themselves in similar situations. Starting from their home-ports on opposite sides of the North Sea, they had to proceed all the way round Gibraltar to their Mediterranean embarkation port—Genoa or Marseilles, as the case might be—before the bulk of their passengers joined the ship. On the homeward journey they similarly dropped most of their complement at the same port. Here were five or six days, therefore, that might well be utilized to accommodate intermediate travellers. Cheap fares, great comfort, and a call at some glamorous African port en route, were the lure to which a public already eager to travel by sea was quick to respond. Thus the intermediate traveller was created, with the Riviera as the goal of his trip. With a long experience of catering for the wishes, even the fads and the whims, of their customers, the "Nederland," a Royal Dutch Mail line, which had been the pioneer of steamship travel to the East Indies and had maintained its progressive policy, set itself the task of making it attractive for British and Continental passengers to join their ships at Amsterdam or Southampton—where they moor right at the quays—and proceed to Genoa. Algiers was touched en route and facilities were provided for seeing something of the glamour of North Africa.

The immense popularity which this route to the Italian Riviera soon acquired caused those who wished to spend some time on the French Côte d'Azur to become a trifle envious. Hence some time ago the "Nederland" decided to touch on every voyage, both outward and homeward bound, at Villefranche, the beautiful French harbour between Cap Ferrat and Nice, as well as at Genoa. Thus a comfortable, direct route of travel is now provided to and from both the French and the Italian Rivieras.

Having quickly profited by these new opportunities, the public soon asked for further facilities. Return journeys should be made to coincide as nearly as might be with the end of a holiday or the spot where one happened to be. Once again the "Nederland" satisfied the need and provided for it. Travellers to Algiers or the Riviera could henceforth get their return tickets accepted by a number of other British and Dutch lines, thus increasing their opportunities for roaming about at will, during shorter or longer

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periods, through the half-tamed deserts of North Africa, or the sophisticated playgrounds on the French or Italian coasts. The arrangement has proved a success, for the company as for the tourists.

But no one ever seems satisfied with success. Once again passenger managers brooded over curves and discovered more unwanted hollows in them. This time they related to Egypt. Fortunately the season during which traffic seemed to fall off was the winter period, when the wish to visit the land of the Pharaohs is felt in many hearts. So what had been done for the Azure Coasts of Europe and the motor-crossed deserts of Africa was now repeated for the land of the Nile. Instead of having to travel laboriously through several passport- and visa-ridden countries to some far-distant port, there to embark on a larger or smaller, but always a fairly small, ship, the seekers after the glories of pyramids or sphinxes, of ancient sites or tombs, or even those merely in quest of sunshine and the fashionable resorts of Egypt, can now comfortably step aboard in an English port and reach their goal in some of the largest liners that proceed "east of Suez." From the moment he embarks the traveller will be "at home" so far as his comfort is concerned, or the safeguarding of cherished habits. For the rest he will find himself transported to a little bit of the East. The officers and stewards may answer him in perfect English, but he will find himself surrounded with the silent and smooth service of spotlessly-dressed Javanese boys, trained to guess his wishes without awaiting the word of command. If Dutch liqueurs and other strong waters exert any drawing power, their variety and abundance will not be found lacking, but the real *clou* is sure to remain the famous Javanese *rijsttafel*, the unnumbered dishes of which none will fail to sample—under friendly guidance at first, then, no doubt, with venturesome independence. Thus, ere the Needles are left behind, the traveller by this route will have the benefit of being "abroad."

Once in Egypt, there are again facilities to adjust the length of the stay to one's special requirements, for there too the "Nederland" line's return tickets can be used for a homeward journey by one of several British or Dutch ships.

Thus touring by regular liner had extended as far as Suez. At first there was a pause here in the expansion of tourist traffic. After all, it is an article of faith that east of Suez everything is different, and not lightly to be ventured upon. Curiously enough it was neither the tourist nor the shipping manager who broke the ice—if the simile be here permissible—in regard to providing tourist facilities further eastward; it was the busy City magnate, the City magnate with financial interests in Java or Sumatra, in Malaya or Singapore. Before the war business was done more

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leisurely; people did not rush across one half of the globe to meet someone for a couple of days and then rush home again. If you went at all, you stayed at least some months. After the war things changed. They changed rapidly and in unexpected directions. The man who had not been there, even for a couple of years, was apt to be out of date in his knowledge of the situation, in his estimate of the prospects. Neither of these things the City magnate can afford. He had to go, even if he could only stay a week. And with "booms" on the wane, or actually collapsing, the cost was not an unconsidered factor. That is how the cheap Same-Ship-Return ticket arose.

It was a marvellous invention: an eight weeks' trip from Genoa to Batavia and back to Genoa provided the exhausted business man with two comfortable journeys by an up-to-date "Nederland" liner and with twelve days in Java to attend to his work. If his destination were Sumatra the twelve days grew to anything up to eighteen. Hard on the business man's heels came the tourist in search of the East. To him the trip by itself would have been worth the price, and the couple of weeks left him in the Dutch Indies clinched the matter. In this way the City magnate has become godfather to the tourist. The question: "Shall we spend a fortnight in the Indies?" is regularly being asked and answered in the affirmative by a number of people who, but for this opportunity, would never have been able to venture so far from home with barely two months at their disposal. It goes without saying that at the ordinary return fares longer stays can be made in the enchanted islands of the Archipelago. But the interesting point is to find these visits of a fortnight becoming quite a normal occurrence. To utilize to the full the twelve days between the ship's arrival in Java and her departure from Batavia, the "Nederland" line has organized a choice of half a dozen different tours. All of them carry the traveller right across the island by motor-car or rail, or by a combination of both, as time or inclination may direct. The points to be visited likewise aim at catering for different tastes. Short as the time may seem, it exceeds that allowed for many trips made by transatlantic travellers in quest of a glimpse of half the countries of Europe. And owing to the forethought with which these tours have been prepared, they enable one to obtain a very fair impression of the gorgeous scenery and the attractive people of Java. In fact, to an old-timer, like the present writer, the way in which the distances in Java have shrunk under the combined action of improved railways and motor roads is almost deplorable.

I remember many years ago being summoned from Batavia to Tegal on the north coast of Java, barely 160 miles away. It was a matter of life and death—and no direct communication. The

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steamer would not leave for another day, and would take twenty-four hours to get there. Impassable swamps separated Batavia from Cheribon, barring progress towards Tegal. There was no other way than to cross the southern mountain ridge, follow the Preanger plateau and push along by railway to Maos, somewhere south of Tegal but almost the island's whole width away from it.

At Maos you had to stop in any case, for daylight failed by the time you reached it and buffaloes showed a predilection for spending the night on the track, which made travel during the dark hours awkward.

From Maos we struck out north by coach. By kindly arrangement of the authorities the six horses were changed every "post," a distance of six miles in the plains and three to four miles in the hills. In between they galloped all out, two agile postillions, precariously suspended on a platform at the back, cracking their short whips and every now and again jumping off and rushing up to the horses' heads to guide them through some difficult stretch of the road, without ever slackening the pace. It was a glorious night, the moon shone through the tall teak forest on to the chalky road, small patches of which were more brightly illumined by our one and only, very smelly, acetylene lamp.

Suddenly a crash—two horses down, the others brought up in a jumble, the coachman on his high box frantically pulling up the reins. Postillions, knocked off their stand, pick themselves out of the dust and hustle to the horses. We all rush to the horses and help them up, finding them fortunately not much the worse for the experience. The cause? A wild boar had attempted to cross the road just where our lamp dazzled him. We strapped him on our luggage carrier and ate him next day in Tegal. Travelling was interesting in those days.

It still is, albeit in different fashion. You can now round off your sight-seeing in Batavia with an excellent lunch at one of its perfect hotels. Then into a car and a most skilful Malay chauffeur will rush you up to Bandong in time for dinner. Formerly it took best part of the day to reach the capital town of the Preanger district—but the scenery en route has remained as magnificent as ever.

Slope after slope of the fertile mountains will be found tilled, almost up to the edge of the lava. Here gracefully terraced rice fields, pale green shoots sprouting through the glimmering surface of the few inches of water that cover the loam; elsewhere the dark gloom of coffee plantations, not so numerous now as they used to be, or the trim, low shrubs of well-kept tea gardens; coconut groves waving their drooping foliage with delicate, languid gestures; vast masses of luxuriant verdure, slender remains of the endless untrodden forests which some of us knew there from

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previous times. Behind it all, everywhere, the cone-shaped peaks of volcanoes, faintly outlined at first, clearly silhouetted as you draw nearer against the colourless blue of a light-drenched sky.

Somewhere hereabouts you may come upon one of the lovely lakes that nestle among the lower slopes of the hills. In the middle may be a tiny island; on this a couple of withered, dead trees. Dead? Yet there seems drooping foliage on their branches, or the outlines of big fruit? The solution of the problem follows at the hour of approaching dusk. One by one, like ripe fruit the forms that have dangled, motionless, drop from the branches. They drop—but as they fall, they unfold like giant umbrellas and turn into weird, winged creatures, with hairy, red heads and sharp glittering teeth, wet noses like those of healthy dogs, and piercing little eyes. In a few minutes all the flying foxes are on the wing, ominous, like the ghosts of harassed beings, haunting the spot where their lives were cut short. Round and round the now utterly bare trees they circle, swerve and glide away with slow, efficient movements of their gigantic wings—off towards the tall banyan trees in the distance, where the tiny berries will provide them with their supper.

From the Preanger you proceed along the southern slopes of Java's mountainous backbone to those most interesting relics of ancient indigenous civilization: the Principalities of Ngayokyakarta and Surakarta, colloquially referred to as Jogja and Solo. Here ancient tradition and the exquisite skill of hereditary craftsmen combine with the age-old culture of the inhabitants to provide the Princes of these small but dignified states with suitable material out of which to build up their courtly entourage and the fascinating ceremonial of their palaces and stately processions.

At their courts Javanese dancing and music reach the summits of excellence. Under their enlightened guidance literature and the arts flourish and are respected. *Batik*, that exquisite method of dip-dyeing the cotton sarongs of the Javanese men and women, can here be seen at its best. The swordsmiths, makers of the delicate *krisses* which their owners value as their most precious possessions, to which they give names, as knights used to do in ancient days, and which they hand down as *pusaka*, sacred heirlooms, reach in these states the greatest height of their craft or mystery. For swordsmiths are still looked upon as possessed of special knowledge and power.

Within easy motoring distance of Jogja towers Borobuddur, that colossal monument of Hindu civilization in Java, a sculptured shrine the equal of which it would be hard to find. I remember sharing as a youngster in the sensation caused by Dr. Yzerman's discovery of its buried terraces. From that period dates the gradual preservation of this impressive masterpiece. But it was not until, in recent years, Colonel Van Erp had carried out his

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scholarly investigations and brought into play his practical knowledge as an engineer and his artistic sensitiveness, that this great pile came to be restored to its present condition, thus paying a worthy tribute to the masterminds who conceived and the craftsmen who produced this noble example of human aspiration. A little further away, at the meeting point of four roads leading to what once were famous cities, lies the Diëng Plateau. Here some of the earliest remains of Hindu-Javanese architecture and sculpture may be seen. When I first roamed this wind-swept upland, on a pony so small that not merely my hands but my face was constantly cut by the tall sword grass that grew in profusion among the ancient ruins, these masterpieces in stone lay scattered about, sometimes half carved or even untouched yet by the sculptor, just as the last earthquake had left them, at the time their builders had abandoned their profitless task of striving against the anger of the gods.

Today, with tireless patience and consummate skill, Dutch archæologists have pieced the loose blocks together and recreated much of the glory of the past.

Further east your road will continue through the hot plains of Central and Eastern Java, where sugar factories once brought life to whole populations. Here again one is tempted to think back on early days: owners of sugar factories then lived on their estates, knowing the population around them, among whom they had grown up, with whom sometimes they had intermarried. Always they seemed linked with their land, chained by their heartstrings to the *fabriek*, to all that it stood for and all that it dispensed: work, wealth, hospitality, good cheer, happy fellowship—all these it spread, quite apart from providing dividends on which whole families throve in the courtly comfort of The Hague or in opulent mansions on some broad avenue in Arnhem. Those days are gone; a queer thing called "economics" has killed them. Almost gone would probably be a safer assertion, for I should be mightily surprised if, rich or poor, the sugar planter were not to offer you the welcome of your life should you take the trouble to call on him. Age-long traditions of courtesy and kindness are not suddenly wafted aside by the blast of even the worst depression. And the traditions of the *suiker fabriek* are worthy and of long lineage.

Surabaya—busy trading centre of the eastern part of Java—how I wish I could join the cheery tourists there and show them some of the spots I knew. There was a house among them that was most up-to-date: its bathroom drained through the stables into the river. At any rate, it was built to do that and it did so for a while. Then the river rose unreasonably and drained back through the stables and the bathroom into the dining-room and lounge. Many photographs of worthy relatives floated round, then drifted away and were lost. That drainage system had its good points.

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There are many things you can do at Surabaya, apart from having a glass of champagne and a biscuit at Oei-Mo-Liem's in the morning. You can leave it, for instance, to go to Passuruan. There is nothing special about Passuruan, unless, of course, you were born there or remember as a youth having strolled down its tamarind avenue. Here night did not fall, as it elsewhere does, by darkness rising from the earth and swallowing the sky. Through the high bower of the tamarind crests a velvet blackness would seep down till it had softly covered all the earth. At the far end, where the town clock shone from a square, squat, whitewashed tower, stars would sparkle and the moon would smile. No young man ever saw a girl home down that tamarind avenue without discovering that she was the most beautiful girl in the world. I have no doubt the same girls are still there—or, at any rate, their daughters, with perhaps a precocious grandchild among them. But even if you should not find them, let it not perturb you, for Passuruan is en route to Tosari—and Tosari is 6,000 ft. up, as the guide-book will tell you. It is the nearest place to Surabaya where you can draw a blanket up to your neck—that is what the sweltering plainsman will say. It is also the place where from the sheer edge of the sand sea, abandoned bottom of a fed-up crater which gave up its erstwhile job of spitting fire at intervals to settle down as a petrified cone, you may, in the half-hour that follows the dawn, look down upon an ocean of clouds slowly spilling over a gap in the crater's edge, like colourful cream pouring out of a jug.

Another thing you can do at Surabaya is to take a boat to Bali. It is only a night's journey across—and Bali, as you must know by now, even if you did not visit the French Colonial Exhibition, produces the most exquisite little dancers, whose tiny faces seem strangely unreal between their sumptuous jewelled headgear and the blazing velvets and dazzling brocades which swaddle their frail little figures into graceful cocoons.

Bali, incidentally, is the one place in the Dutch Indies where Hindu tradition has survived in the practice of daily life. To it we owe the delicate shapes of the temples which abound in all parts of the islands and the weird ceremonies which surround the cremation of notables.

The last thing you might do at Surabaya would be to join your "Nederland" liner and work your way home again. But probably you won't—there are so many things you are sure to have missed, so you will no doubt contour the mountains in a car, back to Batavia, while your patient ship goes back by hugging the shore.

But Java and Bali are not the only islands you may visit. Three days before reaching Batavia the eastbound liner has called at Belawan, the port of Medan, capital of the east coast districts of Sumatra, and centre of the world-famed tobacco industry.

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Time was—again it seems hardly half a lifetime ago—when to have travelled overland from Medan to Padang, on the west coast, would have required weeks of rough going, across two mountain ridges and the jungle-covered plateau in between, with the odds against arriving safely even, at best. For throughout most of the districts warlike tribes jealously guarded their preserves and strangers were rarely welcomed. The pacification of Achen by that great Dutch colonial soldier and administrator, General van Heutz, and the subsequent measures taken to a like end by another virile and wise Dutch statesman, Dr. H. Colijn, the present Prime Minister of the Netherlands, paved the way for a complete change in the local conditions and the attitude of the people. In little more than a generation many Batak tribes, some of them at that time still addicted to cannibalism, have grown into peaceable, more or less Christianized people. Preserving all that is good in their inherited customs, the Dutch authorities have, with great ability and tact, led them into the ways of peace and settled husbandry. So with the other peoples in the island. Throughout the eleven hundred miles of its length peace and orderly conditions are firmly established in Sumatra. Roads and motor traffic have played their parts in this development and the traveller benefits by it. In a couple of days if he must, in a few delightful days if he will, the tourist who left the "Nederland" liner at Belawan can now motor from Medan to Padang through some of the most delectable scenery in the island.

In the Batak country he will have a chance to observe the interesting houses of the people and watch them gathering in huge numbers at their great markets and fairs. Here chaffering goes on briskly between them and the many other races that flock to these places, although one part of the market remains the preserve of the Batak, that where a strange delicacy is sold: dog flesh—which seems to have satisfactorily displaced the human diet of earlier days.

Brastagi, a hill station within easy reach of Medan, is one of the modern improvements in Sumatra which have become highly popular, not only among the planters of Deli, but among those of Malaya who come across from Penang to enjoy a few days in the salubrious air of Brastagi. With wise foresight the Dutch started a Batak Museum there—lest the tourist and the cinema between them should kill off the traditional Batak more effectively than cannibalism ever succeeded in doing.

Perhaps the most striking feature of this trip is the sight of Lake Toba, an inland sea as it were, some eight hundred square miles in size. It lies several thousand feet up in the hills amid a ring of volcanoes. Jutting out into it is a pleasant peninsula on which, at a place called Prapat, the modern craze for comfort and luxury, with sports of all kinds thrown in, has brought forth an

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up-to-date hotel which advertises all the things you could get just as well, if no better, at Frinton or Harrogate.

What you will see at neither of these places are the delightful examples of native architecture which abound in all these parts and especially in the Padang Uplands, through which the journey to Padang leads one.

The Minagkabau people, apart from speaking the purest form of Malay, prove their ancient culture and refinement by their exquisite buildings and gorgeous costumes. The long family houses and the ornate rice sheds are built of timber with walls of patterned bamboo or gaily-painted planking.

The floors are raised well above the ground and the end walls slope out and up as though their shapes had been derived from those of double-ended *prahus*. There is a Chinese touch about the upward curving outlines of the roofs, and a grace all their own about the ornamentation.

The people who inhabit or use these ornate dwellings and sheds are equally fastidious about their personal attire and adornment. Unlike the sarongs of Central Java, which are generally sombre in tone, those of the Minagkabau women are colourful and gay. Bright dyes and gold thread enter freely into their weaving, and gay hues are favoured for the *batik'ed* ones. The shawls, too, are richly ornamented and sumptuous velvet cloaks are worn on great occasions. Of head ornaments there seems an immense variety, each stranger and more intriguing than the previous one. It was always with regret that I descended from the Uplands to Fort de Kock and Padang, even though the scenery on the way was grand and varied to a degree.

There is no need to confine even a relatively short stay in the Dutch Indies to the islands touched at by the incoming liners, to Java and Sumatra that is. The Royal Packet Company, the famous K.P.M., whose immaculately white ships link up every big and every small port in all the islands by quick and frequent services, is a god-send to the traveller in these parts.

To pay a visit to Celebes entails, therefore, no great trouble. Apart from the more conventional sights, there is the possibility nowadays of travelling by motor-car right into the land of the Torajas, a people primitive but most attractive. And it is worth while to call on them, for they can provide the drafters of democratic constitutions with many sound hints. Community of property is the rule among the Torajas, except in relation to personal trinkets or kit. Democratic consultation and joint discussions go with this form of communism. Women do not vote (at least, they did not). They do not even speak at meetings. But they were not, for all that, without power. When the elders sat in council, and the young ones hearkened to them in respectful silence, the wives of the elders used to sit at their backs, and never spoke a word—

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until they got home again. For since even the longest council meeting was bound to come to an end, even the most redoubtable speaker was bound, some time, to come home. It has been pointed out that the women of the tribe had a marked influence in the affairs of state. Which is a useful point to remember. There is one spot in the East Indies to which I am sure you should go. It is the only one there (outside New Guinea, I dare say) to which no tourist agency will book you through. It is called Apo-Kayan and lies in the hills in the northern parts of Dutch Borneo. It is a little awkward to reach, but it can be reached if you persist. First go to Samarinda—that's easy, the K.P.M. takes you. Then find a coaster to Bulungan. Not a half day's sailing from there lies Tanjong Sellor at the mouth of the Kayan River. That is where you start. There are a number of rapids in this river, and you must follow it if you are to get through at all. The first seventeen miles will not take you more than eleven days, if there are no floods, of course. After that you walk a couple of days through the jungle till you get above the cataracts. Here you will find some boats which somebody left there last time he went down to the coast. These you repair, and in a few days you start off again. The rate of progress is fair from here on, probably three miles a day, if you start at seven and stop at five. The last few days you walk, for the river peters out and there are no horses. Altogether the man who broke the speed record got there in forty days, and one who had bad weather in seventy-five. The average lies in between.

The journey is worth while. You will meet some of the best-looking Dayaks of Borneo. They used to be head-hunters—a very reasonable thing to be if you know what lies behind the somewhat disturbing practice. The trouble was, the Apo-Kayans used to collect their heads on the other side of what seemed to them a purely arbitrary border: in British North Borneo. The Government there being of a tidy mind and orderly disposition objected, and told the Dutch Government so. The Dutch Government had tried missionaries in other parts before. Sometimes it worked, sometimes not quite. As this was an international complication, they decided on sending some soldiers. A military post grew up —which draws all its supplies, bar rice, by the route I told you of. Now the place is delightful to visit. The people are carefree and gay, though they take no heads any more. Incidentally, the ladies in Apo-Kayan have practised eyebrow plucking since times immemorial. So now you know where Hollywood got its inspiration.

Altogether, if you should grow tired of going to Sumatra for a fortnight, or spending a week-end at Borobuddur, try a trip to Apo-Kayan. The shipping company, I feel sure, will extend the validity of your return ticket—and the experience will be worth the extra.

पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय
हरिद्वार
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TOURING IN THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES: ILLUSTRATIONS

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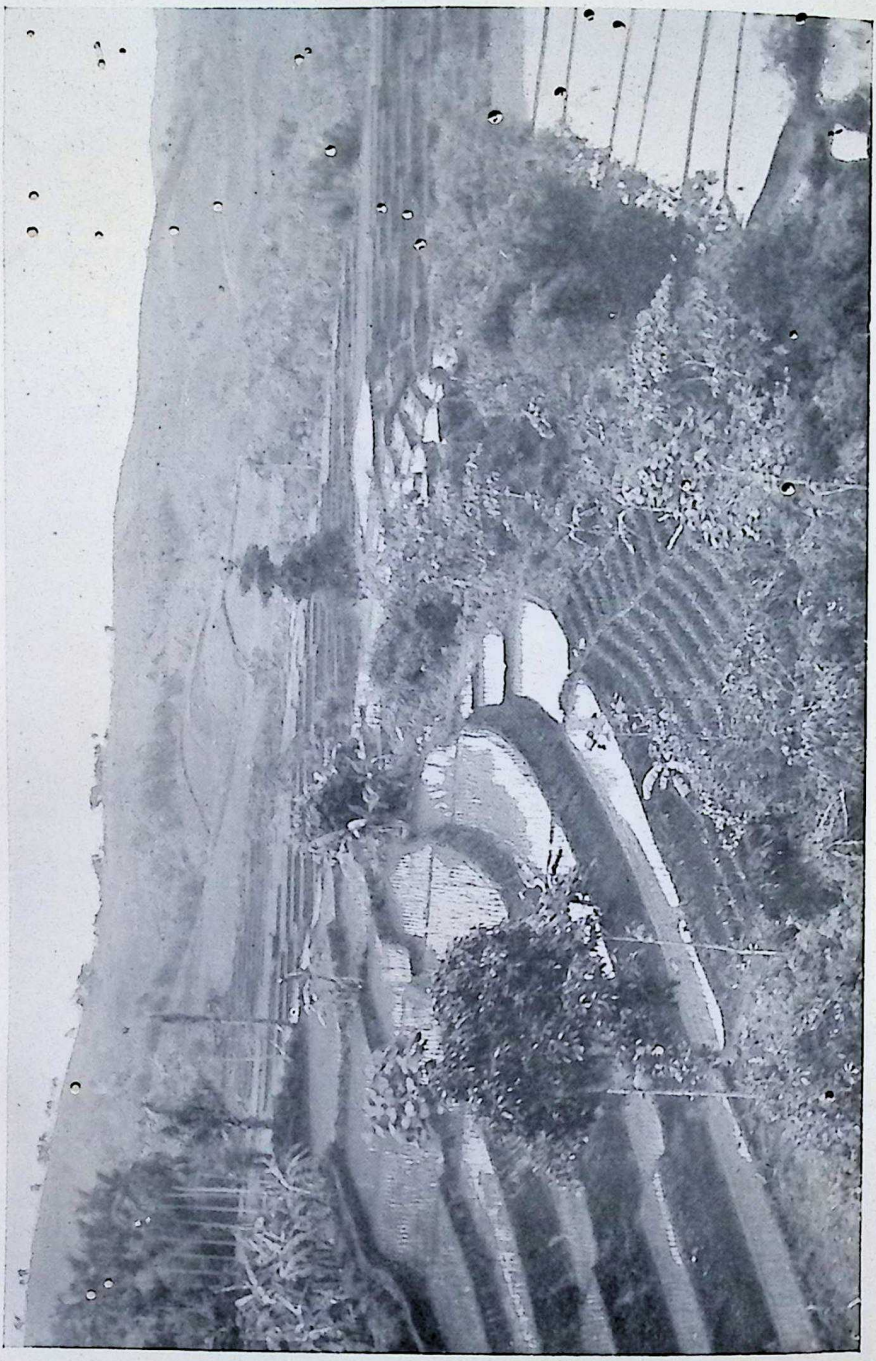
PLATE I



TYPICAL LANDSCAPE IN JAVA: TERRACED RICE FIELDS UNDER IRRIGATION.

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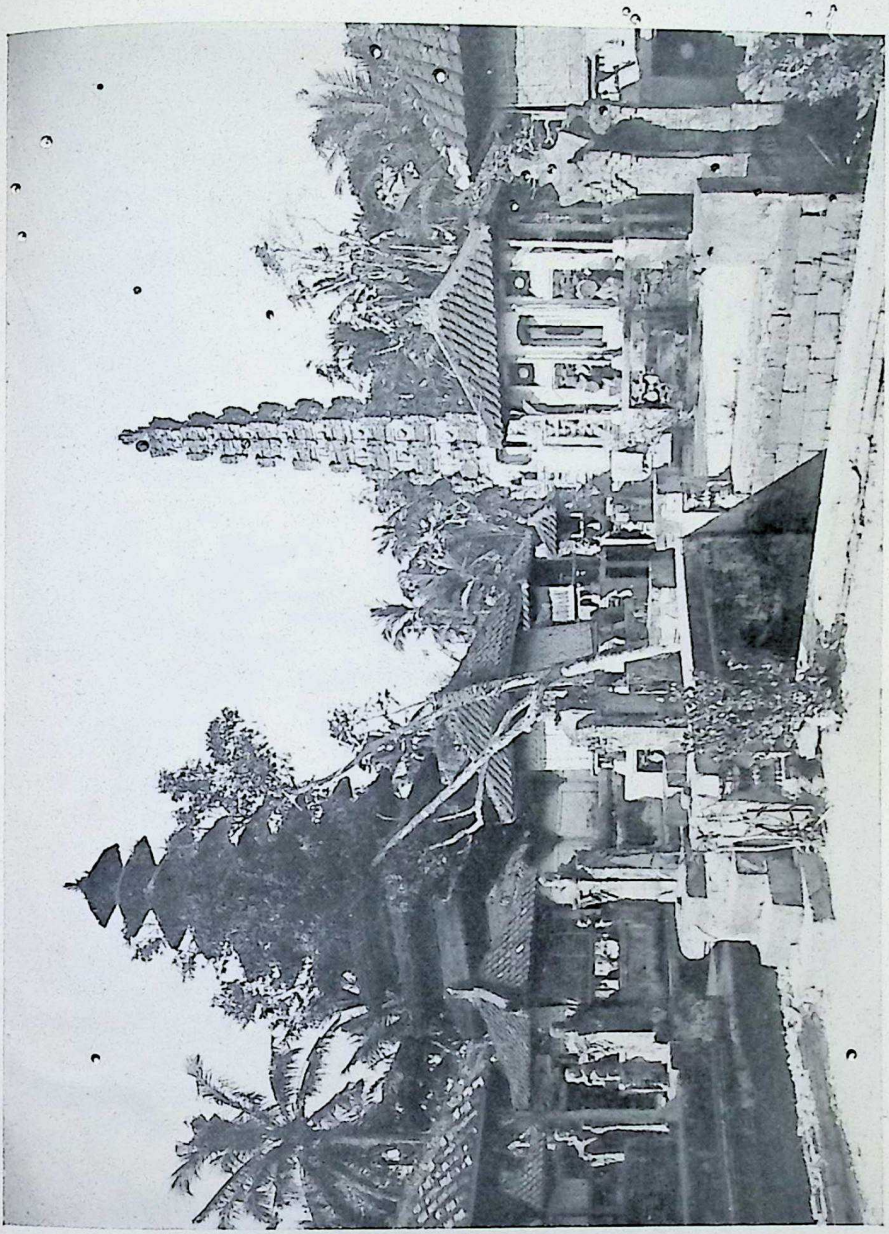

OUTER COURT OF A HINDU TEMPLE IN BALI.

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PLATE III

LAKE TOBA IN SUMATRA IS NOW A FAVOURITE CENTRE FOR TOURISTS.

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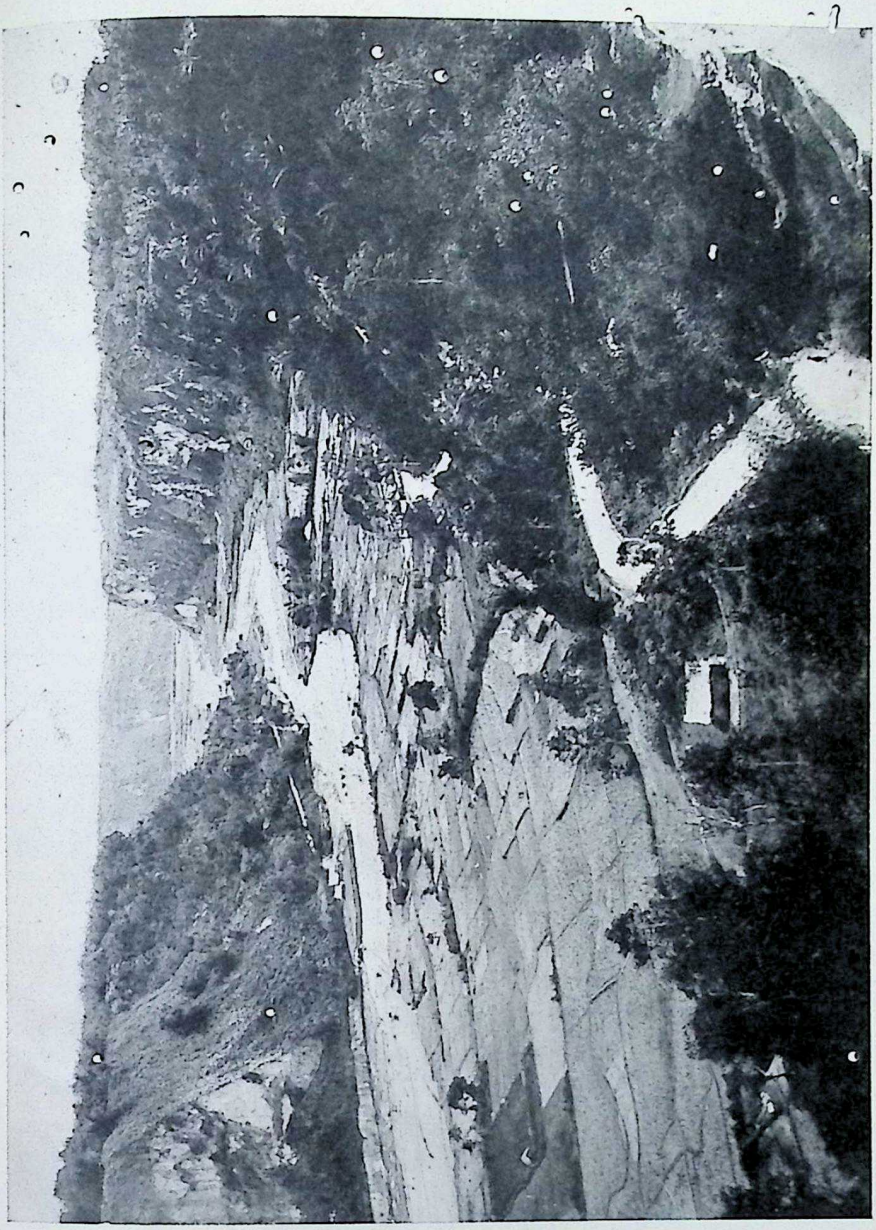

THE BUFFALO GORGE—A FAMOUS LANDMARK IN SUMATRA.

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PLATE V

Head-hunting need not exclude the more gentle refinements of life. Among the Apo-Kayan ladies in the remote uplands of Dutch Borneo eyebrow plucking is an old-established custom.

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PLATE VI

A WARRIOR FROM APO-KAYAN WITH MANDAU, RIFLE, AND ELABORATE GARTERS, BUT NO STOCKINGS.

Since the Dutch Government established a military post in Apo-Kayan the Dayaks from those parts have settled down to a peaceful mode of life.

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PLATE VII

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Among the attractions in Sumatra are the dwelling houses and rice sheds. The above examples show the more primitive types found in the Batak country. In other parts, such as the Minangkabau districts, the construction is more elaborate and the decoration richer.

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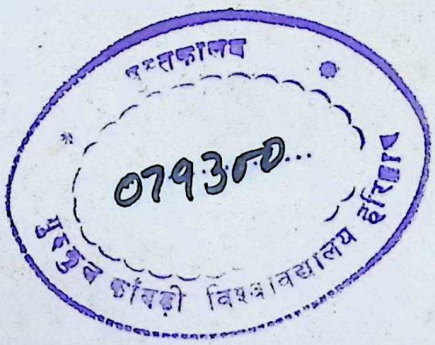

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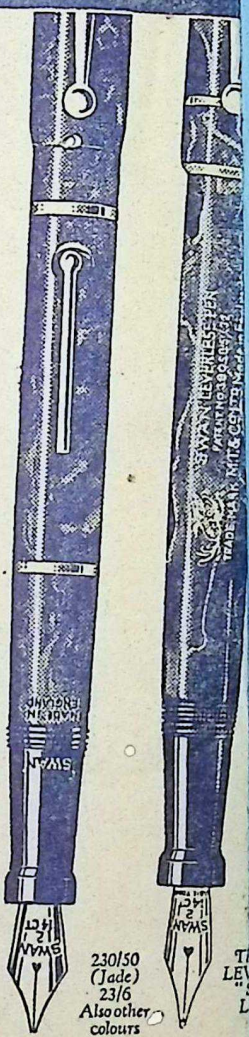

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